THE IMPACT OF FORMAL EDUCATION ON THE
PERSONAL IDENTITY OF
AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL ADOLESCENTS

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The assistance and enthusiasm provided by many friends working with Aborigines greatly facilitated the task of working in the field. I particularly wish to thank the Staff of Koralida College for their friendship and willingness to help, and for the many interesting discussions they initiated. Mr. Peter Lewis, a former Head Teacher at Koralida, also provided valuable insight into the adjustment of students.

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This thesis has been submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, but has not yet been examined. It is circulated on the understanding that it will not be quoted or otherwise used without the written consent of the author.

Canberra, August 2, 1972.
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A number of exploratory questions were posed and several predictions derived from the conceptual framework adopted, from previous cross-cultural studies, and from an analysis of the ethnic system of the College. Although much of the research was descriptive in nature, an attempt was made to obtain measurement scales for most of the variables considered to be important in the research. Use was also made both of observational data over a year and of verbal responses to questionnaires and semi-structured interviews.

The principal techniques adopted for the analysis of data were bivariate statistics, including t-tests, one-way analyses of variance, correlation coefficients, and $\chi^2$. Throughout the study, the 0.05 level of significance was adopted.

Results relating to the first issue of interest indicated that the goals of education were not being achieved. No changes in achievement values occurred as a function of length of time spent at Kormilda College. It was suggested that both the lack of Aboriginals available as potential reference models embodying achievement value orientations, and the nature of, and restricted opportunities for, contact on a close personal basis, produced any change in values. Furthermore, the few individuals who were characterised by an achievement orientation value profile also held unfavourable attitudes towards other Aboriginals. This finding suggested that the basic goals of education could not be simultaneously attained and that the retention of pride in Aboriginal identity was...
ABSTRACT

This study was planned as an exploratory one, designed to illuminate the problems of adjustment experienced by Aboriginal students who were attending Kormilda College, a residential college for Aborigines in Darwin. The subjects were 95 full-blood Aboriginal adolescents from missions, settlements and pastoral properties throughout the Northern Territory.

Interest of the research was focused on two issues: first, on the success of education in attaining its simultaneous goals of changing those values, attitudes and aspirations inhibiting achievement of Aborigines at school, and of enabling students to retain a pride in their ethnic heritage; and second, on the ability of students to resolve identity conflict arising from contrasting sets of values, role expectations, and models for identification.

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The second major issue concerned the adjustment of students and their attempts to resolve identity conflict. The results indicated that many students were faced with conflicting roles, expectations, and values which created stress and mitigated against the resolution of identity conflict, regardless of whether the individual was attempting to resolve such conflict through polarisation towards a traditional model, a white model, or a synthesis of both. It was suggested that the finding that a large proportion of students showed symptoms of maladjustment, to varying degrees, might be attributable to the enculturative discontinuities which existed between the life-styles at home and at the College. Further research was required to substantiate this interpretation.

A final group of research questions related to comparisons between groupings of the sample population studied. First, girls differed from boys in the amount of stress shown, although there were no differences between them on variables mediating achievement behaviour or on identity orientation. Second, students who dropped out of the College before completing a course showed a tendency to be present-oriented, to choose short term goals and to have lower educational, occupational and social aspirations compared with those students who remained at school. Third, students in the academic stream had significantly higher educational and occupational aspirations than those students in the non-academic stream, but there were no differences between them in achievement values. The most interesting finding in the comparison between these two groups concerned attitudes to self: Kormilda students attending High School with other members of the dominant society had significantly less favourable self-concepts than those students receiving their education at the College itself where only Aborigines were present.

In general, the results suggested that the concept of a residential college for Aboriginal adolescent students was a viable one. However, it was felt that the social system could be readily modified to create greater continuity with the life-experiences of students in the village situation to which most of them wished to return, and that the ensuing changes might facilitate the resolution of identity conflict.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation of the research

The orientation of social scientists towards the investigation of problem areas rather than the manipulation of variables in the laboratory situation is a hallmark of recent times. Frijda and Jahoda (1966) have made a plea to researchers in the cross-cultural field to concern themselves with social and cultural change: "In much cross-cultural research this aspect is treated peripherally, or even viewed as a disturbing element. It is surely time that the psychological implications of this process, one of the salient ones of modern times, should become a primary focus of our endeavours. Moreover, many of us feel that psychology should not only contribute to an understanding of this process, but also to do something about the people caught up in it." (p.124) Cook (1962) has similarly urged that research be directed towards "socially significant events" and Sanford (1965) called for increasing attention to "human problems — problems that people really worry about". (p.192) The future of Australian Aborigines is one such problem, and the role of the education system in determining this future is the particular problem area with which this present research is concerned.

Formal education plays a major role in the processes of social and cultural change which inevitably ensue when a minority group comes into close contact with a dominant society. While such change has been the focus of research by social scientists, emphasis has been on the societal level with relatively little concern for its impact on the individual. As the ability of the group to adapt to changed conditions is determined by the adaptability of those persons who comprise the group, it is important to determine the psychological effects of social change on the individual and his ability to adjust to increasing contact with the dominant society. A key concept in the study of individual's reactions to social change is "personal identity" which refers to the sum total of his feelings, attitudes, values, and behaviour. A study of changes in personal identity which occur in the course of schooling provides a means of assessing the impact of education.

The education system begins to mould the child's sense of identity from the time of his first contact with it. The present study, however, limits its focus to the years of adolescence which
is considered by writers such as Erikson (1959, 1968) to be the principal stage in the formation of personal identity, and during these years the individual may experience identity conflict in his efforts to progress towards social and occupational goals consistent with his ideals. Such identity conflict is frequently exacerbated when students from minority groups receive their education in residential colleges and are forced to choose between contrasting sets of values, role expectations, and models for identification. In such institutions where discontinuity characterises the life-styles of students at home and at school, the individual is frequently maladjusted and unable to resolve identity conflict. If continuity is maintained between the two environments, however, formal education may enable the individual to resolve conflicts in personal identity through cultural synthesis whereby he is able to retain traditional identity while at the same time acquiring new patterns of behaviour and skills.

The aim of the present research is to assess the adjustment of Aboriginal adolescents who are attending Kormilda College, a residential college for Aborigines in Darwin. Particular attention is focused on the identity orientation adopted by students and their attempts at resolving identity conflict. The study is essentially exploratory, designed to answer such questions as:

How do students at Kormilda adjust to a culture-conflict situation?

Does the environment at Kormilda facilitate the resolution of identity crisis?

What are the aspirations of Aboriginal adolescents and does Kormilda College provide them with the skills that mediate their attainment?

It is only possible meaningfully to interpret answers to questions about the adjustment of students against the background of analyses of the social system in the residential college itself, the home environment of the students, and the official aims of education. To provide such a background, answers must first be obtained to such questions as:

What are the goals of education and the means adopted for their attainment?

Are these goals realisable in theory?
What degree of continuity is maintained between the residential college and the home communities of the students?

The dearth of research in the field of psychological implications of social change among Aborigines places severe restrictions on the nature of any empirical investigation. It is difficult to assess the impact of social change when no baseline data are available; and the lack of established measures appropriate for the purposes of the study and the nature of the respondents, and of guidelines as to problems encountered in the testing of Aboriginal children, create further difficulties. The research is therefore necessarily exploratory and descriptive in nature, designed to illuminate a particular problem area. Although it is recognized that a conceptual framework with a theoretical basis is essential if research aims to be constructive and not merely descriptive, consideration must also be given to variables that emerge as significant in the course of research and were not included in the original design; to ignore such variables would impose severe limitations on the usefulness of the results obtained to those who must deal with the problem examined.

The underlying rationale and results of the present research cannot be adequately presented without first placing the problem within an historical perspective and present environmental context. Since education represents only one phase in the Government's total policy for Aborigines, a brief outline of the official policy for Aborigines in the Northern Territory is first given, and the present educational aims are then discussed within this framework. An analysis of the structure of the school system follows and consideration is given to the reasons underlying the establishment of residential colleges. Finally, an attempt is made to describe the existing social, cultural, and economic background of the Aborigines, which is essential to an understanding of the likely impact of formal education on Aboriginal adolescents.

1.2 Official policies for Aborigines in the Northern Territory

The official Commonwealth Government policy for the Aborigines has passed through several phases. A policy of protection and restriction was first adopted when the Commonwealth took responsibility
for the Northern Territory in 1911 and it was felt that the decimation of the "dying Aboriginal population" was imminent. By the 1930's it was clear that protection as a policy had failed and the only hope for the Aborigines lay in the implementation of a positive policy based on the conviction that the Aborigines need not die out. Thus in 1937 the first Conference of Commonwealth and State governments on Aboriginal Welfare was held and a policy of assimilation was adopted. This policy, which sought to make Aborigines indistinguishable from other Australians, thereby ensuring their eventual absorption, determined administrative action for Aborigines until 1965. In that year, the wording of the policy was changed so that the Aborigines were no longer compelled to assimilate and the national goal was set as integration, although it was still labelled "assimilation".

This policy of integration, which was binding on the Aborigines until 1972, read as follows:

"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 advantage." (Department of Territories publication, 1967, p.44.)

In January 1972 the most recent statement of the Commonwealth Government's policy for Aborigines was issued. Although the present research was conducted prior to this current policy, the statement is presented here since it has implications for the discussion of research findings. A five-point Statement of Objectives has been adopted as a general directive for the administration of policies for Aborigines and it indicates the current phase into which Aboriginal-white relations are moving:

"1. The fundamental objectives of Government policy in relation to Aboriginal Australians are that
they should be assisted as individuals, and if they wish as groups, at the local community level, to hold effective and respected places within one Australian society with equal access to the rights and opportunities it provides and acceptance of responsibilities towards it.

At the same time they should be encouraged and assisted to preserve their own culture, languages, traditions and arts so that these can become living elements in the diverse culture of the Australian society.

2. The Government recognizes the rights of individual Aborigines to effective choice about the degree to which, and the pace at which, they come to identify themselves with that society; and we believe that they will do so more readily and more happily when they are attracted to it voluntarily and when their membership of it encourages them to maintain and take pride in their identity, traditions and culture.

The concept of separate development as a long-term aim is utterly alien to these objectives.

3. We also believe that programmes to give effect to such policy must evolve in accordance with the effects of action so far taken and the needs of the times. They must take into account the expressed wishes of Aboriginal Australians themselves.

Indeed, programmes will prove ineffective unless Aboriginal Australians are voluntarily involved.

The role of governments should increasingly be to enable them to achieve their goals by their own efforts.

4. The Government considers that a balanced strategy directed at the essential problems facing many persons of Aboriginal descent requires a programme of action worked out and administered in collaboration with the States which would -
a) encourage and strengthen their capacity increasingly to manage their own affairs - as individuals, as groups, and as communities at the local level;
b) increase their economic independence;
c) reduce existing social and other handicaps facing them in health, housing, education and vocational training; and
d) promote their enjoyment of normal civil liberties and eliminate remaining provisions in law which discriminate against them.

5. The Government also considers that special measures will be necessary to overcome the disabilities now being experienced by many persons of Aboriginal descent. These should properly be regarded as temporary and transitional in the progress towards our fundamental objectives and should be based on the need of Aboriginal individuals or groups for special care and assistance." (Statement by McMahon on Australian Aborigines.)

The policies formulated by the Commonwealth Government are binding on the Aborigines in the Northern Territory. These policies are put into effect by the Northern Territory Administration which is itself part of the Department of the Interior and responsible to the Minister for the Interior.

1.3 Aboriginal education

1.3.1 Early development and aims

The development and underlying philosophy of education for Aborigines in the Northern Territory reflects the general phases of policy adopted at the national level. During the protectionist period no need for formal education was recognized and the only attempt at providing Aborigines with basic educational skills was carried out by missions. With the adoption of assimilation as a policy, however, it was clear that absorption of Aborigines into the general Australian community could only be achieved through the development of effective
educational programmes. However, it was not until 1950 that the Commonwealth Office of Education took responsibility for Aboriginal education, and from that date there was a rapid and widespread growth in schools. In 1956, control and administration of Aboriginal education passed to the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration which continues to discharge this function at the present time.

The policies and aims underlying education for Aborigines in the Northern Territory at the time at which the present research was undertaken are contained in the Watts-Gallacher Report. This was tabled in 1964, following an investigation by two educationists into the curriculum and teaching methods in use in Aboriginal schools. The goals stated in this Report correspond to those represented in the revised policy of assimilation or "integration" which was adopted in 1965 as the national policy, and have not been modified since that date as they are still congruent with both this, and the most recent, policies.

1.3.2 Watts-Gallacher Report

The basic principles underlying Aboriginal education are set forth in the Watts-Gallacher Report:

1. Aboriginal children should have full equality of educational opportunity with all other Australian children.

2. The education of Aboriginal children must take cognizance of the European and Aboriginal cultures and must be developed in such a way as to help the Aborigines to achieve their own integration of Aboriginal and European beliefs and ways.

3. The Aboriginal culture must be recognized and respected by all teachers and instructors.

4. Curriculum content and methods of instruction should be so planned and organized as to ensure to the fullest extent the transfer of school learnings to village living.

5. Education, as an instrument of social progress, must be conceived as a continuing process, and emphasis should be placed on the development of
appropriate programmes for all age groups. Every effort should be made to lessen the dichotomy that exists between the old and the young.

6. Education must be a basic concern of all settlement and mission staff members. Whatever their specific field, their primary function must be seen as educational, directed to the continuing development of the Aboriginal people.

7. There should be recognition that the education of Aborigines, at this stage of social change in the Northern Territory, is a special field of education and that all who work in this field need special training if educational planning and action are to be fully effective.” (Watts-Gallacher Report, 1964, p.53.)

Although these basic principles apply to all Aborigines, it is clear that there are wide differences among individuals in their stage of acculturation. Therefore, if equality of educational opportunity is to be achieved, educational programmes must make allowances for individual differences. The Watts-Gallacher Report recognizes two groups of individuals for whom the goals of education differ:

a) the educationally advanced children; and

b) the children still very close to tribal beliefs and tribal patterns of living.

The same basic priorities within the educational programme hold for both these groups. The most essential are needs a) to develop social, cultural and moral attitudes, and to aid children towards personal and social development; and b) to master certain basic skills and acquire essential knowledge. The advanced group, however, is expected to make more progress in many spheres of the school's academic programme such as the ability to communicate in English, arithmetical understanding, and a greater depth of understanding of their own culture and of western culture. Students in this group are considered to have the ability to master the fundamental elements of a primary school programme and to advance to secondary education, and ultimately to play a significant role within their own
establishments or to make a responsible contribution within the general community. While there is a need for the less advanced group to develop similar skills and understandings, the realities of their backgrounds and characteristics modify and reduce expectations of their performance. The curriculum is therefore constructed so as to ensure meaningful learning and to foster the possibility of transfer of school learning to the village situation.

1.3.3 Structure of the educational system

At the time the present research was undertaken, there was a dual system of education operating in the Northern Territory, with both the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration and the South Australian Department of Education taking responsibility for the education of all children in the Territory. The majority of Aboriginal children attended the Special Schools of the Welfare Branch which were situated on missions and settlements and pastoral properties, predominantly in isolated areas. The non-Aboriginal population, together with some of those Aborigines who lived in urban areas attended community schools which followed the syllabi of the South Australian Department of Education and were staffed predominantly by teachers from that Department. However, since Aboriginal education catered for primary and post-primary students only, those Aborigines who reached secondary school transferred from Special Schools to the community schools and hence came under the control of the South Australian Department of Education.

Organizational Structure of Special Schools

The system of school organization adopted for Welfare Branch Special Schools was multi-purpose since it catered for the two basic groups of students, advanced and less advanced, which were discussed earlier.

All students first completed three years in an ungraded infant school. At the end of this period, as a result of varying levels of acculturation, students had achieved different levels of school performance. At this stage they were categorized as falling into either the more advanced group, which represented a minority of students, or the less advanced group. The categorization of individual students was made by the teacher of the infant school, together with the Head Teacher and the district inspector, on the base of academic achievement, and emotional and social maturity.
The less advanced group entered the general stream where the principle of ungraded structure continued. The students in this group transferred from the infant school at eight-plus years and spent the following three years in the intermediate class, then passed to the senior class for an additional two years. On completion of primary schooling, children in the general stream transferred for three more years to the post-primary school established on their own settlement or mission, or to a district post-primary school. Post-primary education involved lessons in basic subjects, but emphasis was placed on domestic science for the girls and manual training for the boys, in an attempt to provide students with skills for future employment and societal roles.

The students in the more advanced group entered the upper stream following completion of infant school. Since they were expected eventually to progress to community schools for secondary education, the school organization and curriculum was designed to facilitate this transfer. Because the community schools of the Northern Territory were governed by the South Australian Education Department, Grades 3 to 7 in the upper stream were based on a consideration of the goals of that system and of the characteristics and achievements of the Aboriginal children. While there was divergence in some areas between the South Australian Grade 3 curriculum and that recommended for the upper stream Aboriginal children, the two programmes progressively came together until by Grade 6 the major remaining difference was the inclusion of features of Aboriginal culture. This graded programme helped to ensure that Aboriginal children destined for secondary education had in common with their future European classmates certain interests, understandings, knowledge and skills. However, in order to minimise the adjustment necessary in transferring from settlement and mission schools to the high schools, the last year of primary (Grade 7) was spent in a transitional residential college in a centre of European population.

1.3.4 Transitional residential colleges

The establishment of a transitional residential college for Aboriginal students followed recognition of the factors militating against the educational success and social adjustment of Aboriginal students if they were brought directly from their home communities into mixed hostels within the community. The Watts-Gallacher Report outlines these factors:
1. There would be an extremely sharp contrast between their lives in the village at home and the life they would need to follow in the hostel. Customs, conditions of living, language, and the values and beliefs of staff members and other children would be quite foreign to them; in other words, they would be placed in an entirely new world.

2. At this stage, only very small numbers of children can be expected to complete primary school and attempt high school work. This would mean that some schools would send into the hostel only one pupil. Even if a number of Aboriginal children from various centres were in the hostel at any one time, there would be represented a number of tribes, between whom there are wide differences. Homesickness and loneliness would be intensified in this situation where the children would feel insecure and be lacking in self-confidence.

The above two factors could be expected to lead to varying degrees of maladjustment; in turn this maladjustment would seriously jeopardise their chances of academic success. Indeed, experience with a number of Aboriginal children who have been brought into hostels to attend community schools has confirmed this expectation.

3. By virtue of their life and experiences in isolated centres, the children's horizons are extremely narrow and their concept development in a number of areas, when compared with that of European children, is very limited. Direct transfer from a special school to a community High school would make it difficult for any help to be given to these children with a view to widening their understanding and providing them with a firmer foundation for academic work.

4. Teaching methods in special schools are governed by the teacher's understanding of the children's
backgrounds and of their language differences. There would not be the same appreciation of their differences in a community school and if the children were transferred directly from special schools to community school, we would expect them to be adversely influenced by the considerable change in teaching methods and relationships with their teachers." (Watts-Gallacher Report, 1964, pp.51-52.)

The transfer from special school to transitional school and thence to high school is thus seen by Watts and Gallacher as the ideal way in which the children can gain confidence and develop attitudes conducive to educational and social progress. Their Report states:

"In view of these four factors, we believe that there should be established in Darwin, in the first instance (and later in Alice Springs), a transitional residential school, which would provide a bridge between special schools and the community school. The transitional school would be staffed by specially selected teaching and domestic personnel. Aboriginal children could transfer to this school from their special schools for a period of approximately one year during which time they might be led to develop acceptable social habits and social skills and to adjust attitudes and values. Throughout this period, they would receive wise personal guidance from Staff primarily concerned with their welfare. In addition, teaching staff could concentrate on providing those experiences which contribute to language development, to fuller concept development, and to widening the horizons of the children so that they might be brought to a stage where they could, with expectation of success, enter the normal school situation.

It would be expected, of course, that, in the transitional school, the children would be offered wide opportunities for participating in the full range of community and recreational activities open to children resident in town." (p.52)
Kormilda College in Darwin was the first such transitional residential college to be established and drew students from settlements, missions, and pastoral properties throughout the Northern Territory. Students completed Grade 7 of primary education at the college and then transferred to Darwin High School for secondary education while continuing to reside at the College.

1.4 Socio-cultural environment

In order to determine the impact of formal education on the personal identity of Aboriginal adolescents, it is essential to have an understanding of the present social, cultural, and economic background of Aborigines in the Northern Territory. A large body of data has been collected by anthropologists concerning the traditional lifestyle and social organization, but it is clear that many of these traditional patterns have broken down following contact with the dominant society, and Aboriginal society today can perhaps best be represented by an interaction of traditional and modern forces. Research among other ethnic groups has identified a number of variables which contribute to the failure of individuals to achieve at school and an attempt is made here to describe such aspects of Aboriginal lifestyle as language, physical isolation of Aboriginal communities from the dominant society, health and nutrition, employment, and social and leisure activities, since they mediate the likely impact of education on Aboriginal students.

1.4.1 Demographic characteristics of Aborigines

There is no one definition of "Aborigine" commonly accepted by all States of Australia and the definition adopted in the present study is that applied in the Northern Territory legislation. Unlike most of the southern states which adopt a more inclusive definition, the category of "Aborigine" in the Northern Territory is very restrictive and includes only full-bloods and those part-Aborigines who are fully integrated into Aboriginal communities and live in the manner of full-bloods. Since this research only concerns Aborigines in the Northern Territory, the same narrow definition is adopted in the text. The term "part-Aborigine", where used, refers to any person of Aboriginal descent who is not included in the classification "Aborigine".
The Aboriginal population in the Northern Territory at 31 December 1970 stood at 22,000 of a total population of about 85,000. The last year of published figures for the white population is 1965-66 and thus any comparisons between the two ethnic groups are based on the figures for whites of that year. Since 1965, the natural increase of Aborigines has been at the rate of 18 per 1,000 which is just less than double the natural increase rate of the non-Aboriginal Australian population.

The age composition of the Aboriginal population over the last ten years has varied significantly from that of the Australian non-Aboriginal population. For example, the group under sixteen years of age has been increasing in the Aboriginal population: in 1961 it represented 38.6% of the total and in 1970, 41%. This age group has decreased relatively in the non-Aboriginal population over a similar period and at June 1966 accounted for 31% of that population. Contributing to these ethnic differences is the high Aboriginal birth rate which for 1970 was 44 per 1,000 whilst the birth rate for non-Aboriginal Australians for the year 1965-66 was 19 per 1,000.

The majority of the Aborigines in the Northern Territory reside on missions and government settlements, or on pastoral properties. These vary considerably in their degree of isolation from the mainstream of white society and in the period of contact with different socialising agents of the dominant society. The breakdown of population in contact with missions, government settlements, and pastoral properties, together with their respective dates of establishment, is given in Appendix 1.1.

1.4.2 Physical setting of Aboriginal communities

The majority of Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory are located in Aboriginal Reserves which vary in size from 2 to 44,800 square miles. (Their location is shown on the map in Appendix 1.2.) Unauthorised access by non-Aborigines is strictly prohibited, although Aborigines themselves may enter and leave Reserves at will. One of the largest is the Arnhem Land Reserve where the majority of Aborigines are settled in three government settlements and eight missions. The size of these communities varies greatly, some with as few as 200 individuals and others with populations over 1,000. Road access is virtually non-existent and communities are dependent upon barges or planes for supplies. Two missions - Yirrkala and Angurugu - are adjacent to mining
areas with substantial European populations, and contact with the dominant society is thereby greatly increased. Other settlements on the coast and off-shore islands have limited access to the dominant society, although considerable trading occurred with the Macassans and Japanese pearlers prior to 1937. In all these communities, contact with the mass media is very restricted: radio, television, and newspapers are unavailable. The only regular form of mass communication is a weekly film screening.

A similar situation in terms of access to mass media and population size exists on the six government settlements and two missions in the Giles and Warburton districts of Central Australia. However, roads have been built from Alice Springs to all remote communities, thereby facilitating movement into town areas during the dry season, for both prolonged periods and short visits. Most of those Aborigines who come into Alice Springs stay at Amoonguna, a government settlement on the outskirts of the town, or in the camps that Aborigines have established in the dry bed of the Todd River which runs through the town. Contact with the dominant society has increased in the Centre with a growing tourist industry, and several settlements have taken advantage of this situation to provide services in the way of guides, a kiosk, and production of artifacts.

Most of the remaining government settlements and missions are located in areas which have limited contact with the dominant society and with the mass media.

Pastoral properties are distributed across the cattle grazing districts of the Northern Territory although there is a concentration in the area around Alice Springs. The total Aboriginal population on pastoral properties at 31 December 1969 was almost equally divided between approximately 125 groups of less than 50 persons and some 25 groups of 50 persons or more. There are access roads to all these properties, but although considerable mobility occurs between them, there is little regular contact with towns.

While the opportunity for contact with the dominant society varies greatly between all these communities, an effort is made to provide all school children with the experiences of visiting centres of European population and observing European mores. Excursions, sporting activities, Eisteddfods, and holiday camps fulfil this function and help to broaden the otherwise limited horizon of
Aborigines living in isolated communities.

1.4.3 Socialisation and social organization of Aborigines

Contact with Europeans has destroyed the traditional dependence of Aborigines on the ecological environment and many aspects of their social structure which served that dependence have become dysfunctional, thereby contributing to the disintegration of traditional Aboriginal society. (Albrecht, 1970) However, the life-style of Aborigines today still reflects their former hunter-gatherer technology and acts as a barrier to modernization.

Socialisation of Aboriginal children remains informal and a child learns by actually participating in the life of the community. The group takes responsibility for the care and socialisation of the child, and kin not only satisfy his physical needs but also take an active part in instructing him in the knowledge, skills, values, and norms of the group. Child-rearing up to the age of puberty is very permissive and few restrictions are placed on the behaviour of children. Hamilton (1970) has observed child-rearing practices among the Anbara at Maningrida (NW Arnhem Land) and she states:

"One of the most strongly held values in Anbara society is that adults should never strike children and the inhibition and sublimation of aggressive responses towards children is almost perfect...While boys are threatened frequently by adult men and women may abuse girls, such behaviour is dependent more on the whim and personal state of the adult rather than on the type of activity of the child, and pressures of this kind are far from consistent. Children owe no respect to adults _per se_, and can expect indulgence of their slightest desires and a sympathetic concerned response to their unreasonable and often unrealisable demands." (p.163)

To counteract this permissiveness in childhood, order is formally maintained by the authority of the elders who control the rites of initiation and acceptance into the totemic life. Initiation ceremonies mark the "rite de passage" from boyhood to manhood and generally take place around the age of puberty. Education has had some impact on this aspect of Aboriginal culture and ceremonies may be deferred until the long summer vacation to avoid interference with
schooling. With the disintegration of Aboriginal culture in many communities, the authority of the elders is no longer effective and problems of discipline abound.

Traditional Aboriginal society was polygamous and continues to be in many tribes. Girls are promised at birth to a man who is in the prescribed kinship relation and she is usually taken as a wife at the onset of puberty. In areas where there is greater contact with the dominant society, the promise system has broken down although the importance of kinship or subsection for marriage is often retained. In other areas, a husband may wait until his promised wife has completed her schooling but this compromise is not always made as education sometimes produces defiance in girls and a refusal to comply with the promise system of marriage.

Within the family there has been a change in economic roles following settlement in communities. The male has become the principal wage-earner while the female’s traditional role as a food-gatherer has been replaced by domestic duties at the relatively simple level that camp life demands. Rose (1965) argues that the increased economic responsibilities of the male, together with the decline of woman’s responsibilities will reduce the incidence of polygamy since extra wives are now an economic burden rather than an asset to any particular man. It seems likely that as more girls receive an education and acquire skills for modern occupational status, they will move increasingly into the work force and a new pattern of relationships between men and women will probably evolve.

Despite the incursion of European mores into traditional patterns of culture, socialisation in Aboriginal communities appears to be directed towards the retention of the old order. This view is expressed by the Berndts:

"Husband and wife are expected ordinarily, to become parents, and to rear sons and daughters who will repeat in all essential features their own progress from childhood to adulthood. The whole emphasis in this process, through the initiation rites, for example, is not on being different from previous generations, but on being the same....Even so, these Aboriginal societies are, or were, tradition oriented. They stress the value of keeping to forms
laid down in the past, rather than building on them with a view to creating something different, or new." (Berndt and Berndt, 1964, p.158)

This socialisation process serves to stress the individual's subordination to the group and is reinforced by the system of social organization which is exemplified by the kinship system.

"In Aboriginal Australia kinship is the articulating force for all social interaction. The kinship system of a particular tribe or language unit is in effect a shorthand statement about the network of interpersonal relations within that unit - a blueprint to guide its members." (Berndt and Berndt, 1964, p.91)

Kinship systems take a variety of forms, but in general, under these systems, it is usual for a person to classify, to address, to refer to, and to deal with every other Aboriginal within his social universe by some kin term, whether or not that person is demonstrably related by blood or marriage. The systems are more than simply a set of rules for the application of the appropriate terminology to one's relatives or quasi-relatives. They are also associated with a set of normative statements about the behaviour that ought to be evinced in any relationship described by a pair of kinship terms, and the reciprocal obligations required. As the Berndts observe,

"....there is in every community an arrangement of obligations which every growing child has to learn. In this network of duties and debts, rights and credits, all adults have commitments of one kind or another. Mostly, not invariably, these are based on kin relationships. All gifts and services are viewed as reciprocal. This is basic to their economy...Everything must be repaid, in kind, or in equivalent." (1964, p.107)

This system has repercussions for the money economy which operates in Aboriginal communities today. The temporarily affluent are expected to share their money with immediate kin and it there-upon diffuses throughout the community via the kinship networks. The constant discharge of kinship obligations prevents the individual accumulation of cash, inhibits achievement motivation directed towards
the reward of more pay, and removes from individuals the necessity to work.

Aborigines still hold traditional super-empirical beliefs which have an important influence on their behaviour. The basic Aboriginal belief which underlies the whole religious structure is called Totemism. This has been defined by Elkin (1954) as "... a view of nature and life, of the universe and man, which colours and influences the Aborigines' social groupings and mythologies, inspires their rituals and links them to the past. It unites them with nature's activities and species in a bond of mutual life giving, and imparts confidence amidst the vicissitudes of life...." (p.133). Associated with Totemism is a multitude of taboos which are still observed and reinforced by fears of sorcery and witchcraft. Such taboos occur in most spheres of behaviour and govern interpersonal relations, placing rigid restrictions on communication between certain reciprocal pairs of individuals. While these may be suspended in the classroom, they are rigorously observed in the camp situation.

It is clear that the incursion of the Europeans and their activities into the traditional domains of Aboriginal society has brought changes. However, this brief discussion of the socialisation of Aboriginal children today and of the present social organization of Aborigines indicates that their life-style continues to differ radically from that of the dominant society. Educators must therefore take these cultural differences into account in devising the school organization, curricula, and ultimate goals.

1.4.4 Language

Dialects are still spoken by the majority of Aborigines, and even among school children English remains a second language. Dialect is always spoken in the camp and a large proportion of the adult population is unable to communicate in English. Since several Aboriginal languages are usually spoken in any one community, most individuals speak one such language and are able to understand one or more others. However, there is an increasing tendency for the language of the majority group to replace other Aboriginal languages.

The large number of Aboriginal languages (over 70 are still spoken in the Northern Territory) and their purely oral transmission place severe restrictions on the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in schools. Nevertheless, some missions have introduced
the vernacular into the teaching programme and the increasing use made of Aboriginal teaching assistants has greatly facilitated this task. The official Education policy adopted by the Welfare Branch for government settlement schools stipulates that English shall be the language of instruction and it is first introduced in the infant school.

Students who attend residential college are drawn from communities throughout the Northern Territory and English is therefore the only common language. The use of English as the medium of instruction in earlier phases of schooling facilitates transfer to a college where it is impracticable to retain the vernacular.

### 1.4.5 Health and nutrition

In the social change from a nomadic existence to a more settled style of living on settlements and pastoral properties, Aborigines have not gained any great appreciation of the improved standards of hygiene necessary where large groups of people congregate for long periods. Infant mortality and morbidity rates among Aborigines in the Northern Territory are significantly higher than those for the non-Aboriginal population. (Moodie, 1969) Associated with factors contributing to these figures are poor personal hygiene, inadequate housing and sanitation facilities, lowered resistance to disease, and ignorance as to causes of sickness. (Francis, Middleton, Penny, Thompson, and McConnachie, 1971) Health surveys indicate that the major causes of morbidity are respiratory infections, gastroenteritis, malnutrition, and protein deficiency. (Moodie, 1969; Maxwell, Elliott, McCoy and Langsford, 1968). Hookworm is endemic and contributes to lethargy and apparent lack of motivation (Cawte, 1968), while ear and eye infections are very common and in many instances severely impair hearing and eyesight. (Maxwell and Elliott, 1969).

Although there is a continuing interest in traditional methods of hunting and gathering, most Aborigines now use these sources of food merely to supplement their diet and are dependent on the settlement or station store for basic provisions. Although little research has been undertaken to determine the food-buying habits of Aborigines, it would appear that their knowledge of the value of nutritional foods is inadequate and this may contribute to dietary and nutritional problems. (Hamilton, 1970; Francis et al 1971).

Recent research among several ethnic groups has been concerned
with the relationship between malnutrition in early childhood and
growth retardation and possible permanent retardation of intellectual
functioning. Frisch (1970) has reviewed the literature and asserts it
is difficult to determine whether the showing of the chronically
malnourished child on mental tests results from poor brain growth or
brain damage, reversible or irreversible, due to malnutrition, or from
maternal and cultural deprivation usually concurrent with extreme
poverty and fatigue and lack of concentration which can accompany
chronic malnutrition. (p.194)

1.4.6 Housing

Housing facilities for Aborigines cover a wide range from huts
constructed in the traditional manner to homes of Housing Commission
standard. Some settlements and missions have constructed dormitory
houses for Aborigines which are used by single men and women and some­
times by adolescents. The majority of Aborigines use houses only for
sleeping and storing the few possessions that they own, and spend most
of their time in the open. Even where cooking facilities are provided,
Aborigines usually prefer to cook on an open fire outside.

On most settlements, some effort has been made to provide
European-style housing for at least those of the Aboriginal population
who have shown some sort of progress towards assimilation. Three types
of housing are available for these Aborigines and progression to
improved housing is dependent on the occupants' level of assimilation.
The Kingstrand is the first stage of housing and consists of a frame of
metal such as aluminium which is bolted to a concrete slab and sheeted
with a single layer of aluminium to walls and room. An open verandah
on the outside constitutes the living area. These houses are allocated
to those Aborigines who have broken with their traditional customs to
the extent that they prefer such a dwelling to a traditional type of
shelter. The second stage in housing consists of an alteration to the
basic Kingstrand unit to provide more enclosed space at the expense of
the verandah. When the family occupying such a completed house reaches
the stage in its social development where it is inadequate, the family
is then provided with a Transitional house if there is one available.
The Transitional house has separate living and bedrooms, a bathroom,
toilet, laundry, and kitchenette. At the time of writing, very few of
these houses have been constructed.

Aborigines who do not have government housing sometimes construct
huts of corrugated iron, and they spend most of their time outside them, under a roofed shelter generally attached to the hut in the form of a verandah. Other Aborigines live in humpies which consist merely of scraps of corrugated iron implanted in the ground to act as a windbreak, or huts formed by branches of trees.

On missions, Aborigines are usually involved in the construction of houses which range from one-roomed huts without water or electricity to houses comparable to Transitional houses with full facilities. A diverse selection of materials is used including stone, concrete blocks, bricks, adobe, and timber, and these building materials are usually manufactured or prepared on the mission itself. While the majority of Aborigines living on missions are housed, some families continue to live in roughly constructed shelters in the more traditional manner.

On pastoral properties most Aborigines live in traditional bush-camp conditions and even where huts or houses have been provided they are mainly used for storage and perhaps for shelter in bad weather.

In all communities Transitional houses have their own facilities, but other dwellings are supplied by communal toilet-ablution-laundry blocks which are situated adjacent to the houses, and which are frequently inadequate for the large population using them.

The sub-standard housing conditions in which most Aborigines live would appear to be inimical to school achievement. Most curricula assume that children have had a fairly wide and similar experiential background, but it is obvious that Aboriginal children lack books, educational facilities, and other experiences in their home environment which mediate achievement.

1.4.7 Employment

The range of employment opportunities for Aborigines is restricted, whether on Reserves, pastoral properties, or in urbanized areas. This is a result both of their lack of appropriate work habits, attitudes, and skills, and of the economic structure of the Northern Territory.

Missions and settlements generally have schools, small hospitals, and other services associated with small townships. Each mission and settlement has a flexible establishment of "trainee" or "assistant" positions to which it can recruit Aborigines of all working ages - both those continuously resident and those who come to it from elsewhere, permanently or temporarily.
Trainees are employed -

- providing community services for the mission or settlement
- building houses and other structures associated with the community activities
- in production activities such as market gardening, poultry or pig-raising, brick-making, and artifact production, the output of which is either consumed on the missions or settlements or sold

For this employment, trainees receive a "training allowance" graduated according to the skill and the responsibility for their jobs. The "skills" acquired by Aborigines qualify them for work in their own communities only and thus any individual who wishes to move into urban areas to obtain employment discovers that this level of training is not accepted by other government and educational bodies.

Most settlements and missions are dependent on heavy government subsidies and rarely make a large contribution to their own social or economic independence. Some settlements and missions, however, are not closed economies, but derive an outside income from such industries as fishing, forestry, cattle raising, and sale of artifacts. More recently, Aboriginal enterprises including brick-making, fishing, and a furniture factory have been initiated, and they represent a significant trend towards establishing some degree of local autonomy and self-sufficiency. The establishment of towns in mining areas, constituting centres of European population, also provides the opportunity for offering a range of services such as the provision of fresh produce, sale of artifacts, and building.

In most settlements and missions, on-the-job training is provided in such fields as forestry, saw-milling, building, machine and plant operating, vehicle maintenance and repair, catering, and butchering. Off-settlement courses exist for women in nursing, home management, teaching, canteen procedures, secretarial work, care of lepers. For men there are courses in sanitation and hygiene, welding, butchering, building, carpentry, and mechanics.

Jobs are available in the mining industry itself, and companies have expressed a willingness to employ Aborigines. However, the lack of skills required for operating complex machinery has restricted this avenue of employment in some companies, notably Comalco at Nhulumbuy;
Gemco, on the other hand, has successfully trained several Aboriginal employees for responsible operating jobs at Groote Eylandt. (Rogers, 1969)

Pastoral properties provide employment for Aborigines as stockmen and domestics. At 31 December 1969, 1,481 men and women had worked for some period during the year. However, comparison with figures from previous years reveals that the numbers of Aborigines employed in the pastoral industry have been decreasing. A recent report of the Committee to Review the Situation of Aborigines on Pastoral Properties in the Northern Territory, chaired by Gibb (December, 1971), states that the reduction of Aboriginal employment appears to be a direct result of the extension to Aborigines of the Cattle Station Industry (Northern Territory) Award in 1968. This has resulted in a termination of the generally observed custom of seeking to give some employment to all males on a station.

Figures for Aborigines working in urban areas, and the nature of their jobs, are not available, although their lack of education suggests that employment is generally restricted to unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. While Darwin and Alice Springs are growing very rapidly, there is some undocumented evidence to suggest that the proportion of Aborigines in the Darwin population is less now than it was just after World War II. (Gibb, 1971)

The present occupational opportunities for Aborigines in the Northern Territory are relatively restricted. However, there are marked developments in the Territory which might offer employment opportunities for Aborigines, namely tourism, urban development, public works, mining and fishing. A recommendation of the Gibb Report (1971) is that the Government should take the lead in adopting a policy of training, recruiting, and housing Aboriginal labour wherever possible and with particular attention to employment in the more skilled and more highly regarded jobs.

In seeking to raise the aspirations of students and provide them with basic work skills, education must take into account the existing economic structure and range of employment opportunities. The necessity to ensure that aspirations do not outstrip their potential for attainment is recognized by Lengyel (1961):

"...Individuals, once formed, must be accommodated by the community in a manner which at least roughly
corresponds to their expectations, otherwise they will become the dissident and disaffected elements which constitute a permanent source of social friction. Hence educational development must be integrated with other measures to promote economic and social progress ideally in such a manner as neither to outstrip nor to hamper evolution."

1.4.8 Leisure and social activities

The leisure and social activities of Aborigines reflect both traditional and western life-styles, although there is considerable variation between communities in the range available.

Traditional activities are still a vital part of the life-style of Aborigines in many communities, particularly the more isolated settlements and missions. Although Aborigines no longer rely on hunting and fishing as sources of food, they have become leisure activities adapted to the western working pattern and generally pursued on weekends. In areas where game and fish are plentiful, children spend time after school and during the holidays hunting and fishing. In most instances, western technology has replaced traditional artifacts: rifles, fishing lines, traps, and nets are commonly used, and some individual families and tribes own motor boats and landrovers.

Dance and music continue to form an integral part of Aboriginal social life, and many ceremonies are still observed, although they have undoubtedly lost some of their original religious significance. The younger generation often does not actively participate, but individual members are usually involved in the behavioural setting. Initiation and other ceremonies are often cyclical in nature and continue over a period of months; song and dance are leisure activities that fill in evenings around the camp fire at night. In the more detribalised areas and on pastoral properties, ceremonies are still performed but they are often deferred until the off-season of work. Much leisure time is spent sitting around the camp talking, or gambling with cards and marbles.

Many settlements and missions have social clubs and other western-type activities which are organized both by Aborigines and whites. Money raised by social clubs is used for various community activities. Sport is very popular and team game competitions are frequently arranged between different Aboriginal communities. Boy
Scouts and Girl Guides are organized in some communities and provide opportunities for young Aborigines to combine both traditional and western skills. Film screenings are a regular feature of community life on settlements and missions, and these represent the major form of mass communication with the western world. In some communities dances are held for the young people, although approval is not always forthcoming from the older Aborigines who see such activities as undermining their authority. Occasional visits to settlements and missions are made by professional entertainers and these provide some variety in the usual range of social activities.

This last section on the socio-cultural environment of the Aborigines in the Northern Territory has sought to give some indication of the social setting in which education takes place. The present social conditions of Aborigines influence the potential of students for achievement in school and their ability to adjust to an alien social environment which characterizes residential colleges in the dominant society.
CHAPTER 11: IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON ETHNIC IDENTITY

2.1 Introduction

Education is an essential element in the process of social and cultural change among the Australian Aborigines. One of its major objectives is to enable students to achieve modern occupational status while at the same time retaining a pride in their Aboriginal heritage. The residential college where students experience extensive and intensive contact with the dominant society plays a key role in the process of resocialisation. However, formal education within this cross-cultural context may have a deleterious effect on personal identity by creating conflict in roles, values, and changing levels of aspirations.

The original aim of this research was to assess changes occurring in ethnic identity of Aboriginal students attending a residential college in Darwin, and to determine whether the educational goals adopted for Aborigines were attainable. Preliminary observations, however, suggested that the means adopted for the attainment of these goals were inadequate and that conflict in roles and values and subsequent maladjustment were likely to be an inevitable outcome. The research was therefore re-oriented to focus on problems of adjustment experienced by students and their attempts at resolution of identity conflict.

The following two chapters first present the conceptual framework in which changes in ethnic identity are considered. An analysis of the social organization at Kormilda College follows, and the discussion indicates why changes in values and aspirations were thought unlikely to occur. The analysis highlights the discontinuities which exist between the life-styles of students in their home communities and in the College, and a review of the literature of similar institutions indicates that identity conflict and maladjustment usually ensue. The discussion then turns towards the impact of education on personal identity, and the conditions required for resolution of identity crisis are discussed. Further analysis of the social system at Kormilda College suggests that identity crises were unlikely to be resolved there.

2.2 Ethnic Identity

2.2.1 Reference groups

One of the most fruitful ways to discuss the concept of ethnic
identity and the changes that occur in members of a minority ethnic group as a result of contact with the dominant society, is within the framework of reference group theory. The different reference groups available to the individual are identified in this first section, and the nature of ethnic identity is then explained in relation to these groups.

The concept of reference group has enjoyed considerable vogue in sociological and socio-psychological writings of recent years and has been much elaborated and refined since it was first introduced by Hyman in 1942. For example, Taft's (1957) model of assimilation of migrants is based on the different reference groups available to the individual, and Eisenstadt (1954), Parker (1964), Chance (1965), and Berreman (1964) have similarly sought to explain individual levels of assimilation within the framework of this concept.

Reference group theory centres on those processes through which men relate themselves to groups and refer their behaviour to the values of these groups. Basically, when a person's attitudes and behaviour are influenced by a set of norms which he assumes are held by others, then those others constitute for him a reference group. The idea that an individual's attitudes and conduct are shaped by the group in which he has membership is a common premise in psychological theory. However, the fact that men may shape their attitudes and self-evaluations by reference to groups other than their own, by the choice of unusual points of social comparison, is one of the distinctive contributions of reference group theory.

The individual may or may not be a member of any given reference group. If he is a member, whether or not he wishes to remain one, the group is called his membership group. (Newcomb, 1956; Merton, 1957). A reference group may not be a group at all, for attitudes and behaviour may also be oriented towards individuals, collectivities, and fictitious or extinct norms.

In the more recent literature, the concept of reference group has been refined, and distinctions which are relevant to the present area of research have been made between major types of reference groups. Kelley (1962) has attempted to clarify certain aspects of reference group theory by distinguishing between two major functions which reference groups play in the determination of an individual's attitudes. The first usage of the term has been to denote a group in which the
individual is motivated to gain or maintain acceptance; he holds his attitudes in conformity with what he perceives to be the consensus among the group members. This group is referred to as the normative reference group. The second usage of the term "reference group" has been to denote a group which the person uses as a reference point in making evaluations of himself and others. A group functions as a comparison group for the individual to the extent that the behaviour, attitudes, circumstances, or other characteristics of its members represent standards or comparison points which he uses in making judgements and evaluations.

Turner (1956) makes a similar distinction and labels the former group the identification group, which is the source of the individual's attitudes, values and resultant behaviour, and the latter the valuation group. Valuation groups "acquire value to the individual because the standpoint of his identification group designates them as points of reference, so that the individual compares himself with these groups or notes the impression he is making on them, or in some other way takes account of them, without adopting their standpoints as his own." (Turner, 1956, p.328)

Further, Newcomb (1950) maintains that an individual may in fact value any particular comparison group positively or negatively. Berreman (1964) has made use of Newcomb's distinction in a cross-cultural contact situation and defines the use of a negative valuation group as valuation group alienation. His study of the Aleut helps to illustrate the complex pattern of reference groups adopted by the individual. He found that while all villagers wanted to be respected by whites (i.e. they used whites as a positive valuation group and occasionally responded to them as they would to an identification group), most of them also identified with and were heavily committed to their membership group of modern white-oriented Aleuts (as distinct from white men). They were careful to demonstrate to their fellows that they were not alienated from their membership group and that white people, per se, did not attract them: that is, they exhibited valuation group alienation. This suggests that a single comparison group may function as both a positive and negative valuation group, and that situational variables determine the particular behavioural outcome. Since the use of comparison and valuation groups, and the notions of positive and negative valuation present a confusing assortment of terms, an attempt is made here to establish consistent meanings and clarify the concepts. The term "valuation group" is only
used with a qualifier of either positive or negative; both these valuation groups, however, are subsumed under the term "comparison group" which is therefore broader in meaning and implies no direction.

While both types of reference groups, identification and comparison, are explicitly recognized by Kelley and Turner, other writers have restricted the use of the concept to one or other of these functions. Sherif (1953) for example, characterises reference groups as "those groups to which the individual relates himself psychologically." The problems identified by Sherif involve conformity to conflicting demands, rather than processes of comparison and evaluation. Shibutani (1955) goes even further than Sherif, urging restriction of reference group theory to processes that do not involve comparison at all. He proposes limiting the concept to "that group whose perspective constitutes the frame of reference of the actor", which is akin to Kelley's normative group.

The variety of reference groups which might be adopted by individuals in varying combinations results in a complex classification. The concept of ethnic identity is therefore formulated with reference to this classification and the significance of the distinction between different reference groups should become more meaningful.

2.2.2 Definitions of ethnic identity

The literature contains a confusing assortment of terms which refer to the individual's beliefs and feelings about himself: self-concept, self-image, ethnic identity, self-identity. While these differences in terminology reflect differences in theory and measurement, the differences are not always clearly apparent and the same term may have widely divergent meanings for different investigators. Most of the researchers concerned with the relationship between culture contact and identity have adopted the concept of reference groups as an explanatory construct. Others (Erikson, 1959; Sindell and Wintrob, 1968) are more clinically oriented, although there is an implicit usage of the reference group concept.

Chance (1965) has examined changes in ethnic identity within a
role theory framework which is closely related to the concept of reference groups. The individual adopts certain behaviour derived from another person "...because this behaviour is associated with a satisfying self-defining relationship to this person or group. To the extent that this relationship exists, the individual defines his role in terms of the role of the other. By saying what the other person says, doing what he does, believing what he believes, the individual maintains the relationship and the satisfying self-definition that it provides him." (p.376)

As a measure of the identification group adopted by the Eskimo, Chance uses indices of western identification which reflect a clear choice between traditional Eskimo and western activities, in relation to how leisure time is spent, preferences among foods, clothing, and hair style. He makes the important point that the mere adoption of western technology and social institutions does not necessarily imply an important shift in self-definition, since most Eskimos are pragmatic about the effectiveness of a given tool or idea and will accept it if they see its usefulness.

Hughes (1958), in a discussion of the St. Lawrence Eskimos, makes a similar point:

"It is one thing if a group of people are only using and assimilating as their own the manufactures and external paraphernalia of the outside group with whom they happen to be in contact. It is quite a different matter if they begin to feel that they no longer want to be thought of or to think of themselves as belonging to their original group, but rather conceive that they are part of the outside group. At such a point, a watershed has been crossed in the process of psychocultural change." (p.27)

1. Turner (1968) has undertaken a sociological analysis of roles and maintains the following elements appear in a role: it provides a comprehensive pattern for behaviour and attitudes; it constitutes a strategy for coping with a recurrent type of situation; it is socially identified, more or less clearly, as an entity; it is subject to being played recognizably by different individuals; and it supplies a major basis for identifying and placing persons in society. (p.552)

Reference group theory centres on those processes through which men relate themselves to others and refer their behaviour back to the values of these groups which suggests that a reference group can be defined in terms of roles which the individual plays. A person takes the role of the individual with whom he identifies and adopts his attitudes, norms, and values.
For Chance, ethnic identity is measured only in terms of the adoption of an identification reference group and he has neglected the comparison function of the reference group in using behavioural manifestations as his only criteria of ethnic identity. Hughes implies that both identification and comparison reference groups are necessary to determine the nature of ethnic identity, although he has not attempted to measure any aspect of identity.

Bianchi, Cawte and Kiloh (1970) devised a composite index of ethnic identity of Australian Aborigines, which comprises acquisition of western culture, emulation of western attributes and life-style, retention of traditional activities, and retention of traditional beliefs. This index reflects the lack of consensus as to the nature and meaning of ethnic identity; the variable, acquisition of western culture, is used by Bianchi et al as an index of identity, and corresponds to Chance's (1965) inter-cultural contact scale, which he used as an independent variable predicting mental health. While Bianchi et al have at least recognized the necessity of a composite index of ethnic identity, the evaluative aspect has been neglected and total emphasis is placed on change in identity through an identification reference group.

Parker (1964), in contrast, has adopted a rather narrow conception of ethnic identity with emphasis on its subjective, evaluative nature. He defines it as "...evaluation of one's membership identification with his own and other ethnic groups. It includes the degree of attraction or repulsion from these groups." (p.325) He is particularly concerned with the negative valuation reference group, and suggests a negative ethnic identity can be based on a number of criteria:

1. incorporation of negative evaluations in self-image
2. resentment of members of the dominant group (hostility)
3. devalued image of membership group
4. doubts about ability to compete with whites for desired jobs and status

Parker used modified TAT pictures to measure the ethnic identity of Eskimos on these criteria, and completely ignored the identification group which provides the normative function in prescribing certain behaviour patterns.

Other studies concerned specifically with the evaluative aspect of ethnic identity have focused on the processes involved in its early
development. (Clark and Clark, 1950; Goodman, 1952; Morland, 1962; Vaughan, 1963). In considering the question of racial awareness and racial preference and rejection, Kenneth Clark (1955) points out,

"The child...cannot learn what racial group he belongs to without being involved in a larger pattern of emotions, conflicts and desires which are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about his race." (p. 23)

Specific knowledge about development of ethnic identity and its manifestations in individuals in particular social groups is limited, and no studies have investigated this area among Aborigines. However, there is considerable evidence among other groups to support the assumption that there is a direct relationship between problems in the emergence of self and the extent to which the child's ethnic or racial membership is socially unacceptable and subject to conspicuous deprivation. This viewpoint is summarised eloquently by Frantz Fanon (1967):

"...I begin to suffer from not being a white man to the degree that the white man imposes discrimination on me, makes me a colonized native, robs me of all worth, individuality, tells me that I am a parasite on the world, that I must bring myself as quickly as possible into step with the white world..." (p. 98)

All the preceding formulations of ethnic identity have utilised only one function of reference groups. A limited number of studies, however, have shown that when interest lies in the psychocultural and behavioural changes occurring in a culture contact situation, a valid analysis of ethnic identity must take account of both the normative and the evaluative functions. Berreman (1964), in his study of the Aleut, verifies the existence of both types of reference groups. Wintrob and Sindell (1969) make use of both reference groups in their research on the impact of formal education on the personal identity of Cree Indian youth. While they place emphasis on the evaluative aspect and are mainly concerned with the self-image of ethnic identity and the role of other individuals in its formation, aspirations and values are included as fundamental aspects of personal identity and signify adoption of an identification group.

In the present research, consideration is given to both types of reference groups in the determination of ethnic identity: first, the
identification group which is the reference group in which the individual wishes to be accepted, and which is the source of his major perspectives and behaviour (attitudes, values, aspirations, and norms); second, the comparison group or groups used by the individual to evaluate his own behaviour, self, and membership group.

An Aborigine may be at one of several stages of change in ethnic identity. The most complete change could be said to have occurred when he uses whites (non-membership group) as both his identification and comparison groups. Retention of Aborigines (membership group) as both identification and comparison groups would imply that no change in ethnic identity had occurred at all. Intermediate stages would signify that synthesis of both whites and Aborigines as reference groups was occurring, that change was only half completed, or that the individual was characterised by confusion.

It is important to realise, however, that acculturation towards white norms does not necessarily imply that such norms replace those of the membership group. The individual may be able to combine elements of both cultures and the expression of a particular norm may be merely situationally determined. This point is made by McFee (1968) in his study of acculturation among members of the Blackfeet Indian Tribe. He refers to the 150% Man, suggesting that a high score on western acculturation does not prevent the white-oriented individual from being well versed in the traditions and language of his own culture. Williams (1971) provides further evidence for the situational determinants of behaviour, emphasising the point that adoption of a white norm in one context, such as the school, does not mean that this has replaced the Aboriginal norm, and the latter may emerge in the home situation.

2.2.3 Models of identity orientation

Using the framework of reference groups and the concept of ethnic identity outlined above, it is possible to distinguish three identity orientations which might be adopted by an Aborigine, and to specify the pattern of membership and non-membership groups adopted as identification and comparison groups for each orientation.

white orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>identification group</th>
<th>whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>positive valuation group</td>
<td>whites, but Aborigines may also function as a negative valuation group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the individual who adopts a white orientation, the dominant society (non-membership group) is the source of his major perspectives and resultant behaviour. He also adopts the dominant society as his positive valuation group and his own membership group may serve as a negative valuation group. Complete cultural replacement may occur; the individual adopts new norms which replace the old in all situations.

traditional orientation

identification group: Aborigines
positive valuation group: Aborigines, but whites may also function as a negative valuation group

For the Aborigine who adopts this identity orientation, the membership group is the major source of values, attitudes, and norms, particularly in those areas where a choice of western rather than traditional activities involves a change in self-definition. The positive valuation group is again the membership group, and thus a positive attitude towards the Aborigines and self should ensue. The dominant society may, however, be a negative valuation group if the membership groups so designate it and if peer group pressures encourage it.

synthesis of traditional and white models

identification group: both Aborigines and whites
positive valuation group: both Aborigines and whites, but whites and Aborigines may also be negative valuation groups in certain situations

The individual who synthesises both white and Aboriginal orientations adopts both groups as sources of his attitudes, values, and norms. Synthesis of traditional and white models covers a fairly wide range of the identity continuum. Those individuals who use Aborigines predominantly as the identification group are located towards the traditional pole, while others who adopt white models as the main source of attitudes, values, and norms are nearer the white pole. The norms of an individual in this category are most likely to be situationally determined, depending on the audience group with whom he is interacting. However, it is also likely that those attitudes and values which are most crucial to identity as Aboriginal will be retained. Further, as Berreman (1964) has indicated among the Aleut, individuals
synthesising both models are likely to affirm their identity as Aborigines by showing valuation group alienation, i.e., adopting whites as a negative valuation group in certain situations thereby reestablishing solidarity with their own kin.

2.2.4 Determinants of identity orientation

Although all Aboriginal adolescents in existing communities have both whites and Aborigines available to them as reference groups or models, individuals were expected to differ in the identity orientation adopted. It is therefore expedient to ask under what conditions the non-membership group (i.e. whites) might be adopted as an identification group.

Merton and Kitt (1950) have put forward a number of propositions which are useful in delineating patterns of culture change. One of these propositions holds that "...some similarity in status attributes between the individual and the reference group must be perceived or imagined, in order for comparison to occur at all" (p.61). This suggests that Aborigines must consider themselves to be like whites in certain respects in order to feel that they can accept its life modes as applicable to themselves. The means of establishing such similarities are manifold - Aborigines are now Australian citizens, subject to the majority of its laws; radio and other mass propaganda help maintain sentiments of Australian identity; the majority have been exposed to the white man's religious faith through the work of missionaries. A second of the reference group propositions is that "...it is the institutional definitions of the social structure which may focus the attention of members of a group or occupants of a social status upon certain common reference groups" (pp.64-65). Such a focus is found in the school where English is usually the only language used and where the orientation is towards preparation for life in a social system similar to that of the dominant society. A final proposition deals with preparation for these new roles, or "anticipatory socialisation": for the individual who adopts the value of a group to which he aspires but does not belong, this orientation may serve the twin functions of aiding his rise into that group and easing his adjustment after he has become part of it. (p.87). The experiences of many young Aborigines support this proposition. A number of the girls on pastoral properties have worked as domestics while others from missions and settlements have visited homes of white staff and have familiarized themselves with the white life-style which prepares them for living in a residential college
away from home communities. School itself enables students to learn many of the cues, norms, and practices of the dominant society.

These societal and psychological influences which predispose Aborigines to orient themselves towards the dominant society are not sufficient as explanations for individual differences in the identity orientation adopted since they equally affect all individuals in the same community. Wintrob and Sindell (1968) have attempted to identify variables associated with socialisation which might determine the choice of a particular identity orientation. They claim that students who have internalized feelings of rejection in their family relationships and have established emotionally supportive relationships with white surrogate parents are more likely to polarize towards a white identity model. Polarization towards a traditional model is likely to occur when the child has started school at a relatively advanced age, by which time acculturation along traditional lines is far advanced. In such cases, sex-appropriate traditional role behaviours have been reinforced and traditional modes of gratification have been internalised to a high degree. But in order for this process of acculturation to result in a firm emotional commitment to the traditional life, the child must be secure in his relationships to parents, close kin and other individuals who have played key roles in pre-school socialisation. Where these conditions are fulfilled, the traditional model retains its strength during subsequent years of formal education in a white urban milieu. Finally, Wintrob and Sindell suggest that synthesis of both white and traditional models will occur given the following conditions: 1) positive affective parent-child relationships during early schooling in the home community, and their reinforcement during vacations when the student is reunited with his family after attendance in the residential college; 2) some degree of encouragement of, or at least absence of strong parental opposition towards, the student's educational and occupational aspirations; 3) development of positive affective ties with a) those whites (teachers, counsellors, parent surrogates) and b) those Aborigines (adult kin, older siblings, and friends, whose white orientations have not been accompanied by rejection of Aboriginal values and personal ties) who serve as models for the building of the student's ego ideal and reinforce his aspirations; and 4) the elaboration of social, educational and occupational goals consistent with the student's potential for their achievement. Research on the impact of education in a residential college on the personal identity of Cree Indian students confirmed the pattern of variables above
as mediators of identity orientation. (Wintrob and Sindell, 1968, pp.30-35)

Wintrob's and Sindell's (1968; 1969) research indicates that changes in ethnic identity from traditional to either white or synthesis orientations require the establishment of meaningful, emotionally supportive relationships with white models. Mere exposure to the values, norms, and attitudes of the white society is not sufficient to bring about change.

The total concept of ethnic identity presented in the above sections is used as a framework to discuss and evaluate the aims of education for Aboriginal adolescents.

2.3 The aims of education for Aborigines in relation to changes in ethnic identity

One of the fundamental objectives of education for Aborigines is the attainment of modern occupational status. This is clearly stated by the Director for Aboriginal Education in the Northern Territory:

"Indeed, an underlying assumption of our philosophy of education is that a major task is to lead the Aboriginal people to an acceptance of the need for, and the deriving of satisfaction from, gainful occupation." (Gallacher, 1969, p.101)

In order to achieve this objective, however, Gallacher asserts that education must seek to change certain "cultural factors" or values which inhibit the academic achievement of Aboriginal students at this stage of their advancement in the dominant society. While there are many values that the education system seeks to inculcate, some of these are more basic than others to achievement in the western world and are consequently given higher priority in education.

A second fundamental objective of education is the retention of Aboriginal identity, and educational policy stresses that "the newer learnings (attitudes, values, skills) should be developed in ways that will enhance self-esteem, self-confidence, and pride in Aboriginal heritage." (Gallacher, 1969, p.102)

These two objectives - the attainment of modern occupational status, and the retention of Aboriginal identity - can be expressed in terms of changes in the normative and evaluative components of ethnic
identity. The first objective entails changes in values, attitudes, and aspirations, of which the identification group (normative function) is the source, while the second is to retain a pride in the membership group which is dependent on the comparison group adopted (evaluative function).

It is not certain, however, that these two goals can be attained simultaneously. The degree to which they are mutually compatible would depend on such variables as the saliency for Aboriginal identity of the values to be changed, the degree of prejudice and discrimination of the dominant society towards Aboriginals, and the availability and identity orientation of the models embodying the new values.

Before discussing the saliency for Aboriginal identity of the values and aspirations which education seeks to change, it is necessary to identify those values and aspirations which mediate achievement in western society and which determine modern occupational status.

2.3.1 Achievement values

A great deal of research has focused on the variables mediating achievement behaviour in western society. Rosen (1959) identifies three components of the achievement syndrome: need for achievement (n_ach.), achievement values, and educational and occupational aspirations. Achievement motivation has its origins in early socialisation practices and therefore its direct observation is beyond the scope of inquiry in the present research. However, if n_ach. is to be translated into successful action, it must be mediated by achievement values. These are defined by Rosen as "meaningful and affectively charged patterns of organizing behaviour - principles that guide conduct and shape behaviour." (Rosen, 1959, p.53)

The values identified by Rosen and other writers as mediators of achievement behaviour are a subset of the universal values which Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) have delineated. They maintain that there are a limited number of common human problems for which all people at all times must find solutions. These problems are stated in the form of questions and are followed by the values which they represent:

1) What is the character of innate human nature? (Human Nature)
2) What is the relation of man to nature (and super-nature)? (Man-Nature)
3) What is the temporal focus of human life? (Time)
4) What is the modality of human activity? (Activity)
5) What is the modality of man's relationship to other men? (Relational)

(Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, p.10)

While there is variability in solutions to all the problems, it is neither limitless nor random but is definitely variable within a range of possible solutions. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck specify three solutions or orientations for each of the values (problems) and assert that each society has a preferred profile of value orientations. The five universal values and the orientations on each are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Universal values and their orientations postulated by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Orientations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Nature</td>
<td>evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mixture of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>good and evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man-Nature</td>
<td>subjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to-nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>lineality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>collaterality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>being-in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>becoming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>doing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A considerable amount of research has been conducted on the value orientations of different ethnic groups and on the profile that characterises the achievement-oriented person in western societies. He is characterised by Kluckhohn (1950) as accenting the

"...individualistic relational orientation; the achieving orientation wherein judgement of a person's value is primarily on the basis of his accomplishment, his productivity; the man-against-nature, or rational mastery orientation; the future time orientation; and the definition of human nature as evil but perfectible." (pp.382-383)

Various other writers have also been concerned with the values related to achievement behaviour, and most have continued to work within
the framework of Kluckhohn and Strodtebeck. Rosen (1956), for example, devised a value orientation scale utilising three of Kluckhohn's values: passivistic - activistic, present - future, and collectivistic - individualistic. The relationship between these achievement related values and upward mobility was confirmed in six different ethnic groups in the United States, and in a male college population. Strodtebeck (1958) concludes from his research that the following three values are important for achievement in the United States: a belief that the world is orderly and amenable to rational mastery; a willingness to leave home to make one's way in life; and a preference for individual rather than collective credit for work done. Rehberg, Schafer and Sinclair (1970) rejected the various scales developed by Strodtebeck (1958), Rosen (1959), and Kahl (1965) and devised a new set of items which they labelled mobility attitudes. Of six dimensions obtained, four were found to be related to adolescent achievement: educational orientation, mastery orientation, time orientation, and fatalism.

Most of the research attempting to identify the values mediating achievement appears to imply that they represent a unidimensional variable. Both Kahl (1965) and Rehberg et al (1970), however, stress the multi-dimensionality of values, and retain the component parts as distinct elements in the value system:

"Achievement orientation on the level of values is not a single dimension. We must deal with its components and then tie them to the relevant psychological dimensions." (Kahl, 1965, p.679)

When consideration is given to all the research on patterns of values mediating achievement behaviour, consensus is reached on the importance of three values and their relevant orientations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>individualistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man-Nature</td>
<td>mastery-over-nature</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2.3.2 Aspirations**

The educational, occupational, and social aspirations adopted by the individual represent the third component of the achievement syndrome identified by Rosen (1959) and are important for modern
occupational status. Rosen comments on the relationship between the three components:

"Achievement motivation and values influence social mobility by affecting the individual's need to excel and his willingness to plan and work hard. But they do not determine the areas in which such excellence and effort take place. Unless the individual aims high for vocational goals and prepares himself appropriately, his achievement motivation and values will not pull him up the social ladder." (Rosen, 1959, p.57)

Research in this area suggests that ethnic groups and social classes differ in levels of aspiration and that it is necessary to make a distinction between aspirations and actual expectations. Veroff (1969) suggests that over-aspiring is characteristic of those children who are low in achievement-orientation, who lack the experience of meeting a sequence of partial goals leading to ultimate goals, and who therefore assume "the higher, the better", even when it is unrealistic. Durkheim (1951) maintains that individuals tend to develop unrealistically high aspirations under conditions of rapid social change and weakened social restraints. However, data from McQueen's (1968) study of African male primary and secondary school-leavers indicates that they perceived occupational and income structures realistically and geared their aspirations to shrewd evaluations of mobility chances. (p.183) Watts' (1970) research with Aboriginal adolescent girls reveals a tendency on the part of high-achievers to choose occupations of relatively, but not extremely, low status. Moreover, the adolescents in the study, both white and Aboriginal, believed they would in fact obtain the jobs to which they aspired. Even though it would be impossible or highly difficult for many of the Aboriginal girls to achieve their stated ambitions, they appeared unaffected by perceptions of restricted reality. (p.329)

While relationships between different components of the achievement syndrome have been demonstrated, there is a lack of consensus concerning the temporal sequence of these variables. Rehberg, Schafer, and Sinclair (1970), in addressing themselves to the problem of determining the temporal sequence of variables which determine adolescent achievement, surveyed existing research on four critical and interrelated variables: socio-economic status,
educational expectations, measured intelligence, and achievement values (which they term mobility attitudes). They report that Hyman (1953), Strodtbeck (1958), Sewell, Haller and Strauss (1957) and Rosen (1956) all viewed mobility attitudes and measured intelligence as variables simultaneously intervening between parental socio-economic status and adolescent expectations. A diagram showing the temporal ordering of these variables as implied by these researchers is presented in Figure 2.1.

**Figure 2.1** Diagram showing the temporal ordering of achievement variables implied by Hyman, Strodtbeck, Sewell and Rosen.

Turner (1964), however, suggested a reversal of the "traditional" causal ordering which was congruent with his theoretical perspective of "anticipatory socialisation". He maintained that "background affects ambition (educational expectations) and ambition affects both IQ and class values (mobility attitudes or achievement values); in addition there is a lesser influence directly from background to class values, directly from background to IQ, and directly between IQ and class values". (1964, p.107) This alternative model implied by Turner and reproduced from Rehberg et al (1970, p.35) is presented in Figure 2.2.

**Figure 2.2** Diagram showing the temporal ordering of achievement variables implied by Turner.
Rehberg et al (1970) used survey data to focus on each of these temporal models in an effort to ascertain which was more congruent with empirical data. They tested the models on 1455 adolescent males and the data generally supported Turner's model. They summarise the resulting relationships which emerged from their study:

"1. Educational expectations, or more generally ambition, does appear to be the crucial link between, on the one hand, mobility attitudes and intelligence, and on the other hand, family socio-economic status. Neither mobility attitudes nor intelligence appear to be related directly to status... Rather, the variables of mobility attitudes and intelligence are related to status only indirectly via expectations.

2. Both expectations and intelligence exert a direct influence on mobility attitudes. And, expectations, through intelligence, exert an indirect influence on mobility attitudes. Compared with its direct effect on mobility attitudes, however, the indirect effect of expectations on mobility attitudes is rather minimal." (p.43)

However, the results from which these conclusions are drawn should not be accepted without due caution. The contribution of measured intelligence is controversial (Jensen, 1968), and the temporal period involved is not taken into consideration. Furthermore, other research findings suggest that antecedent variables other than socio-economic status might play an important part in this temporal ordering. Several writers have recently noted the relationship between self-concept and occupational aspirations, yet this variable is neglected by both models showing the temporal ordering of achievement variables. Watts (1970) for example, states that "...the child's self-concept is one of his most significant personality traits. How he views himself and his role in his immediate social setting, and what characteristics compose his picture of his actual self and of his ideal self, will determine in large measure, his strivings and achievements." (p.143) Super (1963) has also attempted to view educational and occupational aspirations within the framework of self-concept theory. He maintains "that in expressing a vocational preference, a person puts into
occupational terminology his idea of the kind of person he is; that in entering an occupation, he seeks to implement a concept of himself; that in getting established in an occupation he achieves self-actualization. The occupation thus makes possible the playing of a role appropriate to the self-concept." (p.1)

2.3.3 Value orientation profile of the Aborigines

It is now possible to delineate the profile of value orientations which characterise Aboriginal society. Schneiderman (1964) has suggested that a minority group "...can be identified as a cultural entity to the extent that it has an internally consistent ordering of value orientation preferences held in common, and that distinguishes it in whole or in part from that of the dominant group." Observations by anthropologists and other social scientists of many different Aboriginal tribes attest to a pattern of value orientations among Aborigines that has developed in response to the ecological demands of the environment.

Elkin (1964) maintains that the concept of Time held by Aborigines is a reflection of their food-gathering life and it is the present which has relevance in the daily search for food. However, contrasted with this emphasis on the present in the fulfilment of daily needs is the importance of the past in the system of Aboriginal beliefs which govern the life of the individual. Stanner (1965) has observed that "any anthropologists who have worked with Aborigines commonly note that a supposed past = the whole doctrine of the Dream Time = is said to, and to all appearances does, weigh upon the present with overmastering authority." (p.216)

It would appear then, that emphasis in traditional Aboriginal culture is on the present and past, whereas the achievement-oriented individual in western society is characterised by future orientation.

The second value which highlights a basic difference between western and Aboriginal society is the Relational value. Among the Aborigines, emphasis is on a dominant collateral orientation which calls for the primacy of the goals and welfare of the laterally extended group. The precarious balance between the ecological environment and survival necessitated an elaborate social organization whereby the needs of one individual or group could be satisfied by another group or individual. The whole kinship system which permeates all aspects of Aboriginal behaviour and philosophy emphasises the group.
Berndt (1968) maintains that this aspect of social relations is of extreme significance in understanding Aboriginal life:

"Aboriginal societies usually are, or have been, fairly small scale; and traditionally their members are dependent on one another in both economic and ritual pursuits. In such circumstances, the kinship system, with its associated behavioural patterns, constitutes a more or less effective blue print. In social living, it is always useful to know what to expect from others, and what they in turn can expect - kinship provides such a guide. In all aspects of life, it is the major articulating force, a basis for social interaction." (p.6)

Such a kinship system mitigates against competitive behaviour, and cooperation among individuals dominates patterns of interaction. The individual must subordinate his personal requirements to the common good of the group. While it is not axiomatic that kinship systems lead to cooperative behaviour, observations by educationists (Gallacher, 1969; Duncan, 1969) and anthropologists (Berndt, 1968; Elkin, 1964) suggest that among the Australian Aborigines cooperation between members is a fundamental aspect of social organization. A recent empirical study by Sommerlad and Bellingham (1972) confirms that Aboriginal school students show more cooperative behaviour than white students of a similar age and socio-economic status.

Emphasis in Aboriginal society therefore appears to be on the cooperative, collateral orientation, while the achievement oriented individual in western society stresses individualism and competitive striving.

The third value to be considered is the Man-Nature value. A discussion of Aboriginal belief systems and values reveals that the Aboriginal philosophy is "one which regards man and nature as one corporate whole for social, ceremonial, and religious purposes." (Elkin, 1957) The life of the Aborigine is concerned with maintaining harmony-with-nature, rather than in the exercise of authority or power over it. Elkin (1938) writes about this incorporation of nature into the social system:

"...The life of the food-gathering Aborigines, is, as we have noticed, a matter of adjustment to and utter dependence on nature, its species, objects and
phenomena. They cannot adjust themselves to these nor control them by applied science, for they know but little of the laws of nature. Moreover, they recognise that they cannot control the contingencies of life nor maintain the regular and normal order of man's seasons and products by material arts and crafts. They have, however, an alternative which prevents them from being helpless and listless, namely, to regard nature as a system of personal powers or beings who can be brought into their own moral and social order, an order of which they, as members of society, have intimate knowledge. They do this in mythology by the process of "personalising" and then, just as they take definite attitudes towards one another, so do they act towards these personalised objects and species; they regard them with respect and adopt various ritual attitudes towards them." (p.211)

This belief system which stresses the feeling among Aborigines of a "oneness with nature" nevertheless gave them a sense of power over their environment. The people never subscribed to the value orientation which stresses the complete subjugation of the individual to the forces of nature, but rather they shared in and continued the creative work of their ancestors. The Berndts (1968) also mention this:

"The here-and-now aspects of getting food, having water to drink, surviving the hazards of one kind and another, are set in wider perspective. There is reassurance from the past, and hope for the future, an affirmation that man is not entirely helpless, whatever handicaps he might suffer at times. There is the conviction that he can intervene to some degree, do something to influence forces which impinge on him...In other words, people are not entirely at the mercy of events; they are less vulnerable than they seem." (p.8)

This preference of Aborigines for the value orientation emphasising harmony-with-nature contrasts with the belief in the ability of man to master the environment which mediates educational achievement in the dominant society.

To summarize: the discussion of Time, Relational, and Man-Nature
values indicates that the orientations adopted by Aborigines differ from the achievement orientations characterising western society. The contrast in profiles is presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Aboriginal and western achievement value orientation profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Western orientation</th>
<th>Aboriginal orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>present/past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>individualistic</td>
<td>collaterality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man-Nature</td>
<td>mastery-over-nature</td>
<td>harmony-with-nature</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the findings from recent empirical studies of part-Aborigines in contemporary society are contrary to anthropological descriptions of Aboriginal value orientations. Peak (1966), Watts (1970), and Eckerman (1971) have all undertaken research on the achievement behaviour of part-Aborigines living in urban areas. Watts (1970) studied the achievement values among two groups of part-Aborigines differing in degree of contact with the dominant society and two groups of whites selected for comparison. No differences between groups on preference for individuality or dominance-over-nature were found. There were significant differences on the other two values: the group of Aboriginal girls with a greater degree of contact were less future-oriented than both groups of white girls, and the two Aboriginal groups were more doing-oriented (activity value) than the white groups. Eckerman (1971) also looked at achievement values among part-Aborigines living in a settlement in Queensland which had a history of eighty years contact with Europeans. Contrary to anthropological descriptions of the value orientations of Aborigines, she found that these Aborigines chose the future time orientation and the individuality orientation, and had no marked preference for any orientation on the Man-Nature value. Peak's (1966) study of achievement motivation among part-Aborigines in New South Wales showed that achievement motivation, achievement values, and educational and vocational aspirations were all a function of social class rather than of ethnic group membership. However, these three studies were all concerned with part-Aborigines who no longer led a semi-traditional life, and who may therefore have held values different from those of the Aborigines in the present study.

2.3.4 Educational aims and changes in achievement values

The preceding section sought to identify the value orientations
mediating achievement behaviour in western society and to compare them with the value orientations characterising Aboriginal society. The different value orientation profiles adopted by the two societies are explicitly recognized by Gallacher, the Director of Aboriginal Education in the Northern Territory. He sees the present profile held by Aborigines as inhibiting their achievement and maintains that education must seek to induce changes in value orientations if modern occupational status is to be attained. In two papers on the "cultural factors inhibiting education" (1968, 1969), he specifies the tasks of education:

First, in relation to **Time**, he asserts that the emphasis must be placed on future orientation:

"...to introduce them to our time values poses a problem of considerable magnitude, and regrettable though it may be, ...this is one of the tasks with which education must sympathetically concern itself." (p.100)

Associated with this future time value is that of **saving**. Gallacher maintains that an integral aspect of the western way of life is to forego immediate pleasure and to think ahead so that the future might be more secure. In relation to the Aborigines, therefore,

"Our education programme must bring to the Aborigine a realisation that his current way of life necessitates a concern for the future and, in particular, a saving for that future." (Gallacher, 1969, p.100)

A second value with which education must concern itself is the **Relational** value. Gallacher (1969) asserts that stress on the individual is one of the dominant hallmarks of western culture and a spirit of competitiveness must be imbued in the Aborigine:

"Again regrettably, but realistically, we must, as educators, find methods by which we may sow the seeds of competitiveness - to a degree at least - if the Aboriginal child is to win for himself recognition in our highly competitive society." (p.101)

A third major cultural value which faces educators in their programme of change concerns the **Man-Nature** value. Gallacher (1969) refers to this value as a "method of learning" and notes the norm in
western society of taking advantage of the natural curiosity of children. Intervention is required, and

"methods used by teachers, therefore, must attempt to arouse in the children the desire to know "how" and "why", must familiarise them with the scientific concept of causation and must make them active and eager in the pursuit of understanding the wider world which they must be equipped to enter."

(Gallacher, 1969, p.102)

Changes in these value orientations, then, are explicitly stated to be goals of Aboriginal education and programmes for bringing them about must therefore be incorporated into the curriculum and methods of teaching.

It is now possible to return to a discussion of the importance for Aboriginal identity of orientations on achievement values, the degree of prejudice and discrimination of the dominant society towards Aborigines, and the availability and identity orientation of the models embodying the new values. It was suggested earlier that these three variables affect the likelihood of simultaneous attainment of the two basic aims in Aboriginal education: namely, to bring about changes in value orientations, and to retain Aboriginal identity.

2.3.5 Importance for Aboriginal identity of orientations on achievement values

The earlier discussion of variables influencing the attainment of educational objectives included the importance for Aboriginal identity of the value orientations to be changed in order to achieve modern occupational status. Having identified the Aboriginal value orientation profile, it is now possible to assess its importance for Aboriginal identity in relation to the achievement orientation profile which formal education seeks to substitute for it.

It would seem that certain value orientations of Aboriginal culture are not merely diametrically opposed to those of the achievement oriented individual but also form the very core of Aboriginal identity. Successful attempts to change such orientations are therefore likely to deprive the individual of the integrating basis of his identity and personal existence. It would seem that kinship, or the collateral orientation on the Relational value is one such value that lies at the core of Aboriginal identity and "in all aspects of life, is the major
articulating force, a basis for social interaction." (Berndt, 1968, p.6) Calley (1968) comments on the clash between western and Aboriginal orientations on the Relational value:

"It seems likely that direct attacks on Aboriginal family structure by European interests seeking to turn Aborigines into dark-skinned replicas of middle class Europeans will be even less successful than they have been in the past. Most Aborigines I know want to preserve their Aboriginal identity and to a large extent, they see this in terms of a way of organizing interpersonal relations that differ from the European way.

.....To him, (the Aborigine), what marks being an Aborigine is a willingness to help kin and be helped by them, to live in close day to day contact with them, to emphasise interpersonal relations." (p.18)

The Time value is probably not as important as the Relational value for Aboriginal identity today. The Aborigines no longer maintain a total dependence on the ecological environment and thus a preoccupation with the present is unnecessary. While a present orientation may continue to be functional for the community life experiences of Aborigines, it is unlikely that any change to a future orientation would strike at the core of Aboriginal identity.

The traditional belief system of Aborigines continues to influence behaviour today and even the younger generation at school believes in the powers of sorcery and witchcraft. (Cawte, 1968; Dawson, 1969) However, it would seem that it is possible to adopt an orientation of mastery-over-the environment and exhibit achievement behaviour while at the same time retaining traditional beliefs. Jahoda (1968) claims that "contrary to a commonly held notion, there is no logical contradiction between scientific knowledge and many forms of superstitious belief" (p.170), and that there is ample evidence to show that among Africans such beliefs survive education up to and including the university level.

This analysis of the importance for Aboriginal identity of the value orientations mitigating against achievement suggests that any attempt to change the collateral orientation to an individualistic,
competitive orientation is likely to have a deleterious effect on Aboriginal identity. The Time and Man-Nature values no longer seem to be so central to Aboriginal identity however, and changes in orientations would be expected to have a lesser impact.

2.3.6 The degree of prejudice and discrimination of the dominant society towards Aborigines

The second variable influencing the simultaneous attainment of educational goals concerns the degree of prejudice and discrimination experienced by Aborigines.

The identification group adopted by an individual designates the comparison groups which he uses to evaluate himself and others in his membership group. Thus, for the Aborigine who is white-oriented or who synthesises traditional and white models, his attitudes towards himself and other Aborigines are dependent on the attitudes of whites towards his membership group. This point was made earlier in the discussion of the evaluative function of reference groups and of the development of ethnic identity. Research suggests that there is a direct relationship between problems in the emergence of self and the extent to which the child's ethnic or racial membership is socially unacceptable and subject to conspicuous deprivation.

Two studies have recently been published on the attitudes of whites towards Aborigines. Taft (1970) studied attitudes of West Australian whites to Aborigines in country and metropolitan areas. First, findings concerning beliefs about Aborigines show that the image tended to be unfavourable and qualities attributed to them included: wasteful with money, unambitious, lazy, dirty, slovenly, drunken, unreliable, superstitious, generous, and respectful. Second, although there was no official segregation in any of the communities studied, more than half the respondents supported segregation in at least one behavioural setting. The third finding relating to the attitudinal aspect concerned feelings for and against Aborigines: between two-thirds and three-quarters of the respondents were found to be prepared to accept part-Aborigines as friends, and nearly two-thirds said that they were prepared to accept full-bloods. Western (1969) also looked at attitudes towards Aborigines in country towns in New South Wales. Analysis of the results indicates the importance of two factors. The first was identified as an Aboriginal image factor, and the following unfavourable attitudes and beliefs were associated with it:
"At one extreme of this dimension are those who hold to the view that Aboriginal culture is inferior to that of whites, that the Aboriginal must be protected because of his own lack of responsibility, that attempts to introduce Aborigines into white communities will result in a lowering of the living standards of those communities and that it is in the interest of all for the races to be kept apart." (Western, 1969, p.422)

The second factor was identified as the Aboriginal rights factor. The data showed that the whites in rural and urban areas were substantially in favour of Aboriginal rights, but that particularly in the two country areas, negative stereotypes of the Aborigines were still held by a significant proportion of the sample.

Both Western and Taft were interested in the effect of contact on attitudes towards Aborigines. The results from Western's study indicated that those who had the greatest contact with, and knowledge of, Aborigines were also likely to have the more favourable image of them. However, knowledge and contact did not seem to affect the rights measure in any systematic way. Taft's results, on the other hand, indicated that although increased contact again tended to be associated with favourable attitudes, a complex interplay of variables was involved. The outstanding determinant of an individual's attitude towards Aborigines appeared to be the influence of communal experiences, rather than the social roles or personality dynamics of the individual. These experiences consisted either of actual exposure to certain personal observations of the behaviour of Aborigines or exposure to the pressure of community norms. A study by Philp (1958) also has relevance here. He found that the more equal status contact that a white person had with Aborigines, the more favourable his attitudes towards them; but where the contact was that of employer-employee, the opinions were likely to be unfavourable.

Amir (1969) has reviewed the literature relating to the contact hypothesis in ethnic relations and concludes that while changes in ethnic relations do occur following intergroup contact, the nature of the change is not necessarily in the anticipated direction - a complex interaction of factors such as opportunities for contact, status of groups involved, co-operation and competition factors, institutional
support, and personality, all determine the final outcome. Although "favourable" conditions do tend to reduce prejudice, "unfavourable" conditions may increase intergroup tension and prejudice. (p.319)

While the studies of Western and Taft clearly indicate that members of the dominant society were prejudiced towards Aborigines, no research has been conducted in the Northern Territory. Darwin, in particular, has a very cosmopolitan population with a considerable proportion of part-coloured persons and the overt discrimination and prejudice which characterise some Australian rural areas appears to be absent. The urban drift of Aborigines would seem to be an inevitable process and therefore contact between Aborigines and the dominant society will increase. In the light of the previous findings, it would seem that such contact is likely to result in more favourable attitudes towards Aborigines by whites, particularly since there appeared to be favourable community feeling when the present study was undertaken. However, if variables such as relative statuses of whites and Aborigines do exert an important influence, then it would seem that the level of employment of Aborigines will in part determine the attitudes held.

At the time when the present study was carried out, there were two factors operating in the social climate of full-blood Aborigines in the Northern Territory which might have inhibited the incorporation of negative concepts into the self-image. First, the majority of Aborigines lived in isolated areas with limited and atypical contact with the dominant society. Aborigines on missions, in particular, communicated almost solely with people whose avowed aim was to assist them, and therefore hostile discrimination was probably very rare. Second, the tribal ethnocentrism among full-bloods was likely to mitigate against a more generalized self-concept as "Aborigine". Differences between tribes in languages, customs, and ceremonies reinforced identity within the tribe along dimensions other than colour. Increasing contact with whites was undoubtedly breaking down the tribal barriers, and a new identity as "Aborigine" appeared to be emerging. (Berndt, 1970) A similar process has been observed among the American Indians: Thomas (1965) reports that a developing commonality among the Amerindians was brought to a head by the reservation system, by the way whites related to different tribes as "Indians", and by the pressure for assimilation which pushed Indians closer together. (p.132)

In general, then, research findings and observations suggest that for Aborigines in the Northern Territory identification with white society
need not necessarily lead to incorporation of negative images into the self-concept. However, it is still possible that individual Aborigines who are white-oriented may regard their membership group as a negative valuation group and thus hold unfavourable attitudes towards it.

2.3.7 The availability and identity orientation of the models embodying achievement value orientations

The third variable influencing the attainment of educational goals concerns the reference models available to the individual. Change in achievement value orientations and aspirations occurs when the individual identifies with a reference group or model embodying a new pattern of achievement variables. If Aboriginal models are available to fulfil this function, it is possible for such change to occur without necessitating a new identity orientation. It was suggested earlier, however, that some achievement value orientations are more basic to Aboriginal identity than others, and it is likely that adoption of a different orientation would be accompanied by rejection of the membership group.

In 1970 there did not appear to be many Aborigines who had internalised achievement value orientations and who were readily available as reference models. Until the establishment of a residential college for Aborigines in Darwin in 1967, no full-blood Aborigine in the Northern Territory had attended High School beyond 2nd year. The distribution of Aborigines in the economic structure of the community was therefore severely restricted and those Aborigines who had moved into towns to obtain employment were concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. Preliminary observations suggested moreover that part-Aborigines who were integrated into the dominant society were not considered by Aborigines as belonging to the Aboriginal membership group and so did not represent potential reference models. Several researchers (Nurcombe, 1970; Gibb, 1971) have also observed that Aboriginal girls who orient themselves towards white norms (particularly in appearance) are badly treated in the Aboriginal community. These girls are likely to regard other Aborigines as a negative valuation group.

Wintrob's and Sindell's (1968) research among adolescents of a minority ethnic group indicates that meaningful, personal, and emotionally supportive relationships must be established with white reference models before any value change can occur. The residential college facilitates
such interaction with whites since students lack the support of kin in the home environment and seek security from other adults in their immediate environment. In order to determine the extent to which education in the context of a residential college is likely to bring about changes in ethnic identity, it is necessary to undertake an analysis of the social system in the college in terms of models available to the students, and their relationships of students with these models. Knowledge of personnel in the school who might provide reference models (both Aborigines and whites), of the principal behaviour settings, and of the amount and type of interaction with whites (staff, other adults, and peers) enable predictions to be made concerning the likelihood of any change in ethnic identity. Such an analysis also provides a basis for predicting the likelihood of the simultaneous achievement of the basic aims of education which, as stated earlier, are to help Aborigines to attain modern occupational status through raising their aspirations and substituting an achievement value orientation profile for the traditional one, and to retain Aboriginal identity. Such an analysis is attempted below.

2.4 Description of Kormilda College

The education system for Aboriginal children in the Northern Territory was discussed in Chapter One, and reasons given for the establishment of a residential college. Kormilda was the first such College for Aborigines and the foundation students were accepted in third term of 1967. An analysis of the organization of Kormilda College is presented in this section and the principal aspects to be discussed include:

1) personnel of the College: students and staff
2) social organization
3) physical setting
4) time structure; sequence and nature of activities
5) principal behaviour settings

This analysis is based on observations made during eleven months' residence at Kormilda College in 1970. The material presented is therefore valid for that year only, and no attempt is made to indicate subsequent changes which have occurred in the social system since they have no bearing on the data on personal identity and adjustment of students which were obtained in this period and which are considered to
be a function of the social system then operating in the College.

The role of the researcher during this period was that of a participant observer. In certain situations she was considered by students to be a member of staff, by virtue of being white and of having staff accommodation in the College grounds. However, care was taken by the researcher to disassociate herself from the staff hierarchy and to refrain from any form of censure or discipline. Students were encouraged to think of her as a counsellor. While this role created some dissatisfaction among a few staff members, it enabled a personal supportive relationship to be established with students.

2.4.1 Personnel of the College

Students

Korrnilda College was established as a residential college for students in the academic stream continuing their education at high school. The students in this category fell into two groups: 1) those attending Korrnilda for the first time and who entered Transitional Grade 7 Primary, which is the last year of primary school; 2) students who had already completed Transitional Grade 7 and who were currently attending the community High School while continuing to reside at Korrnilda College.

Although all students in the upper stream (academic group) of primary school in Aboriginal communities were theoretically eligible to attend Korrnilda, an attempt at selection was made. Head Teachers in all Welfare Special Schools throughout the Northern Territory were invited to nominate individual students whom they considered both academically capable of pursuing secondary education and able to adjust socially and emotionally to a different life-style. Limited guidelines were given by the College concerning the academic standards that students should have attained if they were to be considered for selection. An attempt was made to obtain a relatively homogeneous group in the Transitional Grade, with respect to range of abilities, age, and social maturity. An analysis of these criteria among students in Grade 7 in 1970 indicates that the selection procedures were inadequate: the academic ability of students varied greatly and the performance of many individuals was below that of students in Post-Primary classes (results from an intelligence test administered to all students are discussed later in this section); the ages ranged from 12-15; the social adjustment
of students revealed wide variation, and a few individuals were very withdrawn and suffered from severe homesickness. There are several factors which perhaps might have contributed to the inadequate selection of students: first, academic standards differed greatly among schools, and Head Teachers probably had different conceptions as to the minimum levels students should have reached to fulfil the academic requirements of the College; second, there appeared to be a degree of prestige among Head Teachers, derived from the number of students selected for Kormilda, which may have led to the nomination of some students who were not capable of the work; third, education authorities might have selected some students who did not have the required academic qualifications in order to fulfil projected enrolment figures; fourth, there appears to have been some idea that students who were more western-oriented than their peers should be rewarded by being given a chance at Kormilda, irrespective of academic ability.

Research is currently being undertaken by the Welfare Branch Research Section to determine academic ability and subsequent performance of each year's intake, and results from this project should enable a more rigorous academic selection procedure to be adopted.

The original plan for residential colleges envisaged that students would spend two years at Kormilda and then transfer to hostel accommodation or foster families in the general community, while continuing to attend high school. However, only two individuals had left Kormilda to live with a teacher and the remaining senior students continued to reside there. The failure to attain this objective arose from difficulties experienced by the Welfare Branch in locating suitable families, and the absence of adequate hostel accommodation in Darwin.

Although the concept of a residential college applied only to students in the upper stream proceeding to high school, Kormilda College also became a regional centre for Post-Primary students. The students in this group had followed courses in the general stream in home communities, but the lack of facilities there for Post-Primary education necessitated their provision in a regional centre. Students in Post-Primary came from pastoral properties, missions, and small settlements which differed considerably in the educational facilities provided for primary education, and thus academic ability, age, and social adjustment of students varied greatly. Some students were unable to read or write, while others had attained an academic standard superior to that of a few
individuals in the Grade 7 and High School group. The Post-Primary course was three years and all classes were held at the College. While the majority of students entered 1st year, some began in 2nd or 3rd years because of their advanced age, and others were transferred across grades when numbers in particular classes became depleted as a result of drop-outs.

The range of academic ability of students at Kormilda was very wide. A battery of tests assembled by the Australian Council of Education Research for use with English-speaking white children in schools throughout the Commonwealth was administered by the Welfare Branch Research Section to all students at the beginning of the year; it included tests for English comprehension, reasoning, mathematics, and the Junior A Intelligence Test. The latter is a verbal test and highly culturally-loaded. While it does not purport to measure innate ability, it provides some indication of the ability and readiness of students to follow the curriculum developed for the community primary schools. No norms for Aboriginal students in the Northern Territory are available at the present time and the IQ results for students at Kormilda, whose ages ranged from 13-19, were based on white norms for age 12. The mean I.Q. on this test for students in Transitional Grade 7 was 81, with a range from 66 to 91. This result suggests that the majority of students were academically unprepared to cope with the formal subjects in the final years of primary and at High School. The mean I.Q. for Post-Primary students at Kormilda was 72, ranging from 65-to 108. Eleven students had a score of 65- which is the lowest score possible.

Although students were selected by white staff to attend Kormilda, parents were required to authorise their children's attendance. It was not always certain that parents realised that they had a choice in the matter, particularly if pressure was applied by white teaching staff. A social worker in Alice Springs substantiated this assertion in evidence he gave before a Parliamentary Committee investigating the establishment of a second residential college: "...Even with the process of asking parents to send their children to college tremendous pressures can be brought to bear upon them by authority figures, such as teachers, welfare and mission staff, and I have seen this done with the best intentions." (Downing, 1971, p.33) Accusations have been levelled at the Superintendent of one particular mission that he forced students to return to Kormilda after the holidays, against the wishes of both parents.
and students. In other situations, however, the Head Teachers have been criticised for failing to encourage students to return to the College. Parents were asked to contribute $15 each term towards pocket money, but they were otherwise uninvolved in any aspect of the school organization.

The first group of students was in residence in Kormilda College in September 1967, but 1968 was the first full year of operation. Table 2.3 shows the number of students in each intake for the three years of operation to December 1970. Since the population of students attending Kormilda during 1970 was the focus of the present study, the distribution of students across grades for that year is shown in Table 2.4, and a further breakdown of students as to home community and category (mission, settlement, or pastoral property) is given in Table 2.5.

In addition to Post-Primary, Transitional Grade 7 and High School students, young Aboriginal men and women following trainee Teaching Assistant and Office Worker courses also resided at the College. The teaching assistants both lived and received instruction at Kormilda, while the office workers attended classes at the Adult Education Centre in Darwin.

Table 2.3 Number of students in intake years for Transitional/High School and Post-Primary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intake Year</th>
<th>Trans/HS</th>
<th>P-P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4 Distribution of 1970 student population x grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trans.</th>
<th>HS.1</th>
<th>HS.2</th>
<th>P-P.1</th>
<th>P-P.2</th>
<th>P-P.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures for each grade include students repeating that grade.
Table 2.5 Home communities of 1970 population of students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlements</th>
<th>No. of students</th>
<th>P-P</th>
<th>Trans/HS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amoonguna*</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areyonga</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagot+</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamyili</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borroloola</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delissaville</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooker Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maningrida</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roper River</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake Bay</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrabri</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuendumu</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Settlement on the outskirts of Alice Springs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Settlement in Darwin</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Missions</th>
<th>No. of students</th>
<th>P-P</th>
<th>Trans/HS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angurugu</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathurst Island</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croker Island</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daly River</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elcho Island</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulburn Island</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermannsburg</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Keats</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oenpelli</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Teresa</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yirrkala</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pastoral Properties</th>
<th>No. of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P-P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleron</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banka Banka</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humpty Doo</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainoru</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryvale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monteginnie</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Doreen</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudginberri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle Waters</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosslyn Plains</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sterling</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town Environs*</th>
<th>No. of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P-P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darwin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Students from reserves in Darwin and Alice Springs are included under Settlements

Staff

The staff at Kormilda College totalled 34, and included professional, administrative, and industrial personnel. Only one staff member, a trainee recreation officer, was an Aborigine, although some of the domestic staff were part-coloured. Half of the staff members lived in the College grounds, some with families, and the remainder worked there during school hours but lived in the general Darwin community.

The professional teaching staff at Kormilda included the Head Teacher, three teachers for Post-Primary, four manual training instructors, and one domestic science teacher. Special teachers took classes for speech and music on a part-time basis. Supplementary professional staff included the Principal, two recreation officers (male and female), a trainee Aboriginal recreation officer, a nursing sister, and two house parents (male and female).
The qualifications of professional staff varied considerably. Five members of the teaching staff were trained at the Australian School of Pacific Administration which conducted a two-year teacher training course for individuals who intended to work in Welfare Branch Special Schools. Other teachers received their qualifications in State Teacher Training Colleges and either transferred to the Welfare Branch or were on secondment for a limited period. All teachers appointed to Special Schools attended an intensive In-Service course for a week before taking up their appointments, and this included courses on Aboriginal culture and the aims of education for Aborigines in the Northern Territory.

Appointment to the position of Principal was on the basis of teaching rather than administrative qualifications and carried a ranking senior to that of Head Teacher. The man who held this position in 1970 had completed a two-year teacher training course in Queensland, and had spent a number of years in Welfare Branch schools throughout the Northern Territory.

The qualifications of recreation officers were not specified since a variety of training experiences were deemed suitable for this job. Their main task was to organize activities for students in out-of-school hours, but counselling was also one of their functions, and they were expected to refrain from disciplining students in order to develop a less authoritarian and more personal relationship with them. The recreation officers appointed during 1970 both had teaching experience and physical education qualifications.

The positions of house father and mother similarly did not require specific qualifications, and were filled by a white married couple at the time of the present research.

The industrial and administrative staff totalled 14, and included the Matron and a number of domestics who were part-coloured.

The 1970 staff:student ratio is not readily apparent from the figures. While there was a high ratio for formal education during school hours, this was not maintained during the period after school. There were only two house parents and two recreation officers who were officially on duty when school finished at three o’clock, and they were responsible for the entire school population of 168 students. This number was reduced to two staff members on two days of the week because all staff were entitled to two free days per week and the recreation
officers were not temporarily replaced by teaching staff, as were the house parents.

A few members of the staff residing at Korrnilda took an active part in the College activities after school and on weekends, and some of the teachers were involved in the coaching of sports teams. This was all done on a voluntary basis. However, staff members were paid for the organization of night classes on weeknights, and these covered a wide range of activities and included homework for the academic classes.

There was a rapid turnover of staff at Korrnilda College, and of the entire professional staff in 1970 only the Principal and three technical instructors had been at the College the previous year. The pattern of staff turnover probably reflected a similar situation among other Welfare-staffed schools, although it had greater significance at Korrnilda where there were no families or adult kin to provide emotional support and security. Various reasons were given to account for the high turnover of staff - some members resigned to return to other States when their period of secondment expired; others transferred to Welfare Branch schools in other communities. It is possible that dissatisfaction with the school system was the major single cause, but further research is required in this area. Discussion with teachers at Korrnilda during 1970 indicated that those on secondment or who had previously taught in schools in the general community were the most dissatisfied with the school organization.

2.4.2 Social organization of the school including the patterning of interpersonal relationships and the complexity of the organizational hierarchy

The social organization at Korrnilda was a hierarchical one, with the Principal at the apex. However, a higher echelon of officials (Welfare Branch) had ultimate authority and could dictate procedures to be followed which were contrary to the recommendations of the Principal and staff who were in daily contact with the students. Two committees were associated with the College: the Korrnilda College Committee, consisting of representatives of three different sections of the Welfare Branch and the Principal, the major concern of which was with the general functioning of the College; and the Friends of Korrnilda Association, composed of Rotarians who attempted to involve the community in the College. No Aborigine was associated with any aspect of the school organization, whether in a consultative or decision-making capacity.
Disregarding the body of administrative officials outside the school, the Principal had ultimate authority over internal matters regarding the College. The Head Teacher was responsible for the school organization, including curricula, teaching methods, and discipline, but his authority did not extend outside school hours. The teaching staff was professionally responsible to the Head Teacher, and all remaining staff (administrative, professional, and industrial) to the Principal. However, a few of the teaching staff who lived at the College also performed a supervisory function and they were responsible to the Principal when acting in this capacity.

The multiplicity of roles played by several members of the staff was a predominant characteristic of the College organization. For example, in 1970 house parents had not been appointed when first term commenced and resident staff fulfilled this role for two months at the beginning of the school year, and they continued to relieve house parents for two days each week. The role of house parent required constant disciplining of students and left little time to provide positive reinforcement for good behaviour. Teachers who took this role as infrequently as one day per week attracted the hostility which was normally directed towards the occupant of this unpopular position, and when such attitudes became personalized, they were directed towards the individual in other role positions. Other roles taken by staff members involved conflicting attitudes towards the behaviour of students; a teacher who disciplined students in the classroom and reinforced certain patterns of behaviour, might change roles and become a friend out of school, sanctioning behaviour that was unacceptable in another setting. Consensus on norms was lacking among staff on many issues, and behaviour that was condoned by one individual was punished by another. Williams (1971) found that Aboriginal children were able to minimise role conflict through observing different norms in three different behaviour settings: home, school, and play. It was sometimes difficult for students at Kormilda to resolve role conflict in this manner, however, since the behaviour settings were not always clearly demarcated, the normative behaviour required was often not known by students, and staff members differed in the behaviours which they sanctioned. Moreover, the authority of staff was not only exercised when they were playing a specific role, but extended to all roles involving interaction with students; any staff member could discipline a student at any time for any behaviour, thereby greatly increasing the
likelihood that the misdeeds of the student would be punished.

The complexity and interchange of roles taken by individual staff members should in theory have increased the flow of communication in the school organization. (Likert, 1961) Kormilda College, however, was characterised by communication blockages. Decisions made by individual members of staff were frequently not communicated to other members. For example, students who were refused permission by the Principal to leave the College as a punishment, might be permitted to do so by the house parents who were uninformed of the Principal's decision. Relieving house parents were similarly unaware of rules and regulations imposed by the permanent house parents since no formal statement of rules existed. A Day-Book was instituted mid-year to help overcome this problem, and decisions made by staff concerning individual students were recorded for all staff to consult.

The school organization was also characterised by limited communication between staff members. Teachers directly concerned with particular programmes or classes were frequently not informed of meetings arranged to discuss issues relevant to them, nor of alterations in time-tables, changes in class enrolments, or extra-curricula activities planned. These problems were not inherent in the organization but appeared to reflect a lack of liaison between the individual responsible for decision-making and other staff members. Some friction resulted from differences between class teachers of academic subjects and those responsible for manual training over the relative importance of their particular spheres of education.

The lack of communication in the entire social organization of the College reflected the poor inter-personal relations that existed between staff members. Disagreement occurred most frequently between the house parents and the Principal concerning such matters as the performance of their duties, spheres of responsibility, and degree of autonomy. The result was the reduction of inter-personal communication to written form, and a refusal by house parents to perform any duties other than those explicitly laid down in the terms of their engagement. One complaint by house parents was that disciplinary action taken against students was often revoked by the Principal for no apparent reason, and this served to undermine their authority.

Roles are filled by people who not only act in terms of expectations issuing from various audiences and in terms of commitments to organizational structures, but who also react. Such a reaction is a
product both of situational forces and of the unique personality of the person filling the role. The expectations connected to any role are responded to selectively—emphasised, distorted, or obfuscated—depending always to some degree on the particular idiosyncratic needs, perceptions, and skills of a single individual. It would appear that many of the difficulties characterising the social organization of Kormilda College were not merely a function of the position of Principal in the role structure, but also of the personality of the person who held that role. The role of Principal was essentially that of gate-keeper in the flow downwards of information from the administrative officials who governed policy and made the major decisions concerning the College and he was therefore in a position to keep staff informed. However, he appeared reluctant to do so at times and conveyed the impression that he believed that control over staff could only be maintained through selective release of information.

Only one attempt was made to discuss the aims of the College, and to analyse the existing social system so that reasons for the high drop-out rate might be uncovered. This meeting was called in September 1970 by the Director of Welfare in order to discuss the intense unrest and deviant behaviour among students in the College. It often appeared that there was no underlying philosophy guiding the administration of the College, and staff members differed radically in their conceptions of the educational goals at Kormilda. A direct question to the Principal concerning the original goals which guided the establishment of the College evoked the response: "We didn't have any goals; the College has just grown up topsy-turvy."

The Principal was clearly dedicated to the education of Aborigines and was tireless in the amount of time and effort which he expended towards this end. Since he was unmarried, one might infer that the students played an important role in his life, and they did appear to the researcher to do so. However, his intense interest and involvement with the students created certain problems for both students and staff. First, he was reluctant for other staff members or interested persons to relieve the dependency of students upon him. For example, High School teachers who took an interest in the Kormilda students were discouraged from coming to Kormilda or from arranging outings for the students on weekends, and other personal relationships between students and staff members were discouraged. Second, his greater interest in the activities of the girls than of the boys aroused much dissatisfaction
among the students, particularly the boys. Physical gestures of friendliness were misconstrued by them as sexual advances and wild rumours concerning the Principal abounded. A stereotype of the Principal emerged which was passed to succeeding generations of students and which served as a perceptual framework within which all his actions were interpreted.

The students were generally uninvolved in the College administration. They were often not informed of decisions affecting the College or their own personal lives. Rules, regulations, and desired behaviour patterns were not laid down, and since punishment was inconsistent, the whole milieu was characterised by uncertainty. School assemblies could provide an effective means of communication, but rarely was an address given or an attempt made to encourage a corporate College spirit. A Students' College Council composed of elected representatives from the senior classes and teaching assistants was established to discuss discipline, recreational activities, and other important issues, but it only functioned for half of second term and no attempt was made to help in its re-establishment when the students returned in third term. Other student committees were ostensibly created to help control various activities in the College, but they did not function in any meaningful way.

The failure to provide any effective and regular communication between staff and students intensified feelings in the students of powerlessness in an alien environment. The lack of Aborigines on the staff had the additional effect that relations between students and staff were seen not only in terms of authority, but also in racial terms.

2.4.3 Physical setting

Kormilda College was situated at Berrimah, an outer suburb of Darwin, eight miles south of the town centre. It was surrounded by bush and was close to the harbour foreshores. Most of the existing buildings were constructed in 1941-42 as part of a 1,200-bed Army General Hospital, later being used as an air defence control centre and an army and air force transit camp. After the war it was used by the airline Qantas as a transit accommodation centre, and was taken over by the Commonwealth for use as a residential college in 1967.

All the buildings in use in 1970 were temporary, pending construction of dormitory blocks and classrooms. The increasing numbers of students had necessitated constant modifications of existing structures
to accommodate more individuals, and the condemning of many of the existing buildings as unfit for further occupation created additional difficulties.

The living quarters of the girls consisted of five temporary demountable dormitory blocks, each accommodating twenty students with two in each room. Showers and toilet facilities were situated in an adjacent building. The boys had been accommodated in a number of dormitories, shifting each time sections were condemned or converted to classrooms. A number of rooms containing two beds each were in continual use, while the large dormitories housed the majority of the boys. Showers and toilets were situated at the end of each dormitory block. Aboriginal teaching assistants and girls following the office worker's course were also accommodated in the College grounds in demountable blocks, and some flats were available for those teaching assistants with families.

Housing was also available for some of the industrial and professional staff. Single staff and some married couples and families lived in demountable houses situated in the College grounds, adjacent to the girls' dormitories. Other married staff lived in the outside Darwin community.

Classrooms for Post-Primary and Transitional Grade 7 were situated in the College grounds. These were converted from a number of single rooms and were essentially of a makeshift nature, with inadequate partitions between classrooms and in some cases without fans or any other means of moderating Darwin's hot and humid climate. The mobility of classes was illustrated by the senior Post-Primary class who spent the first month in a large open hall shell with no walls; they were next located in a temporary classroom, and finally in a third converted dormitory classroom with no overhead fans.

Additional buildings at the College included a Manual Training workroom, Domestic Science room, clinic, craft room, large open hall, and tuck shop. Towards the end of the year, a recreational room, library, and language laboratory were also set up. Outdoor recreational facilities included basketball and volleyball courts, a tennis court, and an oval.

Students ate their meals in a large communal dining room and an adjacent caravan, and were placed at tables seating from six to eight persons. At the beginning of each term, students chose their table
companions, and composition of tables generally reflected Aboriginal language groups, segregated by sex. Noise was kept to a minimum by house parents, and silence was imposed when there was too much talking and excitement. Mealtimes were regular, and those who arrived after other students were seated were sometimes turned away without a meal. The evening meal was at 5.30 p.m., and for the first two terms this was the last food eaten before breakfast the following day. In third term, as a result of complaints of hunger by students and a number of thefts of food from the kitchen and tuckshop, a late supper was introduced before bedtime at nine o'clock.

House parents and the Matron were responsible for the dress of students, and for supervising the laundering of clothes. The girls were responsible for washing their own personal play clothes and socks each day and High School students also washed their own school uniforms. Although students were permitted to wear their own clothes around the College after school, an attempt was made by staff to maintain a minimum standard of dress. Interference by staff in this area aroused considerable antagonism in students who regarded personal appearance as the prerogative of the individual.

2.4.4 Time structure, sequence and nature of activities

A residential college with a large group of students and inadequate facilities and staff for supervision is compelled to follow a rigid structure in order to maintain order and control.

The weekdays at Kormilda College were characterised by an invariant sequence of activities, each occurring at a regular time. Students were only permitted to leave the dormitories in the morning when house parents awakened them at 7.15 a.m. and from that time followed a sequence of showers, breakfast, cleaning up of the playground and dormitories, school, sporting activities, showers, dinner, homework and night classes, recreation period, showers and bed.

On weekends there was greater variation in the time structure and sequence of activities, although it was still characteristic for a large group of students to perform the same activity at any one time. Students spent part of Saturday morning cleaning their rooms and were then given free time until lunch although no-one was permitted to leave the College grounds. Saturday afternoon was taken up with sport, and all students either played or attended as spectators. Following return to the College and the evening meal, students received their pocket money and
watched a film until bedtime and lights out.

On Sunday, students went to their respective churches in the community and on return wrote letters home to parents. After lunch, there was a rest period which was followed by the afternoon's organized activities. These varied from week to week but always involved mass participation, with a possible division of the sexes. Sunday evening was taken up with a church service which was organized and conducted by the students themselves, and a short film or slide-showing usually followed. An early night to bed, with time for reading, completed the weekly routine.

Leisure activities

The prime function of the recreation officers at Kormilda College was to organize activities for students after school and on weekends. Sport was the predominant leisure activity and students were given opportunities to participate in a variety of sports, with emphasis on team games. In order to encourage integration with other members of the general community, many students played with different sports clubs in Darwin. Most boys' teams, however, were composed predominantly of Kormilda College students, although whites and part-coloureds also belonged to these clubs. This was a result both of the large number of Kormilda students concentrated in one or two clubs, and also of their superior sporting ability. Some of the girls were individual members of outside clubs and played with teachers from the College and from the High School. Several sporting teams were restricted to Kormilda College students, however, and thus the opportunity of mixing in the community was reduced. The College also participated in a succession of inter-school and community sports where emphasis was on athletics.

Other regular activities at the school were provided in night classes for Post-Primary students while those in the Transitional Grade and at High School completed homework. In first term these activities included art and craft, gymnastics, and dance drama, and students were allocated to different groups for one or two nights each week, spending the remaining evenings amusing themselves in the College grounds. Some passed their time reading in the library which functioned for a short period during the last term. Night classes in the last two terms consisted of supervised activities such as team ball games. In the evenings after night classes, films were frequently shown and these covered a variety of subjects including careers, Aboriginal culture, entertainment,
general information, and sport. A dance was usually organized by the recreation staff once a term, and students themselves arranged informal gatherings of this nature. Students were also encouraged to participate in musical and other events in the Darwin Eisteddfod, while the Darwin Show attracted entries from College students in the art, needlework, and cookery sections. Extra-curricula activities at the College for senior students included a First-Aid course, and the boys were also given the opportunity to join the Air Force cadets.

On Sunday afternoons, activities such as visits to the local swimming pools, springs, or beaches, were arranged. In the dry season, an afternoon at the beach was occasionally followed by a barbecue.

Various outings were made by the College to different forms of entertainment, including theatre, open-air concerts, and a fireworks display; on a few occasions professional entertainers performed at Kormilda College itself. Senior students were permitted to go into Darwin on Friday nights and most went to the cinema which was the local meeting place for Aborigines. This liberty was granted by the Director of Education, against the express wishes of the Principal, after a period of intense unrest at the College when numerous students were absent without permission. Part of the unrest was due to the presence of trainee teaching assistants and office workers at Kormilda, several of whom were younger than the senior school students yet had more privileges.

One of the aims of the Friends of Kormilda Association was that families should take students to their homes for weekends or for an occasional outing. A very small number of students were involved in activities of this nature, and no regular pattern was established. High School teachers took an active interest in some of the girls as a result of contact through sport, and outings were occasionally arranged for them.

Finally, in discussing leisure activities at Kormilda, the forbidden but ubiquitous preoccupation with gambling should be mentioned. Boys and girls alike spent much of their free time during the afternoon and late at night gambling with cards. Whenever students were caught at this activity, the cards were destroyed and the money confiscated and placed in a general funds account. The money used in gambling came from a variety of sources, including pocket money and money sent by relations from home or borrowed from other kinsmen in the
College. Students were required to hand in money in excess of $1 and this could be withdrawn for shopping excursions. However, many students failed to observe this rule and some received as much as $20 at a time from relations.

2.4.5 Principal behaviour settings

The term "behaviour setting" is a fundamental concept in Barker's theory of ecological psychology, the central tenet of which is that the environment coerces behaviour in accordance with its own dynamic patterning. (Barker, 1968, p.4) A behaviour setting has both structural and dynamic properties: it is the total extra-individual pattern of behaviour and milieu which has its own geographical and temporal loci. Any behavioural setting is differentiated by the persons acting in it into many specific situations or behaviour regions having their own characteristic geographical and temporal attributes and personal relations. Oeser and Emery (1954) adopted an ecological framework for their study on social structure and personality in a rural community and their data demonstrate that behaviour settings determine the personality characteristics of the persons participating in them.

The behaviour settings which occurred regularly at Kormilda can be classified into a number of basic units. Two criteria determined the selection of basic units considered in the present study. First, there were the settings which involved interaction with whites. Distinctions were made between interaction with white peers, and white staff, and the type of interaction with this latter group. Second, there were the behaviour settings which elicited behaviour such as initiative, decision-making, and the exercise of responsibility.

Interaction with white peers

In discussing the behaviour settings in this section, those in which High School students participated are considered separately from those in which Transitional Grade 7 and Post-Primary students at Kormilda participated.

High School Students

Information concerning the behaviour settings in which Kormilda students attending High School participated, and the time spent in interaction with white peers, was obtained from observations over a three-week period spent at Darwin High School and from teachers' reports.

A principal behaviour setting at High School was the classroom.
Discussion with teachers indicated that while Kormilda students were in close proximity to whites, almost no interaction occurred. A second behaviour setting was the playground during recess and lunchtime. Observations throughout these breaks over a three-week period in third term of 1970 revealed that only two boys interacted with white peers. All other Kormilda students sat together in a corner of the playground and talked only among themselves. Bus travel to and from school constituted a behaviour setting, and observations over three weeks indicated that no interaction occurred between the Aborigines and the few white students who took the same bus. Sporting activities provided a number of behaviour settings in which students interacted with white peers. However, an analysis of these settings shows that most students played for teams representing Kormilda and almost no personal interaction with whites occurred. Kormilda College, as a sports club, rarely participated in the social activities associated with sport. Boys who belonged to community clubs did not have much opportunity to interact with white peers because most of their members were Kormilda students. Finally, no students visited the homes of white peers, nor did students from High School come to Kormilda. Kormilda students did not attend social functions such as the School Dances, and were not involved in the majority of extra-curricula activities, although some of the students belonged to the choir and participated in the annual concert.

Post-Primary and Transitional Grade 7 students at Kormilda College

No interaction between Post-Primary and Transitional Grade Aborigines at Kormilda and white peers occurred on a regular basis and thus there was no opportunity to develop friendships with white peers. On the initiative of one teacher, the Transitional classes spent a few days during third term with the Grade 7 classes at a community primary school and the visit was later reciprocated by Kormilda. Such an exchange enabled students to mix on a personal level and to develop transitory friendships. Boys and girls in Post-Primary 1 and Transitional Grade entered teams in an inter-school sports competition which entailed matches at different schools each week. No interaction occurred between the Aboriginal girls and their white adversaries, however. Students who participated in sporting activities associated with clubs outside Kormilda experienced a similar lack of interaction with white peers as has already been described for the High School students.
The only club or organization outside the College to which all Kormilda students belonged was the church. Students were obliged to attend a church of their own denomination each Sunday and outings were occasionally arranged for them. However, the church service itself did not involve any interaction with members of the congregation and students left on special buses immediately the service was over. Students of one denomination attended Sunday School and outings were occasionally arranged for this particular group.

**Interaction with white staff**

The principal behaviour settings involving regular interaction between students and white staff at Kormilda are set out below, together with the average length of time for each unit of interaction per day.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>behaviour setting</th>
<th>average period of interaction in hours per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>classroom</td>
<td>5-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dormitory</td>
<td>1-1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night classes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meals</td>
<td>1-1/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all these settings, staff members were in a position of authority. Such behaviour settings elicited submissive behaviour and the authority of whites was generally accepted. However, some behaviour settings occurred in which such authority on the part of whites was not accepted, thereby leading to acute unrest. For example, in the behaviour setting of the film screening on Saturday nights, the students objected to interference by the Principal who often threatened to end the entertainment because of the over-exuberance of students. Such behaviour was characteristic of film nights in their home communities and the authority of staff was not acceptable in this behaviour setting. Students often used abusive language against staff in situations of this kind and occasionally assaulted members of staff.

There were five hours of leisure time per day during week days in which contact on a more meaningful personal basis could be established with staff. Only two staff members were usually on duty during these hours and most of their time was taken up with supervision of students. Other teachers, however, took a personal interest in certain students
and spent a considerable proportion of their free time interacting with them. Because such interaction did not occur on a regular basis, and the majority of students were not involved, it is impossible to specify an average amount of time spent in this way. Some indication of its extent can, however, be obtained from the following facts. There were ten boys in whom three male staff members showed a particular interest by inviting them home for meals, taking them shopping, or spending time talking with them in the College grounds. One female teacher had a strong interest in four of these boys who were in her class, and she also interacted with most of the other students in arranging sporting activities. Interaction on a personal basis also occurred between a small number of students from the High School and some of their teachers. The most frequent settings included sports practices and matches where teachers from the High School and from Kormilda played in the same teams as students, picnics which the teachers arranged for a few of the girls, and occasional evenings in the homes of teachers or at the pictures.

**Behaviour settings eliciting behaviour requiring responsibility, initiative or decision making**

- Students' church service
- Dormitory supervision by prefects
- College Council meetings
- Election of sports' representatives, class captains
- Shopping excursions
- Experiment of Senior Post-Primary girls in a College flat
- Tuck shop

Every Sunday evening, students held their own church service. The responsibility of its organization was taken in rotation by groups of four students. Nominally, it involved selection of hymns and offering a prayer and a bible reading. There was great variation in the degree of acceptance of this responsibility and many of the students, particularly the boys, intensely disliked the service and risked punishment by not attending. However, it was an important behaviour setting, being the only one that required some initiative and responsibility to be taken by students without the direction of staff.

The supervision of dormitories by prefects was another behaviour setting where responsibility had to be exercised. While several prefects did not discharge their duties and were frequently guilty of the transgressions they were supposed to prevent, the setting nevertheless provided
an opportunity for students to learn patterns of behaviour required for
the responsible direction of others. However, the exercise of authority
by Aboriginal prefects was not always perceived as legitimate by other
students. This lack of acceptance may possibly be attributable to the
fact that dormitory prefects were selected by the Principal rather than
by the students themselves.

The College Council was a body of representatives elected by the
students and trainee teaching assistants. It was established during
second term in order to advise on punishments that should be given to
senior students breaking the new rules associated with the free night
on Fridays. The functioning of the Council provided an important
behaviour setting in which students could discuss relevant issues and
make decisions affecting the lives of students in the College. However,
the Council was not reconvened in third term and its short duration did
not enable any behaviour patterns to be established.

Election of office bearers occurred in two other situations in
the College. Girls who played softball elected their team captains,
and certain classes elected class captains. Most of these office
bearers were nominal only, but a few were expected to exercise some
form of responsibility. Such elections served to introduce the notions
of voting and of the election of the individual with the most votes.

Shopping excursions into Darwin were made once or twice each
term and provided students with the experiences of decision-making
and interaction with whites, and helped develop feelings of confidence.
A College rule required that a staff member be present for every five
students on such excursions, and many students relied on staff to assist
them in their shopping, thereby abrogating some of their own
responsibility. A few of the teachers took students into town with them
on personal errands, and senior students were permitted to go shopping
alone on Friday nights. When shopping excursions were arranged, money
was drawn out of pocket money accounts by clerical staff, with the
result that students did not have the experience or the responsibility
of performing this task themselves.

In third term, prompted and encouraged by one staff member,
the four senior girls in Post-Primary moved into an unoccupied flat in
the College grounds. They were given the responsibility of planning
meals, budgeting, buying food, cooking and all the associated household
duties. This behaviour setting enabled the girls to develop the con-
fidence and to acquire the skills that are prerequisite to integration in the dominant society. The experiment was abandoned before the end of term, however, after one of the girls became pregnant.

The tuck shop at Kormilda College was an important behaviour setting. Although a staff member was always present and in charge, responsible students were selected to help serve in the shop, and were provided with the opportunity for learning how to handle money efficiently and to deal with requests.

2.5 Implications of the social system at Kormilda College for educational policy and goals

This analysis of the social system at Kormilda College, together with the preceding discussion of Aboriginal value orientations and of the prejudice shown by whites towards Aborigines, enables educational policy and goals to be evaluated.

The discussion of traditional value orientations and their saliency for Aboriginal identity today has implications for one of the basic aims of education, which was to retain Aboriginal identity and foster feelings of self-esteem, dignity, and pride in ethnic heritage. The collateral orientation of Aborigines on the Relational value permeates all spheres of activity and is "the major blueprint for life" (Berndt, 1968). It calls for cooperative behaviour rather than engendering a spirit of competition and individualism, and inhibits mobility of individuals to centres of training and employment. Although a change in this value might enable individual Aborigines to attain modern occupational status, it seems unlikely that Aboriginal identity would be retained in the process. A further factor mitigating against the simultaneous attainment of both the development of achievement value orientations and retention of Aboriginal identity was that the dominant society, at the time of the present research, was the only source of achievement values and high aspirations. Whites therefore determined the comparison groups used by achievement-oriented Aborigines. If the former were prejudiced towards Aborigines, then it was likely that the membership group would be used by the latter as a negative valuation group and that hostile attitudes towards other Aborigines would develop. In certain situations, such attitudes might also be accompanied by an unfavourable self-image.

The pattern of value orientations characterising Aboriginal society was considered by educationists to inhibit social change. The Director of Education indicated that one of the major aims of education was to
bring about changes in these values so that an achievement orientation could be developed. In order for such changes to occur, meaningful, personal relationships would have to be established with reference models embodying these new value orientations. The analysis of the social system at Kormilda College, however, reveals that only one Aboriginal was employed on the staff, as a trainee recreation officer, and it is further noted that there were very few Aborigines in Darwin or in other communities who might fulfil this role. It appears that the dominant society would have to be adopted as an identification group if value change was to occur. However, the low staff:student ratio at the College, and the limited amount and type of interaction with whites, precluded the establishment of personal, supportive relationships between the majority of students and white peers or staff. Students attending school at Kormilda itself had no regular contact with white peers, and even those at High School did not communicate readily with other white classmates and had no personal relationships with non-Kormilda students outside the classroom. The analysis of behaviour settings in which interaction between staff and students occurred reveals that whites were in a position of authority in most settings. It therefore appeared very unlikely that education within the context of this residential college would have any impact on the traditional value orientations of Aboriginal adolescents.
3.1 Introduction

The analysis of Kormilda College presented in Chapter Two is based on observations over a year so that a comprehensive description of the social system might be given. Preliminary observations made during the early stages of research at the College suggested that formal education within the context of a residential college was unlikely to have any impact on ethnic identity and that changes in value orientations probably would not occur. A more immediate problem was the apparent maladjustment of some of the students who appeared to experience difficulties in resolving conflict. A fruitful way to examine this problem seemed to be within the framework of institutional living and enculturative discontinuities between life-styles at home and at school. The research was therefore reoriented towards the adjustment of students and on the potential offered by the College for resolution of identity crisis.

2.1 The concept of personal identity

One of the main exponents of the identity concept is Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968) who states that

"...the conscious feeling of having a personal identity is based on two simultaneous observations: the immediate perception of one's self-awareness and continuity in time; and the simultaneous perception of the fact that others recognize one's sameness and continuity."

(Erikson, 1959, p.23)

Ethnic identity, as defined earlier, is subsumed as one dimension in the multidimensional concept of personal identity. The more global term is adopted in the present research since Erikson's exposition of the formation of personal identity as one of the stages in the epigenetic life-cycle has particular relevance for identity conflict and resolution.

Erikson refers to the years of puberty and adolescence as the stage of identity formation and crisis. While personal identity does
not originate nor end in adolescence, it comes to a decisive crisis in youth when young people must make a series of personal, occupational, and ideological choices. At this stage, they are "sometimes morbidly, often curiously preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are." (Erikson, 1959, p.89)

This process of identity formation may be intensely conflictual: An individual's feelings of helplessness and a sense of failure in his efforts to progress towards social and occupational goals consistent with his ideals generate anxiety and role confusion. If the individual is unable to resolve this identity conflict as he passes into early adulthood, he emerges not with a sense of identity consolidation but with identity confusion characterised by inconsistency of goals, impairment of decision-making ability, and self-devaluation.

The likelihood of any individual's reaching adulthood with a sense of identity consolidation predominant over identity confusion depends on three main conditions. First, it depends on the resolution of earlier psychosocial crises in the directions of a sense of industry rather than inferiority, initiative rather than guilt, autonomy rather than shame and doubt, and trust rather than mistrust. These crises represent specific developmental tasks which must be accomplished by the child and its environment; if each task is performed well, certain basic, positive qualities unfold and "blend into the total personality" (Erikson, 1959, p.56), while if task fulfilment fails, analogous negative qualities are likewise internalised. Thus, for every stage, a pair of qualities is proposed, representing respectively the positive and negative outcomes of its most important events. The second condition...

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1. According to Erikson, (1968) each basic psychosocial trend meets a crisis at an ontogenetic stage:

- **basic trust versus mistrust - infancy**
  Resolution of this crisis represents the enduring belief in the attainability of primal wishes in spite of the anarchic urges and rages of dependency.

- **autonomy versus shame, doubt - early childhood**
  Resolution of this crisis represents the unbroken determination to exercise free choice as well as self-restraint in spite of the unavoidable experience of shame, doubt, and a certain rage over being controlled by others.

- **initiative versus guilt - play age**
  Resolution of this crisis represents the courage to envisage and preserve valued and tangible goals guided by conscience, but not paralysed by guilt and by the fear of punishment.

- **industry versus inferiority - school age**
  Resolution of this crisis represents the free exercise (unimpaired by an infantile sense of inferiority) of dexterity and intelligence in the completion of serious tasks. It is the basis for co-operative participation in some segment of the culture.
for identity consolidation is the overall adequacy of available models for identification during adolescence. The principal models which serve as the basis for identity formation are the parents or parent surrogates. While a degree of inter-generational conflict is to be expected, potential conflict is exacerbated when the major identity models embody conflicting cultural values. Third, identity consolidation depends on the individual's potential to realise the various social, occupational, and other goals which he has set himself and which taken together conform to his self-image.

3.3 Effect of enculturative discontinuity on personal identity

Catherine Berndt (1961) has commented on the process of social change among the Australian Aborigines and its effect on personal identity:

"It is inevitable that changes should come in language, in personal names, in the social units themselves and in the criteria of membership or affiliation, as well as in other features of local living. The critical question hinges on the nature of such changes, the degree to which they allow for continuity with the past. There is a point of view which holds that such continuity is unnecessary that an abrupt break with tradition is both kinder to the people involved and more effective in ensuring their allegiance to the new order. But this is a minority view, even a deviant view which goes contrary to the overwhelming preponderance of findings not only in anthropology, but also in the fields of mental health." (pp.27-28)

Several educationists have been concerned with the degree of discontinuity between the home and school and its effect on the personal identity of students. Hobart (1968) has suggested a number of aspects of the school system which may or may not provide continuity with the community life experiences of the students.

1. The physical setting, including food, clothing and housing arrangements.

2. The language spoken in the classroom and on the school grounds.

3. The norms which are formally or informally enforced
and the value hierarchy which is explicitly taught or implicitly communicated.

4. The social organization of the school, including the patterning of interpersonal relationships and the complexity of the organizational hierarchy.

5. The skills taught in the classroom and in the playground and assumed to be important by the teachers, or peers, or both.

6. The personnel of the school, including both teachers and students.

(Hobart, 1968, p.100)

To these may be added:

7. The time structure and sequence of activities.

8. The leisure activities available in out-of-school hours.

Hobart (1968) investigated differing degrees of discontinuity in the education systems for Eskimos in the Mackenzie District of Canada and in Greenland. He describes the social system of one school in Canada to which children are brought after the age of six from Arctic settlements without schools of their own:

"The keynote of this school is discontinuity. Neither in terms of physical facilities, nor language, nor food, nor fellow students, nor the patterning of relationships, nor time schedules, nor disciplines, motivations, nor content of the curriculum is there any precedent in the pre-school experience of most of the Eskimo children who go there. The extent of dislocation is further maximised by the fact that children come at an early age, and that the school is a total institution, effectively seeking to break all continuities with the child's pre-school life." (p.103)

Interviews with students from this school revealed numerous examples of individuals who were profoundly ashamed of being Eskimo, felt inadequate, and were unable to cope. Hobart reports that the most maladjustive consequence of this schooling system was that its students were commonly unable to adjust either to the world of their
parents or the world of the white man. Weaned to "the good life" of the hostel, they were unable to go home and live the way of life available in the home community. They had been taught to crave values which they could not buy for lack of skills and/or disciplines. (p.104)

Another study of a group of people from the same District by Clairmont (1963) revealed that men and women who were products of this type of schooling actively rejected tradition-oriented subsistence activities, preferring unemployment to sullying themselves with activities traditionally Eskimo.

In Greenland, on the other hand, continuity is a fundamental principle of the school system. One of the most distinctive aspects is its variety, in that communities differ in their degree of contact with the dominant society and schools are designed to accommodate such differences. Thus, physical facilities differ from one community to another; the amount of emphasis on Danish tends to vary with the amount of Danish used in the rest of the community; the skills and values taught in more modern communities are more characteristically Danish, while those in remote districts tend to be more traditionally Greenlandic; there is continuity in concepts taught in the school system and a variety of materials are available which are most appropriate to the community in which the school is located; finally, there is similar and interrelated continuity between motivations, disciplines, self-concepts, and senses of identity which are taught in schools in different kinds of community situations. Results here indicated that the basic continuities insured adequately appreciative attitudes towards parents, home community, and self, and feelings of adequacy and competence. The flexibility of the system further tended to insure that life goals taught were attainable and relevant in terms of opportunities available and skills learned for the exploitation of these opportunities. (Hobart, 1968, p.106)

Wintrob and Sindell (1968) have also investigated the psychological consequences of enculturative discontinuities among the Cree Indians in Canada which resulted from living alternately in the two different environments of home and residential school. Data from an intensive interview schedule revealed that 48% of the 109 students in the sample were rated as experiencing clearly defined identity conflict. In an additional 14%, indications of identity conflict were sufficiently pronounced to be defined as identity confusion.

Saslow (1968) has reviewed the literature pertaining to psychosocial adjustment of Indian youth in the United States and concludes that
the culture shock of having to renounce, with the beginning of school, much of what has been learned before school, has ensured that Indian and other minority groups suffer from identity conflict in adolescence which manifests itself in feelings of low self-worth, alienation, and helplessness.

Further discussion on the impact of discontinuity between two environments on personal identity is found in Goffman's (1961) analysis of total institutions, and in other studies which have adopted his framework to study such institutions. (Aubert, 1965; Emery, 1970) Goffman defines the total institution as

"a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life." (p.XIII)

The literature pertaining to total institutions is predominantly concerned with mental hospitals, prisons and concentration camps, but boarding schools are also included under the rubric of the term. While comparisons between these different categories of institutions carry a strong emotive component, they are nonetheless valid and further consideration is therefore given to the concept of the residential college as a total institution.

Goffman's discussion highlights the dissimilarities between life on the inside and outside of a total institution and details the particular form of social system and role relationships that must be established to cope with the bureaucratic organization of whole blocks of people with many human needs. The central feature of total institutions is that there is a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating the three spheres of life: sleep, play, and work. First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of many others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all the phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole sequence of events being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to
fulfil the official aims of the institution.

These features of total institutions greatly affect personal identity of the inmates and work consistently towards personality disintegration. At entry into a total institution, the individual has a conception of himself made possible by certain stable relationships in his home world. It is characteristic of such establishments to strip him of the supports provided by these arrangements and compel him to undergo a series of deprivations, degradations, and humiliations. While many of these may not be great in themselves, they become significant because they occur so frequently and in so many aspects of institutional life - the whole milieu assumes this character. Thus total institutions disrupt and defile precisely those actions that in civil society have the role of attesting to the individual that he has some control over his world - that he is a person with self-determination, autonomy, and freedom of action.

3.4 Identity conflict and resolution

All adolescents experience identity crisis, and three conditions required for its resolution were stated earlier: 1) resolution of earlier psychosocial crises, 2) adequacy of available models during adolescence, and 3) potential to achieve the educational, occupational and social goals to which the individual aspires.

Individuals in a residential college characterised by enculturative discontinuity with the home community are likely to experience difficulties in the resolution of identity crisis since the parent surrogates usually embody conflicting cultural norms and values, and the school may encourage the development of aspirations which the individual is unable to attain.

The particular conditions required for resolution of identity conflict depend on the identity orientation adopted by the individual. A continuum of identity orientation was discussed in Chapter Two and three points on the continuum were identified: white pole, synthesis of white and traditional, traditional pole. It is likely that the discontinuity that exists between home and school has different impact on individuals, depending on their location along this continuum. Wintrob and Sindell (1968) have suggested the particular conditions that are required for the resolution of identity crisis, for each of the three orientations:

3.4.1 Polarisation towards a white identity model

The extent to which polarisation towards a white model represents
a successful resolution of identity conflict could be expected to depend on 1) the degree of congruence between the student's goals, 2) his potential to achieve them, and 3) the degree to which access to the dominant white society is possible or encouraged.

3.4.2 Polarisation towards a traditional model

The individual who retains his identity as a traditionally oriented Aborigine may successfully resolve any conflict he experiences if traditional roles, or modification of them, are still available and continue to provide gratification for the individual when he leaves school.

3.4.3 Synthesis of traditional and white models

There are a variety of different ways in which the individual might synthesise Aboriginal and white models, depending on his location on the identity orientation continuum. For all individuals, successful identity synthesis would require 1) sufficient familiarity with and access to institutions of the white world (economic, legal, social and political) so that goals can be effectively pursued; and 2) that appropriate opportunities be available in the region so that close contacts with family and community can be maintained.

Resolution of identity conflict for each of these three identity orientations is in part dependent on conditions which must be fulfilled by the social system at Kormilda College. Various aspects of this social system were discussed in Chapter Two and an attempt is now made to relate these to differences in life-styles at home and at school, and to establish the degree of resultant enculturative discontinuity experienced by students. Some indication of the community-life experiences of students was presented in Chapter One as background information and certain aspects of this traditional life-style are highlighted in the following section.

3.5 Enculturative discontinuities between Kormilda College and the home communities of students

An objective account of the discontinuity between home and school does not necessarily reflect the degree of continuity/discontinuity experienced by students. Williams (1970) has indicated that Aborigines are able to minimise role conflict through the observance of different norms depending on the situation in which the individual finds himself, and the effect of discontinuity may be minimised in this way. A discussion of life-styles designed to indicate the areas of conflict experienced by students must therefore include their subjective reports, and observations
of their behaviour.

Evidence pertaining to students' perceptions of the life-styles at home and at Kormilda College was gathered from several sources: semi-structured interviews with 95 students (Appendix 5.8), casual conversations in non-school hours, and analysis of responses to a modified form of the Bavelas Ideology Test (Appendix 5.9) which was administered to all students in the College.

Most aspects of the school system at Kormilda presented enculturative discontinuities with the community life experiences of the students, and these created conflicts as the students alternated between school and home during term holidays.

Some of the initial discontinuities involved sleeping habits, food, clothing and language. At Kormilda, students slept in beds, generally with only two persons to a room while at home the majority slept on the ground or on the floor, rolled up in blankets next to other relations. Some Catholic missions and one settlement provided dormitory accommodation for school students, but this was atypical. Most students liked the sleeping arrangements at Kormilda; the girls in particular had a preference for dormitories, and several girls asserted that the best thing about Kormilda was the chance to sleep in a bed, in a dormitory, or in a room of their own. A feeling of security appeared to underlie this preference and was reflected in the words of one girl: "I like sleeping in the dormitories best - you're safe here and the men can't get me." Only three girls showed great distress at the thought of sleeping in the camp when they returned home during the holidays, and the remainder stated that they experienced no discomfort.

The provision of regular meals at Kormilda was welcomed by many students who did not always get enough food to eat at home. Most students adjusted quickly to the type of food that was served at the College and only yearned occasionally for "bush tucker" which supplemented their "store food" diet at home. A number of boys complained that they were always hungry at night and that this prompted them to steal food from the kitchen and tuck shop.

Great emphasis was placed by the staff at Kormilda on a neat and tidy appearance, and students who internalised these norms often experienced conflict at home. The presence of conflict was revealed in responses to questions on the Ideology Test concerning good and bad things to do at Kormilda and at home. Several girls claimed a good thing to do at Kormilda
was to wear clean clothes and to look neat and tidy, while this was considered a bad thing to do at home. One girl spoke about the ensuing conflict during the interview: "The people at home - they don't like us being clean. But we have showers and a clean dress at Kormilda, and we like being clean. The other girls are just jealous of us. They don't like us ironing our clothes and looking nice." Another senior student was observed rubbing dirt into her hair before leaving at the end of term and she explained that "if we go home looking smart, those people at home won't talk to us - they tell us we're rubbish ones, trying to be like white people."

Some of the difficulties encountered in the school milieu involved language. The large majority of students spoke dialect at home and among themselves, although English was used as the medium of instruction in schools. Students already had a conversational grasp of English when they first came to Kormilda and generally pronounced words correctly, but they encountered great difficulties in reading, reading comprehension, and in the more subtle areas of word meaning. These problems caused particular concern to High School students who responded by becoming withdrawn in class, and by refusing to participate in any class activities.

At Kormilda, students came into contact with other Aborigines who did not speak or understand their own languages and English was therefore used as a common tongue. However, most friendship groups reflected a common language and students continued to speak in Aboriginal dialect among themselves. As a result they did not experience much difficulty when they returned home during the holidays and reverted to dialect with their parents and other kin. Some students antagonised the older people by speaking English so they would not understand, and this was interpreted by the older people as a rejection of their authority. Several students also encountered resistance at home when they lapsed into English without thinking: "Sometimes at home I forget I'm home and I talk in English: My mother gets real wild with me and says "you're not a white person, speak in language." I tell her, I just forgot - I thought I was at Kormilda." Another girl confessed "sometimes I forget how to talk to them boys at home and can't think of the words; sometimes I have to say it in English because that's all I can remember."
Students therefore appeared to experience a degree of enculturative discontinuity in sleeping habits, food, clothing and language. Although the majority seemed able to adjust to the norms for these areas in both home and school settings, several students were unable to do so and experienced conflict. Information gained from the interview and Ideology Questionnaire, from informal conversations, and from observations in a few communities, indicated that dissatisfaction lay in the home setting, probably because these students had internalised the western norm.

One consequence of the discontinuity between home and school was that rules were frequently broken and constant reprimands and punishments required. Discipline at Kormilda College was a persistent cause of friction between students and staff. Several factors contributed to this situation: first, the rules were often not clearly defined; second, punishments were inconsistently administered, and girls in particular often avoided negative sanctions altogether since being of them was not permitted and most other punishments appeared to be ineffective; third, and perhaps most important, the authority of whites to discipline students was not seen by the students as legitimate.

This last factor is perhaps a reflection of the differentiation of the traditional social structure of Aboriginal society and the position of the authority of the elders. Child rearing in Aboriginal society was very pervasive and order was formerly maintained by the elders who controlled the rites of initiation and acceptance into tribal life. Hamilton (1970) has commented on the different phases which constitute patterns of child-rearing among the Aborigines in North Australia and European society.
settings, but several individuals experienced conflict when they returned home as a result of the internalisation of western norms.

Because of the stress on permissiveness and self-reliance in Aboriginal socialisation, students found it hard to adjust to the many rules and routines which the school established in order to cope with the large numbers of students under its care. Rigid scheduling of classes, meals, activities, and bed-times, and boundaries defining where students could and could not go conflicted with the life-style at home. Students felt that they should be allowed to leave the College grounds more often, whether for outings to town and pictures, visits to relations, or hunting in the bush around the College. Such liberties were taken for granted in their own environment and the lack of them at Kormilda created intense dissatisfaction. This feeling was summed up by one boy in the words: "the trouble with this place is you're just not free."

One consequence of the discontinuity between home and school was that rules were frequently broken and constant reprimands and punishments required. Discipline at Kormilda College was a persistent cause of friction between students and staff. Several factors contributed to this situation: first, the rules were often not clearly defined; second, punishments were inconsistently administered, and girls in particular often avoided negative sanctions altogether since caning of them was not permitted and most other punishments appeared to be ineffective; third, and perhaps most important, the authority of whites to discipline students was not seen by the students as legitimate.

This last factor is perhaps a reflection of the disintegration of the traditional social structure of Aboriginal society and the decline of the authority of the elders. Child rearing in Aboriginal society was very permissive and order was formerly maintained by the elders who controlled the rites of initiation and acceptance into totemic life. Hamilton (1970) has commented on the different phases which characterise patterns of child-rearing among the Anbara in North Australia and European society:

"The real beginning of Aboriginal life for the Anbara boy and girl comes with his circumcision and her marriage. Only then occurs the kind of training which European society takes for granted in the rearing of children from their earliest months:
subjection to adult authority, training in the beliefs and values underlying adult behaviour; the imposition of self-control and self-denial." (p. 122)

While child-rearing in Aboriginal society continues to be very permissive, Albrecht (1970) asserts that with the disintegration of Aboriginal culture in many communities, the authority of the elders is no longer effective and thus no mechanism exists for enforcing behavioural norms and maintaining order. It seems likely, then, that many students came to Kormilda without internalised values for self-discipline and self-control and thus attempts by staff to impose discipline and enforce observance of school rules were not always perceived by students as legitimate. The outcome at Kormilda was that some students displayed a disrespect for all rules, and a rejection of the imposition of punishment by those in authority as completely unjustified, and the use of abusive language towards staff members.

This discussion of discipline illustrates the discontinuity between the life-styles of students at Kormilda College and in their home communities. Students appeared to experience considerable conflict at Kormilda in attempting to reconcile the permissiveness of Aboriginal society with the more authoritarian atmosphere which is characteristic of such total institutions.

Autonomy was encouraged in the College, but the focus was on individualistic gains rather than on individuals cooperating for the benefit of the kin group. Competition was encouraged both in the classroom and in extra-curricula activities as illustrated by a remark to the students by the Principal: "You play softball to win, just as you do everything else to win, and work at school to win". While many of the students participated in team games, they had to learn to cooperate with other students who were not kinsmen, but who were just temporarily united for a specific purpose.

Students had well-defined kinship relationships to all other persons in their home communities and these governed reciprocal role obligations and determined behaviour. At Kormilda, however, students were in contact with Aborigines from different areas with no common bonds. Almost half the students maintained it was difficult to make friends with other students and tribal affiliations appeared to be an important determinant of interpersonal attraction. Reasons given for
difficulties experienced in making friends from other tribal areas included "they are different from us", and "it is the feeling among the tribes". Fighting among students was not uncommon at Kormilda, but it was mostly confined to intra-tribal groups and generally concerned disputes over boy/girl friends. Several students expressed unfavourable attitudes towards the few part-Aborigines in the College. They were referred to as "that part-coloured one" rather than by name, and occasionally pejorative remarks were made to the face of the individual, such as, "you're not even an Aborigine, white face."

However, for several students, the opportunity to make friends from different places was one of the most favourable aspects of Kormilda, and a few students maintained a correspondence with friends from other communities during the holidays and after they left school.

Tribal ethnocentrism appeared to be an important characteristic of Aborigines and the presence at Kormilda of other Aborigines from totally unrelated tribes therefore presented an additional aspect of discontinuity between the two environments. While most of those students who experienced conflict were able to minimise it through associating predominantly with their own kinsmen, a few experienced the reverse problem and had boy or girl friends from different tribes whom they wished to marry. This created intense conflict as in most instances the students concerned were aware that their own people would reject their partner.

Attitudes towards staff members varied considerably, and it is difficult to ascertain what personality characteristics inspired respect, and how much antagonism was directed towards a role position rather than towards the individual incumbent as a person. The most antagonism in the College was directed towards the Principal and a dislike of the Principal was the most common response in reply to the question concerning bad things about Kormilda. This result is not particularly surprising as the role of Principal represented the ultimate authority figure, and he made most decisions and imposed punishments. Williams (1971) asserted that boys typically showed antagonism towards staff in home communities, while girls were more inclined to interact with and elicit support from Europeans. This sex difference did not emerge at Kormilda, however, and the greater tendency for girls to interact with white members of staff was probably a reflection of the higher proportion of single female staff members living in the College grounds, rather than a rebuffal of the staff by boys. Several students expressed a keenness to have more Aborigines on the staff to whom they could turn for help and emotional...
support, and students occasionally complained that "no-one in this school understands us."

Films, books, newspapers, dances, and sport played an important role in College life as informal modes of exposure to western culture. Half the students mentioned the opportunity of playing in team games and other sports when asked what they liked best about Kormilda. For some students, particularly the boys, such activities were the only aspect of Kormilda which motivated them to return after the holidays.

The media, especially films, teenage magazines, and comic books, were very popular with the students and influenced their perceptions of the European-Australian sociocultural system. In many cases, a distorted image of the dominant society was conveyed; for example, there was a tremendous emphasis on romantic love in the teenage magazines. The resulting ideas concerning the western concept of marriage frequently created conflict with the arranged system of marriage which continues to characterise Aboriginal society. Many of the girls were promised to old men in a polygamous system, and several refused to comply with this traditional custom. Parents, and husbands to whom the girls were promised, were often disturbed at the effect of schooling on this traditional custom and some students were refused permission to attend or return to Kormilda for this reason. Many students desired to emulate singers, film stars, and sports stars, whom they read about in magazines and saw in films. Hobart (1968) refers to this embracement of the western subculture as "Elvis Presleyism", and claims that its function for students in a minority ethnic group is to provide an escape from the ambiguities and the conflicts of the situation in which the adolescent finds himself. (p.103) Involvement with this subculture was reflected in the dress and personal grooming, music, and dance preferences of the students.

One of the main sources of dissatisfaction at Kormilda was the lack of opportunities to engage in traditional activities. The majority of students claimed that what they liked best about home was the chance to go hunting and fishing; yet, these activities were not available at Kormilda, despite the surrounds of bush and water. Boys lamented that they were never given the opportunity to get away from the College and to go camping, while girls were concerned that they were not permitted to leave the College in order to visit friends or relations in Darwin. Several students missed the camp-fire activities that characterised the home environment, particularly dance and music which were an integral aspect of the Aboriginal life-style in many communities. One boy stated
that he found it difficult to join in the dancing when he went home since participation in traditional activities was not expected from Kormilda students.

This discussion of the leisure activities pursued by students at home and those available at Kormilda reveals considerable discontinuity between the two situations. Students appeared to experience conflict for opposing reasons: on the one hand, many students were unhappy at Kormilda since there was no opportunity to pursue traditional activities, while on the other, a substantial proportion were dissatisfied with life back home during the holidays since the range of leisure activities was very restricted in many communities.

As students settled down to the routine of school, many began to enjoy it. Nonetheless, negative feelings about the regimentation of school life and the separation from kinsmen remained. These feelings of ambivalence were reflected in the attitudes to school attendance. When students first returned to school, they did not like it; by mid-term, they had readjusted to school life, and most liked it on the whole. At the end of term, they were keen to return home and were happy to see their parents, siblings, and relations again. However, as the holidays progressed, many students became bored with the limited range of recreational activities available and missed the conveniences of life at Kormilda such as showers, hot water, electricity, and regular meals. As the beginning of the school term approached, students were once again reluctant to leave families and to give up the greater freedom from restriction that they had enjoyed during the holidays. One student expressed this ambivalence during the interview: "When I'm back home, I sometimes like to be here; and when I'm here I like to be home. It's funny you know."

The second aspect of the College to be discussed concerns the opportunities that were provided in the College for the learning of skills which might enable the individual to achieve his goals. The Director of Education enumerated the skills that Aborigines need to acquire in order to function in this society of today:

1. English as a second language
2. New job skills
3. New ways to improve and protect their health
4. The social skills of modern life
5. Newer civic and political responsibilities
6. newer family responsibilities
7. newer ways of maintaining order
8. how to use the services of the larger society
9. the skill required in order to use numbers
10. how to think analytically, to form conclusions and to test conclusions

(Gallacher, 1968, p.5)

Acquisition of these skills might be expected to be particularly important for those individuals attempting to resolve identity conflict through polarisation towards a white model or through synthesis of models. While the curriculum programme might enable students to learn new academic and job skills, most of the other skills detailed here could only be provided through provision of behaviour settings which might be expected to elicit the particular behaviour mediating such skills. Consideration was given in Chapter Two to the behaviour settings at Kormilda College which required students to exercise initiative, responsibility, or decision-making, and the discussion indicated that very few settings occurred which would enable these skills to be acquired. The analysis of the social system at Kormilda similarly has indicated that the College did not provide experiences whereby students might learn the social skills of modern life, nor how to use the services of the larger society. In many aspects of the College life, a dependency relationship of students on staff was fostered, and students relied on house parents for the provision of all their personal requirements such as clothes, underwear, and toiletries.

3.6 Impact of discontinuity on personal identity

The discussion of the enculturative discontinuities between Kormilda College and the community life-experiences of the students suggests that many of them were characterised by identity conflict which could not be resolved.

The need for discontinuity as a prerequisite for dissatisfaction with the traditional life-style of Aborigines and hence for social change has been recognized by educationists. However, they have also explicitly recognized the need to ensure that the personal identity of the individual should not be sacrificed in the adjustment process. It would seem that these needs would be best met if many of the newer learnings, skills, and behaviour norms, which represented the aims of Kormilda College, were introduced in such a way that students learned to apply them to new situations and to integrate them into their own
cultural system, while at the same time retaining Aboriginal self-esteem, self-confidence, and a pride in their Aboriginal heritage. Elkin, as early as 1937, emphasised this need to enhance a traditional identity:

"Some attention in school life should be paid to the real values in Aboriginal life, such as kinship, totemism, ritual, and mythology, so that these will not lead a furtive existence or be repressed, or perhaps "shamed". Only to take stock of the native life as a handicap to present day adaptation and not to emphasise and use its valuable elements is surely an error in educational policy."

(Elkin, 1937, p.471)

Watts and Gallacher (1964) accepted this view and maintained that the education programme must therefore aim to give the pupils "an understanding and appreciation of their own tribal law, music, dances, art, and community organization, and, at the same time, to give them an understanding of the European social and economic world which surrounds them." (p.47) However, the analysis of Kormilda has clearly revealed that little homage was paid to these aims, and emphasis on traditional aspects of culture was conspicuously absent. Moreover, if the education system were aimed at helping students to an understanding of European culture, and through this to a better appreciation of their own culture so that they themselves would be able to make their own choices, to assume direction of their own lives and to solve their own problems, then it seems likely that failure of the social system at Kormilda to fulfil these aims would act as a barrier to integration of Aboriginal beliefs and ways.

In the light of the preceding analyses of the social system of Kormilda, it is now possible to discuss the likelihood of resolution of identity conflict in relation to each of the three identity orientations.

First, consider those Aborigines who were primarily traditionally-oriented, and who saw their future back home in their own communities, maintaining the traditional value and belief systems and life-style. Most of these individuals would probably have been in Post-Primary classes and had no alternative to schooling at Kormilda. The discontinuity experienced at Kormilda was therefore likely to intensify conflict and to confront the individual with problems of adjustment which took precedence
over the learning of new skills. The lack of Aboriginal models at
Korrinilda, and the lack of emotional support from home, seemed likely
to have produced intense feelings of homesickness and antagonistic
attitudes towards Korrinilda and members of staff. These students
might well have complied with behavioural norms while at Korrinilda, but
they were unlikely to be internalised and therefore their behaviour
probably reverted to community norms when they returned home.

Those Aborigines who were white-oriented, on the other hand,
probably faced adjustment problems of a different kind. Their
orientation towards the dominant society might have led them to adopt
and internalise the norms and values of the dominant society. It was
contended earlier, however, that some of these values mediating achieve­
ment behaviour are diametrically opposed to those of the traditional
society, particularly that reflecting the collectivistic orientation on
the Relational value which can be seen as the core of Aboriginal identity.
As long as white society in general, and Korrinilda College in particular,
failed to give some positive valence to Aboriginal culture and to instil
a pride in Aboriginal heritage, then it would seem that the Aborigine
who was white-oriented was likely to be characterised by a negative self­
image and a devalued image of his own membership group, the Aboriginal
people. Resolution of identity conflict could be achieved if the
individual were able to move into the community and had the requisite
skills and abilities which enable integration to take place. However,
discussions of the behaviour settings at Korrinilda indicated that there
were few opportunities for students to develop feelings of confidence in
interacting with whites, to participate in processes of decision-making,
or to assume responsibility. All these skills would be required for
acceptance into the wider community since the individual did not have
the solidarity of his membership group behind him.

Finally, there was the group of individuals who attempted to
resolve identity crises through a synthesis of both white and traditional
models. As has already been mentioned, some of these individuals were
likely to be successful, while confusion of identity synthesis orientation
remained a likely outcome for others since cultural synthesis was not
always possible. Those individuals who used both Aborigines and whites
as reference groups were expected to internalise many of the norms and
values of the dominant society but were unlikely to change those
orientations crucial to their identity as Aborigines. Thus it seemed
likely that such individuals would have retained a collectivistic
orientation and would have been reluctant to move away from their own kinsmen, even when occupational aspirations could not be fulfilled in their own communities. Kormilda College was therefore only functional for these individuals if it provided them with the skills that helped them to achieve their aspirations, and at the same time reinforced Aboriginal identity. The discontinuity that existed between Kormilda and their home communities, however, meant that learning was probably reduced since adjustment to a new situation occupied much of the student's time. Philp (1961) makes this point clearly:

"If the child's equipment fits in with the school's expectations of him, with its demands on him, then there is congruence, and other things being equal.... the probability of learning is high. If, on the other hand, his behaviour patterns are not congruent with the school's expectations, or are so in a limited way, there is much less chance of effective learning."

Moreover, the failure of the College to reinforce Aboriginal identity and to instil a pride in Aboriginal heritage seemed likely to create additional conflict. The lack of Aboriginal models in the College required the individual to use whites as a reference group, yet his membership group was still salient as an identification group. While some of the missions and settlements provided job opportunities, other communities and particularly the pastoral properties were extremely restricted in the range of job opportunities. The danger of raising aspirations which cannot be fulfilled has been widely recognized. (Lengyel, 1961; Parker, 1964; McQueen, 1968)

This examination of the enculturative discontinuities which existed between the life-styles of Aborigines at home and at Kormilda, of the conflicts which it was believed must have resulted, and of the failure of the College to enable resolution of identity conflict, suggests that stress and maladjustment were likely outcomes of the impact of education.

The life-styles of students in their home communities differed considerably from one another and thus individuals at Kormilda experienced varying degrees of discontinuity between the two environments. It is possible that those students who had a considerable amount of contact with the dominant society before going to Kormilda may have experienced
less stress than those with minimal contact since there was greater continuity between home and school. The different types of communities also differed from one another in the amount of contact they provided with the dominant society, in the employment opportunities and in lifestyles. The College was therefore likely to have a different impact on students from all these different communities. Finally, research by other social scientists suggests that girls probably experienced more conflict than boys and had fewer opportunities to resolve such conflict. Their greater allegiance than boys to the new order of things which promised choice in marriage, increased status, and a better way of life, created intense conflict when pressure was exerted on them to conform to community norms. (Money, 1970)

The conceptual framework and analysis of variables presented in Chapters Two and Three detailed a number of variables which appeared to be important for the present study. The classification of variables of each of the variables was therefore considered to be of substantial since no research of this nature had been carried out with full-time students prior to the time the present study was undertaken.

The research questions therefore sought to determine:

4.1.1 Values

- To what extent did Aboriginal students at Narrokoa internalize key achievement values orientations?

4.1.2 Acculturation

- To what extent did Aboriginal adolescents in Narrokoa adopt the norms of the dominant society?
- Did individual areas of behavior differ in different contexts by the degree to which traditional norms still prevailed?

4.1.3 Aspirations

- What were the educational aspirations of students?
- Did aspirations differ from expectations?

- Occupational
- What were the range of jobs to which students aspired?
- Did these jobs reflect use of whites as reference models?
CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND PREDICTIONS

The questions which this research was designed to answer relate to the personal identity and adjustment of adolescent Aboriginal students in a residential college. The first group of research questions is aimed at describing the sample population in terms of measures used in the study; the second group is based on the conceptual framework adopted and it was possible to make predictions in certain instances with a knowledge of the school system; the remaining questions are entirely exploratory in nature and were suggested by previous research with Aborigines or by observations made during the course of the research.

4.1 Research questions directed towards describing the Kormilda students

The conceptual framework and analysis of Kormilda College presented in Chapters Two and Three detailed a number of variables which appeared to be important for the present study. The distribution of responses on each of the variables was therefore considered to be of interest since no research of this nature had been carried out with full-blood Aborigines prior to the time the present study was undertaken.

The research questions therefore sought to determine:

4.1.1 Values

Had Aboriginal students at Kormilda internalised any achievement value orientations?

4.1.2 Acculturation

To what extent did Aboriginal adolescents at Kormilda adopt the norms of the dominant society?

Did individual areas of behaviour show different patterns in the degree to which traditional norms still prevailed?

4.1.3 Aspirations

Educational

What were the educational aspirations of students?

Did aspirations differ from expectations?

Occupational

What was the range of jobs to which students aspired?

Did these jobs reflect use of whites as reference models?
Did students expect to get these jobs?

Were the students aware of the qualifications required for the jobs to which they aspired?

What reasons governed the choice of jobs?

Social

Were the students happy in their existing social environment?

What were seen to be viable alternatives to life in their home communities?

4.1.4 Attitude measures

What were the attitudes of students towards whites, Aborigines, and self?

4.1.5 Maladjustment

How prevalent were symptoms of maladjustment among students?

In what ways was maladjustment expressed?

How did students from Kormilda adjust at High School?

What proportion of students dropped out of Kormilda before completing a course?

4.1.6 Contact

What degree of contact had students experienced with the dominant society before going to Kormilda?
4.1.7 Gratification choice

What were the relative proportions of students choosing delayed and immediate reward?

4.2 Research questions and predictions concerning relationships between measures

This second group of research questions concerns relationships between variables. Some questions were entirely exploratory, while others made predictions about relationships on the basis of the conceptual framework adopted.

4.2.1 Identity orientation

Identity orientation is a key concept in the present research. Three models of identity orientation have been discussed, and the particular orientation adopted by an individual was dependent on his selection of identification and comparison groups from either the membership or non-membership groups. The identification group was the source of his values, norms and aspirations, while the comparison group adopted determined his attitudes to self and significant others. The particular conditions required for successful resolution of identity conflict depended on the identity orientation adopted by the individual, and analysis of the social system at Kormilda suggested that these conditions were not present.

A number of research questions and predictions were made relating to identity orientation and other measures. These concerned: first, relationships between variables reflecting the identification group adopted by the individual; second, the relationships between identification and comparison groups; third, relationships between identity orientation and other variables of interest in the present study.

4.2.1.1 Relationships between identification group variables

It was predicted that values (Time, Relational, and Man-Nature), aspirations (Educational, Occupational, and Social), and acculturation were positively correlated.

4.2.1.2 Relationships between individual identification group and comparison group variables

It was predicted that: a) a positive correlation existed between values, aspirations, and acculturation, and attitudes to whites; and b) a negative correlation existed between values, aspirations and
acculturation, and attitudes to Aborigines. No relationship between self-concept and identification group variables was predicted.

4.2.1.3 Pattern of relationships between identification and comparison groups

What were the patterns of relationship between the identification and comparison groups adopted by the individual for each of the identity orientations?

4.2.1.4 Relationships between individual ethnic identity variables and maladjustment

Were high scores on values, aspirations and acculturation associated with increased maladjustment?

What were the relationships between attitudes to whites, Aborigines and self, and maladjustment?

4.2.1.5 Relationship between identity orientation and maladjustment

It was predicted that students lacked the potential to resolve identity conflict, irrespective of the particular identity orientation adopted, and that each orientation was associated with a similar degree of stress and maladjustment.

4.2.2 Achievement values and aspirations

Achievement values and aspirations were considered to define modern occupational status, and change in achievement values in order to enable the child to attain such status was a specific goal of educational policy. Discussion of the conditions necessary for changes in ethnic identity to occur suggested that education at Kormilda was unlikely to have had any impact on the aspirations and value orientation of students. However, students who spent a long time at the College had more opportunities to identify with white models and thus it seemed possible that the extent of change in values and aspirations might be related to the period of residence.

4.2.2.1 What changes occurred in aspirations and values that could be attributed to the length of time spent at Kormilda College?

4.2.3 Contact

The amount of contact which an individual had experienced with the dominant society before going to Kormilda was considered to be an important determinant of the identity orientation adopted by the individual and in his subsequent adjustment at Kormilda. Contact with
the dominant society was considered to increase the number of white reference models with whom the individual could potentially identify, and to reflect greater continuity between the life-styles of students at home and at school.

Research questions and predictions relating to contact were based on previous research findings and on the conceptual framework adopted in the present study, or were of an entirely exploratory nature.

4.2.3.1 Relationships between contact and identification group variables

Those students who had experienced a greater amount of contact before going to Kormilda were predicted to have higher scores on achievement values (Time, Relational, and Man-Nature), aspirations (Educational, Occupational, and Social), and acculturation, than those who had experienced less contact.

4.2.3.2 Relationship between contact and identity orientation

It was predicted that students who had experienced a greater amount of contact with the dominant society before going to Kormilda were more likely to polarise towards a white identity model than those with less contact.

4.2.3.3 Relationships between contact and attitude measures (comparison group)

It was predicted that attitude to self was negatively correlated with amount of contact with the dominant society.

The relationships between contact and attitudes to whites and to Aborigines were of interest, but no predictions were made.

4.2.3.4 Relationship between contact and maladjustment

What was the effect of contact on maladjustment of students at Kormilda?

4.2.3.5 Relationship between contact and type of community

What was the relationship between type of community from which the individual came and his degree of contact with the dominant society before going to Kormilda?

4.2.4 Gratification choice

Gratification choice is conceptually related to Time perspective and a preference for delayed gratification has been shown to underlie educational achievements since students must be prepared to forego immediate
rewards and remain at school in order to obtain higher qualifications and better jobs at a later date. A number of researchers have demonstrated empirically that gratification choice is related to many of the variables of interest to the present study: first, there is association with social maladjustment since much of the behaviour which is immediately gratifying is socially disapproved and potentially defined as deviant; second, relationships between preference for delayed gratification and increasing age and I.Q. have been found among most ethnic groups, although studies by Bochner and David (1968) show that among the Australian Aborigines, age and gratification were unrelated, and I.Q. and gratification were negatively correlated.

In the present study, several research questions and predictions were made concerning the relationships between gratification choice and other variables.

4.2.4.1 Relationship between gratification choice and Time value

It was predicted that preference for delayed reward was positively correlated with future time perspective.

4.2.4.2 Relationship between gratification choice and aspirations

What were the relationships between gratification choice and Educational, Occupational, and Social aspirations?

4.2.4.3 Relationship between gratification choice and identity orientation

What was the relationship between gratification choice and identity orientation?

4.2.4.4 Relationship between gratification choice and maladjustment

It was predicted that there was a significant relationship between immediate gratification and tendency to engage in deviant behaviour.

4.2.4.5 Relationship between gratification choice and age

What was the relationship between age and gratification choice for the present sample of Aboriginal adolescents?

4.2.4.6 Relationship between gratification choice and I.Q.

What relationship existed between gratification choice and I.Q?

4.2.5 Drop-outs and stayers

It seemed likely that students who dropped out of school before
completing their courses (drop-outs) differed from those who remained to complete their courses (stayers). Interest was focused on past experiences, present motivations, and personal identity and maladjustment of the two groups.

4.2.5.1 What distinguished students who left Kormilda College before completion of their courses from those who remained at school to complete their courses?

4.2.6 Post-Primary and Transitional Grade High School students

The students in Transitional Grade 7 and at High School represented the academic stream, while those in Post-Primary were in the non-academic stream. Differences between the two groups appeared to warrant investigation and interest was focused on the variables mediating achievement behaviour (aspirations and values) since they were expected to mediate the higher educational achievements of the academic group. The "elitist" status of the students in the academic stream also suggested that the students in this group might have held different attitudes towards self, whites, and other Aborigines, compared with those in the non-academic group.

4.2.6.1 In what ways did the students in the academic stream differ from students in the non-academic stream?

4.2.7 Males and females

The literature concerning the role of women in Aboriginal society suggested that females experienced more identity conflict than males as a result of their status in Aboriginal society and of different pressures impinging upon them as a result of contact with the dominant society. If the girls at Kormilda were more dissatisfied than boys with their roles in Aboriginal society, then they could be expected to show a greater tendency than boys to polarise towards a white identity model and to remain at school longer in order to avoid conflict at home. Further, it seemed likely that females would express more symptoms of stress than males since they appeared less able to resolve conflict.

4.2.7.1 Were there any differences in personal identity between males and females?
CHAPTER V: METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

5.1 Methodology

Behaviour observed in its natural setting defies the boundaries of individual disciplines. Thus any attempt to understand the complexities governing adjustment of Aboriginal students within a framework of social and cultural change requires a selection of the methodological procedures from several social sciences. While each discipline has its own rationale and appropriate research methods, it is only through combinations of these methods, where they are related to each other in logically or empirically ordered structures, that an attempt can be made to understand complex, large-scale, time-extended social behaviour. Recently, social scientists have endeavoured to build up a cross-cultural methodology which encompasses all disciplines. (Berry, 1970; Price-Williams, 1968; Frijda and Jahoda, 1966)

Traditionally, a distinction has been drawn between the holistic approach which characterises field studies with a multi-disciplinary orientation, and laboratory experiments where emphasis is on rigorous analytic procedures. Dragastin (1968) exemplifies this attitude in his discussion of the relative merits of the two approaches in relation to deprivation:

"The ordinary stance of the social or behavioural scientist towards his data is necessarily analytic. He proceeds by taking his data apart variable by variable, and often with ever more precise distinctions. The scientist tends to be rewarded for the sophistication and methodological rigour with which he approaches this analytic task. ....There can be no doubt that advances in the behavioural and social sciences will continue to be made by just such careful, rigorous research. On the other hand, the very nature of the problems raised by deprivation point to a constellation of factors which cause socially undesirable consequences and a syndrome-like constellation in the consequences themselves.

Within the phenomenon of deprivation and the consequences of deprivation, one can identify spiral effects, feedback effects, and complex interactions of widely diverse kinds of variables. For this reason, if research is to provide
needed policy guidance, the strategies of research into the consequences of deprivation necessitate a more holistic perspective than is commonly found in any one behavioural discipline or among researchers pursuing a single-variable problem." (p.276)

More recently, however, the methodological polarisation between experiment and field study has lessened as analysis of both has been undertaken. Not only does such analysis indicate that a large variety of different methods is included under each of these major approaches, but also, to quote Kaplan, that in fact "there is no sharp distinction between observation and experimentation, only a series of gradations and intermediates." (1964, p.144)

Jessor, Graves, Hanson and Jessor (1968) claim that the analysis from which this conclusion emerges shows that the fundamental issue dividing experiment from field study is not intervention or manipulation, but "the degree to which controls have been applied to the process of observation and inference" (p.139). The utility of this general point of view is that it affords a criterion of methodological adequacy which is not coterminous with any particular method of research, but which may be applied to all.

The increasing use made of multivariate analysis rather than bivariate statistics in complex, time-extended studies has enabled a more rigorous interpretation of data to be made. The exploratory nature of the present research, however, defied a rigid structuring of variables and a casual analysis of the resulting pattern, and thus multivariate analysis seemed inappropriate for most of the research questions asked. The wealth of material gathered during a period of intensive contact with a relatively small number of individuals in a cross-cultural situation should not be discarded simply because it is not amenable to statistical analysis — in many instances, a number of case studies are more revealing than a table of figures. Many theorists from different disciplines have criticised research which is characterised by a "deep imbalance between data collection and theory construction" (Janowitz, 1963, p.151) and French (1963) comments on his own discipline that "anthropologists as a group do not know what they know; they do not know the questions for which they have accumulated answers." (1963, p.47) These criticisms cannot be levelled at the present research since it is guided by a broad theoretical framework, although it is not impervious to data falling outside a preconceived
structuring of variables. Moreover, considerable attention has been paid to standardization and there is an underlying methodology and system of controls designed to reduced ambiguity of inference. However, use has also been made of descriptive material to illustrate relationships emerging from quantification of data.

Three major forms of control were instituted in the present research: control through the use of theory, through standardization, and through construct validation.

1) control through the use of theory

Any research which is guided by a theoretical framework automatically exercises some form of control over observations. Observations can never be achieved in raw form - no facts exist independently of some interpretative apparatus. Jessor et al (1968) maintain that "taking advantage of explicit theory means having available a structure of interrelated concepts sufficiently elaborate and articulated to suggest the kinds of observations to be made and data to be sought, to specify the nature and properties of the procedures to be employed in making the observations, and to give meaning to the resulting empirical findings." (p.143)

Whilst control has been exercised to a considerable degree through theory in the present study, not all relationships of interest could be specified in advance because the research is essentially exploratory. Rather, the social problem itself defined the area of research and the conceptual framework has further specified those variables which appear to be relevant. Many of the findings can be related to the theoretical framework on a post hoc basis, since their relevance could not be ascertained at the beginning of the study.

In certain areas concerned with the study of naturally occurring social behaviour, adequate theory is not available to deal with the totality of complex patterns of behaviour. Where applicable in this research, a theoretical framework has been used, and its relevance to social problems is not disputed; however, it is felt that the inadequacy of theories should not preclude the collection of data on a number of variables beyond the scope of these theories and an attempt to relate them on an empirical basis alone.

2) control through standardization

This form of control refers to the application of procedures designed to minimise the operation of subjective, idiosyncratic, or
other factors which, in the process of observation and inference, generate unreliability. Included here are the controls usually exercised in all "scientific" research: the use of formalised tests and interview schedules; statistical techniques to maximise reliability of data; and statistical evaluation of the pattern of findings to enable data interpretation.

Wherever possible, control through standardization was exercised in the present research, although use has also been made of data not subjected to quantification. Observational techniques were used in some situations as their systematic usage can provide a valid and reliable source of data. While some researchers question the usefulness of such data, its systematic collection enables cross-validation to be made. Moreover, in certain situations where communication is poor or impossible, or where individuals are unaware of their own behaviour, such techniques are indispensable.

3) control through construct validation

This form of control is a specific aspect of control through the use of theory and is concerned with the relevance of measures to the research topic. The term "construct validation" means the establishment of evidence for the claim that a score on a particular procedure may be interpreted as a measure of the construct that it purports to measure. The evidence concerning the validity of a measure comes first from properties of the particular test itself, including both content and structure, and second from the degree to which particular measures relate to other variables as determined by the theoretical framework (or to other empirical evidence). In this way, the convergence of multiple, independent lines of evidence strengthens the claim being asserted and lessens the likelihood that an alternative inference can be supported equally well.

In the present study, where tests used in other research projects have been adopted or new tests devised, an attempt has been made to establish some form of construct validity. However, the nature of the research did not always permit such validation of a pre-test. In such cases, validity has been assessed from the data obtained from the main sample of respondents. While certain methodological problems thereby arise, the nature of the study precluded all other possibilities. Further evidence of validity has been found in expected relationships between a given procedure and other variables.
Cross-cultural methodological problems

Researchers differ in their conception of what constitutes "cross-cultural" research. Although some do not include cross-ethnic work within the same culture, it is considered that such studies do in fact fall within the scope of the term since research methods specific to cross-cultural methodology are required.

The present research can therefore be defined as "cross-cultural" and the process of data collection and analysis raises certain methodological problems. While some of these problems were discussed in relation to other controls instituted in the research, further consideration is given to them here.

One of the basic requirements of cross-cultural methodology is the establishment of conceptual equivalence. (Sears, 1961; Fridja and Jahoda, 1966; Berry, 1970) This requires that material used to elicit responses possess similar meanings for the experimenter and for all individuals within the culture being studied. Osgood's development of the semantic differential technique which claims cross-cultural validity for a number of dimensions, and Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's value schedule based on cultural universals, are techniques claiming conceptual equivalence. The concepts of maladjustment and deviant behaviour pose particular problems in the establishment of conceptual equivalence. Many researchers have been concerned with "abnormal" behaviour and have attempted to establish universal categories of symptoms (for example, the Cornell Medical Index). However, behaviour that is regarded as deviant in one culture may be an accepted norm in another, and imposing western concepts of maladjustment ignores the question of conceptual equivalence. The steps taken to ensure conceptual equivalence for the scales of maladjustment in the present study are discussed in the section on construction of measurement instruments.

The devising of culturally appropriate materials and procedures presupposes an intimate knowledge of the cultures concerned, and thus where possible, researchers familiar with Aboriginal culture and response style of individuals were asked to comment on particular items and measures.

Another difficulty which was not controlled for in the present study is the ethnic group membership of the investigator. However friendly the relationship established with the subject, or however culturally appropriate the test materials and procedures, the investigator is inevitably an alien authority figure, which fact may well have an
effect on responses. While a deliberate attempt was made by the investigator to disassociate herself from the network of roles in the College and the hierarchy of authority, it is inevitable that some individuals did in fact identify her with other whites and thus introduce some bias into their responses.

Problems relating to specific cross-cultural validation of the measuring instruments used in the study are discussed in relation to each individual instrument in the following section.

5.2 Construction and validation of measurement instruments

5.2.1 Nature of measurement instruments

A variety of techniques was used in the research including attitudinal scales, self-reports, and observational measures. Some of the measurement instruments had been previously validated and were presented as scales during the testing session; others were derived from questions incorporated into the Interview Schedule and a post hoc attempt made to establish construct validity.

Scoring

An attempt was made to obtain interval scales on all measures and scores were assigned to responses in such a manner as to achieve this aim. Several measurement instruments consisted of items which were dichotomous (for example, the Value Schedule and scales of maladjustment) and were scored 0 or 1. The other scales used in the study contained items which varied in the number of response categories: some items were dichotomous, while others contained three or four categories. The assignment of scores corresponding to the number of categories would have resulted in unequal weighting in scales derived from several measures of different items, proportionate to the number of response categories. On the other hand, conversion of items to dichotomous scores through use of a median split technique would have ignored meaningful differences between individuals at the tail-ends of the distribution of scores on each item. It seemed likely that these individuals, although few, would be of considerable interest to the research. Therefore a scoring technique was adopted whereby each item had the same maximum score and hence equal weighting, but differed in the scores assigned to the alternative categories. Scores were given to categories in such a way that the standard deviations for items in the scale did not differ significantly from one another, thus ensuring that items were equally discriminating.
The level of significance accepted for item-total analyses of individual variables is .05. Unless specified otherwise, all tests are two-tailed.

5.2.2 Measurement of ethnic identity

Four different instruments have been used to measure the ethnic identity of individuals: values, acculturation, aspirations, and attitudes towards whites, Aborigines and self. The first three measures reflect the identification group adopted by the individual while the attitude scales reflect the comparison group adopted.

5.2.2.1 Value scales

Kluckhohn (1953) claims that "valid cross-cultural comparisons can proceed best from the invariant points of reference supplied by the biological, psychological, and situational "givens" of human life" (p.517) and that a cross-cultural study of values pertaining to situations which are universal for all individuals can therefore be undertaken. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) have identified five such universal values and empirical evidence, discussed in Chapter Two, has indicated that three of these values - Time, Relational, and Man-Nature - mediate achievement behaviour in western society.

A number of instruments have been devised to measure these achievement values. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck constructed a schedule which they administered in five different cultures and they attest to its validity in cross-cultural situations. Pothier and Chance (1966) have utilised a modified version of the scale for use with Eskimos, and Tefft (1967) adopted the value schedule in his study of anomie among the American Indians. Inspection of the items in the individual scales indicated that the content of several items had no relevance to the lifestyle of the Aborigines and hence were unsuitable. Since the present research was undertaken, Watts (1970) and Eckerman (1971) have both reported studies using a version of the scale modified by Hausfeld (1967) for use with Aborigines. However, no individual item analyses were performed on their data to determine the internal consistency of the scales.

Other researchers have adopted more conventional types of attitude scales to assess achievement value orientations. Rehberg et al (1970), for example, devised a completely new set of items which they labelled "mobility attitudes" and which they claim mediated achievement behaviour. Dawson (1970) adopted the underlying rationale of Kluckhohn's
and Strodtbeck's value scales and transformed them into Likert-type scales which he successfully validated and for which he provides reliability indices for a group of Australian part-Aborigines. Since a Likert scale is necessarily bi-polar, Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's three orientations could not be represented. Dawson therefore selected the traditional and achievement orientations to define his dimensions.

Although several shortcomings were evident in Dawson's scales, both from inspection and from his own comments, his were the only published data resulting from the administration of value scales to Aborigines and it was decided that the availability of comparable data and the established validity of the scales justified their inclusion in the present study.

Dawson's three scales for Time, Relational, and Man-Nature values were adopted and each consisted of 8 items. (These scales are given in Appendix 5.1.) In order to pre-test the scales, they were administered to a group of full-blood Aboriginal adolescents living in an Aboriginal community in Arnhem Land Reserve, and later to another group of students at Kormilda College. In both situations it was evident that the students were unable to conceptualise the notion of a five-point continuum from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Furthermore, Dawson's simplification of Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's presentation of values resulted in the statement of an abstract idea removed from any situational context to which the individual was able to relate himself. Finally, a number of items were inappropriate for the present sample of full-bloods.

Accordingly, Dawson's scales were dropped and consideration was then given to Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's instrument for measuring values. An inspection of the content of items indicated that several were inappropriate for Aborigines. Traditionally, Aborigines were essentially food-gatherers, leading a nomadic existence with a subsequent disregard for material possessions; value items in the original scales pertaining to such situations as animal husbandry, and distribution of wealth and inheritance were therefore meaningless, even for Aborigines living in communities at the present time.

Three scales of items relating to the Time, Relational, and Man-Nature values were compiled. These scales included some items drawn directly from Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's value schedule, other items
which were modified so that they were relevant to the life experiences of Aboriginals, and items which were newly devised and specific to traditional Aboriginal culture. Because of the limited English of some of the subjects and the impossibility of using the vernacular, the wording of several items was simplified, while the essential elements of Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's items were retained as far as possible. Independent researchers familiar with Aboriginal culture attested to the face validity of the resulting pool of 17 items. The scales differed in the number of items: Time, Relational, and Man-Nature contained eight, five, and four items respectively. Items also differed in the number of orientations. Although Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck always presented three orientations for each value, some of the items in the present scales contained only two orientations since these exhausted the relevant alternative answers. This original pool of items is given in Appendix 5.2, and their origin is noted. The following is an example of the format of one of the items from the Relational Scale:

**Story**

**Three young people were talking about marriage**

**Ideas:**

1. One said when it is time to get married, the marriage should be arranged by the old people and everyone will be happy that way.

2. The second person said that young people should choose who they want to marry by themselves.

3. The third person said that young people should be able to choose themselves who they want to marry but they should still talk about it with the old people and marry someone who is right for them.

**Questions:**

Which person do you think has the best idea?

Which of the other two persons has the better idea?

In order to establish that subjects could fully understand the value items and could differentiate between orientations on each item, the Value Schedule was group-administered to ten trainee Aboriginal teaching assistants at Korrnilda College. The items were presented within
a format based on the A.C.E.R. "Reading for Meaning" English test which was familiar to these students from previous administrations of test batteries. An example of one of the value items presented in this format is given in Appendix 5.3. Analysis of the results indicated that group testing was unsatisfactory since many students were unable to distinguish between orientations when they were presented in the written standard form.

The Value Schedule was then administered individually to a group of 20 students selected at random from Transitional Grade 7 and Post-Primary 1. Each item, presented on a separate sheet of paper, was then placed before the subject and the investigator read each orientation together with the subject, paraphrasing in more colloquial terms when the subject could not grasp the meaning. When the investigator was satisfied that the subject understood the differences between orientations on a single item, he was asked to select the orientation adopted by the person whom he considered to have the best idea or to be most right. When this procedure was followed, all students were able to distinguish between orientations and no misunderstandings occurred. For those items with three orientations, the subject was then asked the same question again for the remaining two orientations. However, although subjects were able to choose the "best" orientation, they were unable to give a ranking of preferred orientations. Failure to obtain the full ordering was unfortunate because it made impossible a comprehensive analysis of change in values in terms of Caudill's and Scarr's (1962) contention that changing values pass in sequence from the traditional orientation through the preferred alternative to the achievement orientation.

The results from the pre-testing of the Value Schedule administered individually were analysed in order to determine the internal consistency of the scale. Interest was focused on whether a given student had selected an achievement orientation, rather than on the actual pattern of value orientations. Individual items were scored 1 if the achievement orientation was selected, and 0 for a non-achievement orientation, irrespective of which alternative was selected. An item-total analysis (point-biserial r) was then performed for each of the scales, corrected for contribution of the particular item.

Only 10 of the original pool of 17 items correlated significantly with the total scale score and these were retained in their respective scales. All the items pertaining to Man-Nature were eliminated since...
they lacked construct validity. Several researchers have found that this scale does not give the expected results for Aborigines. For example, Dawson (1970) found significant correlations between both Time and Relational values and favourable attitudes to education, but there was no relationship between the Man-Nature value and attitudes to education. Watts (1970) reported that both whites and Aborigines preferred the harmony-with-nature orientation. The cultural background of Aborigines suggests that harmony-with-nature is still an important determinant of Aboriginal life and belief systems (Dawson, 1969; Bianchi et al, 1970; Berndt, 1970). A different universe of items is perhaps required and an attempt made to relate them to individual tribal beliefs and customs, rather than seeking universal situations valid for all Aborigines.

The Value Schedule therefore consisted of ten items, of which five were Relational and five Time, and all were significantly correlated with the total scores for each value. This Schedule was then administered individually during the interview session to each student in the sample, in the same manner as that described for the pre-testing.

A second item analysis was performed for this total sample since the previous item-total correlations had been based on total scores which included items subsequently rejected. The resulting pattern of correlations (corrected for contribution of the item) is presented in Table 5.1. The results indicated that two additional items failed to correlate significantly with the revised scale total scores and they were therefore eliminated in the final scoring. The final form of the Value Schedule therefore consisted for four items for each of the Relational and Time values. (These are items 1-8 of Appendix 5.2.)

Responses to items in these final scales were scored 2 for selection of the achievement orientation and 1 for non-achievement orientation. Each individual could therefore have a score ranging from 4-8, for each of the Time and Relational values. Inter-scale correlations between these two values is 0.220 (p < .05). Although Kahl (1965) and Watts (1970) maintain that achievement values must be considered as multidimensional, this result indicates that Time and Relational values are interrelated. Watts also found a significant correlation between these two values for her Aboriginal sample but not between other achievement values or for whites in her study. However, since some of the research questions concern differences between Time
and Relational values, they are considered both separately and combined for most analyses.

Table 5.1 Item-total correlations for value items with subscale value total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relational Item</th>
<th>Time Item</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.18*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.27**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.21**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.25**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p = p < .05 (1-tailed)

**p = p < .05 (2-tailed)

***p = p < .01

5.2.2.2 Acculturation scale

Several scales of acculturation have been devised for use with particular ethnic groups and these reflect the adoption of western technology following contact with the dominant society. However, as Chance (1965) has recognized, the mere adoption of western norms does not necessarily imply that an important shift has taken place in the self-identity of the individual. Therefore, if an acculturation scale is to measure the individual's adoption of the norms of the dominant society through identification with it, items must be selected which indicate that a change in self-identity has occurred. Chance devised such an index for use with Eskimos and he selected areas of behaviour including hair-style, food preferences, language spoken, and type of clothing worn, all of which reflected the individual's choice between western and Eskimo life-styles.

Considerable difficulty was encountered in devising a similar index for use at Kormilda. The principal problem was that the College provided very few opportunities for students to engage in behaviour that reflected a preference for the traditional life-style. However, a scale of acculturation was devised, based on five items which
required verbal responses from each student. Behavioural data were also obtained for three of these items as measures of reliability of students' responses. The items selected were: language spoken with kin, friendship choice, views about marriage, appearance, and choice of recreational activities. It is clear that this scale is not independent of the amount of contact an individual had experienced with the dominant society prior to attendance at Kormilda. Individuals living in towns were less likely to retain their Aboriginal dialect or to maintain friendships only with members of their own tribe or immediate kinship network. However, it would seem inevitable that contact would bring some changes in the self-definition of the Aborigine and the relationship between contact and acculturation is therefore to be expected.

The number of response categories for each of the items in this scale differs and scores are assigned to responses in accordance with the procedure stated in section 5.2.1. The rationale underlying the selection of items in this scale, the range of responses possible, and the scoring procedure, are given separately for each of the five items.

1) Language

Observations were made over a period of time to determine whether an individual spoke Aboriginal dialect or English with members of his own language group. Each subject was also asked during the interview which language he spoke at Kormilda with his own kinsmen. The correlation between the two sources of information is 0.893 and the response in the interview has been taken as the individual's score on this item.

**Scoring:** 4 = English; 2 = Aboriginal language

2) Friendship patterns

Observations of friendship patterns were made over a period of time to determine the students with whom each individual interacted. These results were then compared with the nomination of "best friends" by the students in the interview. Interest was focused on whether an individual interacted only with members of his own language group or home community, or with those from groups that cut across such kinship ties. These two sources of information were significantly correlated (r = 0.526) and the response given during the interview was scored for each individual.

**Scoring:** 4 = at least one friend a tribal kinsmen; 2 = friends not kinsmen
3) **Marriage**

Ideas about marriage appeared to be a good index of the respondent's degree of acculturation. Individuals who strongly identified with their own society still placed importance on the promise system of marriage, while at the other extreme were those who identified with the dominant society and saw marriage to a white person as their goal. Between these two extremes lay those individuals who wished to choose their own marriage partners within the constraint of "right skin", and those who wished to marry an Aborigine but completely disregard "skin".

**Scoring:** 1 = prefers promise system; 2 = choose for oneself, but 'skin' is still important; 3 = choose any Aborigine, regardless of 'skin'; 4 = marry a white person

4) **Appearance**

This item purports to reflect identification with western norms. Aboriginal culture traditionally places little emphasis on personal appearance and hygiene, and thus a measure of appearance warrants inclusion in an index of acculturation. Situational determinants are probably important however, and for the most part it was impossible to determine whether observations of students at Kormilda reflected their behaviour at home during the holidays. A number of criteria were used in an attempt to rate students on this item. Criteria used for girls included noting those who spent their own money at the tuck shop on personal toiletries such as hair shampoo and deodorants; personal appearance rated on those who ironed play dresses, wore ribbons in their hair and had a neat appearance; assessment by house parents of each individual's personal hygiene. This task was more difficult for boys since fewer criteria were available, but they were rated on personal appearance in dress and attention to personal hygiene and money spent at the tuck shop on such items as hair oil. Ratings were not made for each of these independent dimensions, but rather individuals were given a score ranging from 1-4 as a global measure which took the above criteria into account. Ratings were carried out independently by the investigator and the house parents and the correlation between observers is 0.721.

5) **Traditional activities**

The final item in the acculturation scale is preference for recreational activities such as music and dance. At Kormilda, many
opportunities were given to students to play pop music and to dance in the modern style. Many students did not participate in the latter, but this seemed to be due to shyness rather than a dislike for the activity, and thus such behavioural data cannot be used as a measure of acculturation. Since no opportunity was given for students to play their own music or perform their traditional dances, behavioural data could not be obtained on this dimension. Subjects were therefore asked in the interview whether they liked their own dance and traditional music best, or whether they preferred pop music and jiving at Kormilda. No category of "both" was mentioned as it was considered the Ss might use this too often if suggested, while those who were unable to choose between the two alternatives would most likely say so. Observations of students' preferences for traditional or modern activities, both at home during the holidays and on a few evenings at Kormilda when individual staff members organized informal gatherings of students, were not at variance with the obtained verbal responses.

Scoring: 1 = preference for traditional activities; 3 = equal liking for both; 4 = preference for western style activities.

Total scores for acculturation

The range of scores for the scale for acculturation is from 7 - 20.

Internal validity

Standard deviations were calculated for each item to assess the scoring procedure adopted and the results indicate that they do not differ significantly from one another. An item-total analysis (biserial r) was also computed to determine the internal consistency of the scale, and a median split was made to dichotomise scores. Total scores were corrected for contribution of the particular item. All correlations are significant (p < .05); s.d. and r for each item are given in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Item-total correlations for acculturation scale and s.d. of items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.82*</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.42*</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.68*</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.25*</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.42*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = p < .05
5.2.2.3 Educational, occupational, and social aspirations

Educational aspirations

The Educational subscale contains three items: length of time the individual wished to stay at school, and two value items concerning education.

1) amount of schooling

Previous research has shown that an empirical distinction must be made between aspirations and expectations. Subjects were therefore asked two questions about their educational aspirations as part of the Interview Schedule.

1) How long do you want to stay at school?
2) How long do you really think you will stay at school?

Scoring

Scoring on the Educational subscale was based on aspirations, but discrepancies between aspirations and expectations were also noted.

Score: 1, 2, 3

1 - Ss who wished to leave before completing two years of High School or Post-Primary
2 - Ss who wished to complete the minimum course of High School or Post-Primary (3rd year)
3 - Ss who wished to continue at school beyond the minimum course, e.g., to Matriculation

This last item is biased in favour of High School students since no Post-Primary student could score 3.

2) value items relating to education

The two items reflecting the value of education were administered as part of the Value Schedule (Appendix 5.2, Items 18, 19)

Scoring

Score: 3, 1

3 - education orientation
1 - non-education orientation

Total score for Education subscale: 3 - 9

Internal validity

The s.d. for each item and the biserial r correlation
coefficients between item and total scores, using the same procedure adopted for acculturation, are given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Item-total correlations, and s.d. of items for Educational aspirations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.39*</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.65*</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.31*</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05

Occupational aspirations

The Occupational subscale comprised three items: job preference, job awareness, and a value item.

1) job preference

During the interview, students were asked questions concerning their job aspirations and expectations, and the qualifications required for the attainment of these.

1) What sort of work would you like to do when you leave school?

2) Can you tell me how long you would have to stay at school to get a job like that? What else would you have to do to get that sort of job?

3) Is .... (job mentioned) the sort of work you think you really will be doing?

Scoring

Scoring was based on aspirations (question 1)

Score: 1, 2, 3

1 - unskilled work requiring no qualifications
2 - job requiring training as an assistant, or semi-skilled
3 - fully-trained jobs, skilled and professional

See Appendix 5.4 for examples in each classification.

2) job awareness

During the interview, each individual was asked:
Can you tell me three jobs which you think would
be the best jobs that a person could have. They don't have to be jobs you want to do yourself, but just the very best sort of work that any person could do?

Scoring

The categories were identical to those in the preceding question. S was given a score of 1, 2, or 3, corresponding to the highest category of any one job nominated.

3) value item concerning occupational primacy

This item purported to measure the value which the individual placed on the work situation rather than giving primacy to his own personal interests. It was administered as part of the Value Schedule. (Appendix 5.2, item 20)

Score: 1, 3

3 - occupational primacy
1 - personal interest

Total score for the Occupational subscale: 3 - 9

Internal validity

The s.d. for each item and the biserial r correlation coefficients between item and the total scores using the same procedure as with acculturation, are given in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Item-total correlations and s.d. of items for Occupational aspirations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.37*</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.49*</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.26*</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05

Social aspirations

As part of the Interview Schedule, students were asked two questions concerning social aspirations. The first related to place of residence, and the second to type of housing.

1) place of residence

Each individual was asked:
Where do you think you would like to live when you leave school and it is time to get a job?

If $S$ replied Darwin, Alice Springs or Tennant Creek, he was further asked:

Do you want to live at Bagot (or Amoonguna, or the Aboriginal Reserve in town) then, or somewhere else?

A second question concerning social expectations was also asked:

Do you really think you will live there?

**Scoring**

Scoring was based on social aspirations.

**Score:**

1 - live on settlement, mission or pastoral property
2 - live in Darwin, Alice Springs, or other town but not on the Reserve
3 - live outside the Northern Territory

2) housing

Each individual was asked:

Is it all right living in that sort of house (referring to answer to preceding question), or would you like to live in a different sort?

$S$ was asked where necessary to specify what sort of house he would like.

**Scoring**

Score: 1, 2, 3

1 - humpy, tin shack, house with no amenities
2 - King-strand, house with limited amenities (water, lights)
3 - house with full amenities, including stove, beds

**Total score for Social Aspirations:** 2 - 6

**Internal validity**

The s.d. for both items, and the inter-item correlation coefficient is given in Table 5.5.
Table 5.5 Inter-correlation and s.d. for items in Social aspirations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.564*</td>
<td>0.581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.753</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .01

5.2.2.4 Attitude measures

The semantic differential technique was used to measure the evaluative component of ethnic identity. This was selected from a wide range of instruments commonly used by researchers in this attitudinal field, and was individually administered since an earlier group test had indicated that students were unable to follow the instructions. (Appendix 5.5 reviews the instruments utilised by other experimenters and discusses their suitability for the Australian Aborigines. The group administration of the Machover Draw-a-Man test which was used in conjunction with the semantic differential is reported and reasons suggested for its failure.)

The semantic differential was used to obtain measures of attitudes to whites, Aborigines, and the self. The main interest lies in the evaluative aspect of ethnic identity and thus only scales used by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) to measure the evaluative dimension were selected. The particular pairs of adjectives or scales chosen to represent this dimension were those found by Western (1969) and Taft (1970) to usually occur in the stereotype of Aborigines.

1. happy .......... sad
2. friendly ........ unfriendly
3. lazy .......... hard-working
4. clever .......... stupid
5. proud .......... ashamed
6. good .......... bad

Administration

The technique adopted for the administration of the semantic differential was based on a procedure reported by Middleton, Tajfel, and Johnson (1970) who found it to be suitable for young children.
Failure of an earlier pencil-and-paper test using the semantic differential indicated that a simplified technique was required.

The attitude scales were administered during the interview session. A long ruler 4' x 2'' was laid before the subject and two stylized wooden figures 3'' high were placed at the extremities. Each evaluative adjective was written on a card and the relevant pairs of cards were placed adjacent to the figures for each trial. The ends at which favourable and unfavourable words were placed were randomized.

The extreme positions for each pair of words and the notion of degrees between them were carefully explained to each subject, and the middle point was described as "in-between" or "don't know". A third wooden figure was then placed at the middle of the ruler and the subject was first told: "Imagine this is an Aboriginal person just like you". He was then instructed to move the figure to the position on the ruler which best described that person. The figure was returned to the middle point after each placement.

On each scale, the subject made judgements for an Aboriginal person, a white person (the instructions were varied and the subject was told: "I want you to imagine this is a white person who is as old as you are") and the self (the subject was instructed: "I want you to imagine that this person here is you"). This order of concepts was invariant for each of the scales and the same instructions were repeated for each.

**Scoring**

The ruler was marked on the back into seven equal categories, visible only to the investigator. A note was taken of the position at which the figure was placed by the subject on each trial. For each scale, scores ranged between 0 and 6: a high score indicated a favourable attitude while 3 represented the middle category, and 0 the unfavourable extreme point. Since each attitude measure was comprised of six scales or pairs of adjectives, the total range of scores was from 0-36. Each individual rated three concepts on the same six scales and thus three attitude measures were obtained.

**Internal validity**

Although the semantic differential technique has been used for different ethnic groups for whom researchers attest to its validity, no data on its internal validity for Australian Aborigines are available.
An item analysis was therefore performed on the obtained data to check that items were discriminating. Item-total correlations, corrected for contribution of the particular item are all significant at the 0.05 level and are given in Table 5.6. One item, however, is negatively correlated with the total score on the scale measuring attitudes to self: Aborigines who had a favourable self-concept also considered themselves to be unhappy. A possible explanation for this finding is that individuals who gave themselves a high ranking on the other scales distinguished themselves from their kinsmen and may have been rejected by them as a result, which led to unhappiness.

Table 5.6 Item-total correlations for concepts on attitude scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>hard-</th>
<th>happy</th>
<th>sad</th>
<th>friendly</th>
<th>working</th>
<th>clever</th>
<th>proud</th>
<th>ashamed</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whites</td>
<td>0.286*</td>
<td>0.453**</td>
<td>0.547**</td>
<td>0.242*</td>
<td>0.558**</td>
<td>0.574**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>0.449**</td>
<td>0.664**</td>
<td>0.551**</td>
<td>0.447**</td>
<td>0.645**</td>
<td>0.569**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self</td>
<td>-0.377**</td>
<td>0.400**</td>
<td>0.387**</td>
<td>0.513**</td>
<td>0.569**</td>
<td>0.530**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05  ** p < .01

5.2.3 Scales of maladjustment (stress)

Cross cultural researchers concerned with the impact of social and cultural change upon the mental health of the individual have devised a number of indices to measure this dependent variable. Very few researchers have adequately defined the concept of mental health and leave the reader to make his own intuitive interpretation. Studies of deviant behaviour also fall into this category, and thus a multitude of philosophical and methodological issues are immediately raised. Inkeles and Smith (1970), however, have provided a satisfactory definition of adjustment which is accepted here.

"Adjustment is the relative success or adequacy of an individual's functioning as a psychological and social being, within the limits of his constitutional capabilities and his environment. This criterion of successful functioning must be relative to one's physical body and to one's environment". (p.85)

The major criteria or indices of adjustment or mental health have been thoroughly reviewed by William Scott (1958). He found six basic criteria in common use:
1) exposure to psychiatric treatment
2) psychiatric diagnosis
3) social maladjustment
4) failure of positive adaptation
5) subjective unhappiness
6) objective psychological symptoms

While some theorists (Erikson, for example) regard maladjustment as a unitary concept, others claim it is multidimensional. Most researchers have adopted only one of the above criteria. In the present study, two criteria have been adopted as measures of maladjustment or stress: social maladjustment, and psychological symptoms.

5.2.3.1 Social maladjustment (Tension-Discharge)

Adjustment is necessarily determined with reference to norms of the total society or of some more restricted community within the society. One may conceptually define adjustment as adherence to social norms, and deviance from such social norms therefore constitutes maladjustment. Clinard (1963) maintains that deviant behaviour is reserved for those situations in which behaviour is in a disapproved direction relative to the norms and of sufficient degree to exceed the tolerance limit of the community. Difficulties arise here in the determination of the "tolerance limit". Erikson (1964) has attempted to overcome this difficulty by defining deviance as "conduct which is generally thought to require the attention of social-control agencies - that is, conduct about which "something should be done"."

Operationally, an index of social maladjustment can be compiled from the universe of behaviours occurring at Kormilda which are punished for their occurrence. While deviance in this sense can be employed as an entirely objective description of behaviour, divested of any moral evaluative implications, it is important to the definition that students themselves should be aware that the particular behaviour contravenes the College norms (that is, the norms set by the staff).

Construction of scale

Verville (1968) has compiled a list of behavioural problems of children which are symptomatic of maladjustment, and those considered by staff to have regularly occurred at Kormilda in previous years were noted. Data were recorded throughout the year for each individual in the College on this list of behaviour disorders. Sources of data included observations by E, and reports by house parents, other staff members and
students. A Day-Book recording the names of students caught breaking one of the school rules, which was established in second term, provided another source of data and was used to validate individual reports. Students themselves frequently informed E of their own misdeeds or those of their peers since she had taken care to dissociate herself from disciplinary action.

The second stage in the construction of the index of Tension-Discharge or social maladjustment involved establishing which of these behaviour disorders were considered by students to require the attention of social-control agencies (that is, staff). An Ideology questionnaire (discussed in Section 5.2.7) concerning good and bad things to do at home and at Kormilda was administered to all students and responses in reply to the question "What are the worst things to do at Kormilda that you get into trouble for?" were analysed. Students were told that they themselves did not have to do these things, but should write down any behaviour which evoked punishment by staff. Items which were considered symptomatic of social maladjustment (Tension-Discharge syndrome) according to Verville, and which at least 75% of the students perceived to require "the attention of social-control agencies", were combined to form a final index of social maladjustment.

**Scoring**

Although data had been collected on a long list of behaviour disorders, individuals were only scored 1 or 0 for presence or absence of those items of behaviour included in the final index. Some items required the occurrence of the behaviour on only one occasion to score 1, while others which were more commonly observed depended on frequency of occurrence. Appendix 5.6 gives a description of each type of deviant behaviour included in the index, and the scoring procedure adopted.

**Internal validity**

The items included in the index were subjected to an item analysis and a final list of ten was retained with significant item-total correlation coefficients. This index corresponds to the Tension-Discharge syndrome which Nurcombe and Cawte (1967) indicate is a pattern of behavioural disorder characterising Aboriginal children.

There are two deficiencies on this scale. First, students who dropped out could not score as high as those who did not, since scoring was based on observations of behaviour over a year. Second, the scale
makes no allowance for the student's perception of the relative gravity of each type of deviant behaviour.

The final list of items comprising the scale of social mal-adjustment (Tension-Discharge) and item-total correlations are given below in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Items in Tension-Discharge scale and item-total correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>discipline problem</td>
<td>0.69*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absent without permission</td>
<td>0.77*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assault</td>
<td>0.36*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>theft</td>
<td>0.52*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petrol sniffing</td>
<td>0.45*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gang associations</td>
<td>0.65*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>promiscuity</td>
<td>0.59*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prostitution</td>
<td>0.39*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disobedience</td>
<td>0.59*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anger, insolence</td>
<td>0.60*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .01

5.2.3.2 Psychological symptoms (Anxiety-Inhibition)

Maladjustment is also frequently assessed by psychological inventories purporting to reflect the critical processes. A general characteristic of these batteries is that each item is assumed, a priori, to involve a "directional" quality, such that one type of answer may be taken as indicative of psychological disorder, and the opposite answer as indicative of normal functioning.

Among the most common indices used cross-culturally is the Cornell Medical Index (C.M.I.). This has been adapted independently for use with Aborigines by Berry (1970), and Bianchi, Cawte and Kiloh (1970), and was also used by Chance (1965) in his study of the Eskimos. Examination of the items, however, revealed that many of them were inappropriate for adolescents and did not include psychosomatic symptoms associated with the particular school environment. Inkeles and Smith (1970), in their study of personal adjustment in the process of modernization, adopted a set of questions which had previously been widely used for this purpose in various counties, but stated that it was not satisfactory for individual diagnosis and revealed group
A more suitable measure of psychological symptoms of maladjustment among adolescents appeared to be the Adolescent Adjustment Interview Schedule devised by Wintrob and Sindell (1968) for use with the Cree Indians. This schedule included sections on Anxiety, Depression, and Inadequacy, with questions pertaining to psychosomatic symptoms of maladjustment and stress. These questions were therefore included in the Interview Schedule administered to all students in the present study, and an attempt was made to compile an index of Anxiety-Inhibition, which Nurcombe and Cawte (1967) claim to be a second pattern of behaviour disorder in Aboriginal children. Many of the questions required a subjective response from individuals: for example, do you often feel sad? Others were based on observational data: for example, frequent dispensary attendance for minor complaints. Where possible, information was obtained from the Sister to verify responses by individuals.

Scoring

Individuals scored 0 or 1 on each item, depending on the presence or absence of symptoms.

Internal validity

An item-analysis resulted in a final scale of ten items with significant (p < .05) item-total correlation coefficients (point-biserial r). These are given below in Table 5.8. Descriptions and scoring of each of the items are given in Appendix 5.7.

Table 5.8 Items in Anxiety-Inhibition scale and item-total correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hypochondriasis</td>
<td>0.43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enuresis</td>
<td>0.19*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school phobia</td>
<td>0.39**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frequent headaches</td>
<td>0.60**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frequent stomach aches and vomiting</td>
<td>0.53**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fantastic pseudologia</td>
<td>0.37**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isolate</td>
<td>0.33**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often sad, cries</td>
<td>0.59**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shakes inside often</td>
<td>0.50**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frequent nightmares</td>
<td>0.33**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05 (1-tailed)    ** p < .01
Validation of scales for maladjustment

There was no opportunity to validate these scales against independent criteria. However, previous research has indicated that certain relationships occur between the two indices used and other variables included in the study, and thus some measure of construct validity can be obtained. The scales themselves are internally consistent and an ethno-psychiatriest working among Aboriginal adolescents confirmed that the symptoms are all valid indices of maladjustment for this ethnic group.

Although Erikson (1964) argues for a unitary concept of maladjustment, the weight of evidence appears to favour a multidimensional view of mental illness. McQuitty (1954) states that "one might expect that mental illness might develop within any one or more patterns. In order to understand the mental illness of a particular subject, we must isolate the pattern, or patterns, of characteristics to which his mental illness pertains." (p.22) Thus Tension-Discharge, or social maladjustment, and Anxiety-Inhibition, or psychosomatic symptoms, may be independent dimensions of maladjustment, even though both correlate with external diagnostic criteria. The inter-scale correlation coefficient is 0.007, which supports McQuitty's argument for a multi-dimensional approach, and necessitates separate consideration of the two scales.

5.2.3.3 School adjustment measure

Teachers were asked to complete a check-list for each student on a number of criteria which were considered to reflect the degree of adjustment at school. Teachers of three Transitional Grade 7 classes and class teachers of Post-Primary classes at Kormilda rated the students in their own classes. At High School, different teachers were involved with students for different subjects, and thus a number of ratings were obtained for each Kormilda student. There was high consensus between teachers for most students.

The items included in the check-list were:

- easily distracted, lacks concentration
- shy, does not participate in class activities
- apathetic, lazy
- very withdrawn
- lacks confidence
- temperamental, insolent
This measure of school adjustment was primarily intended as a global measure of the degree of adjustment of students at High School following attendance in Transitional Grade 7 at Kormilda; interest was focused on the adjustment of the total group on individual items, rather than on a composite score for each individual.

5.2.4 Contact scale

This scale was designed to measure the amount of contact with the dominant society experienced by each individual before going to Kormilda. De Lacey (1970) has recently devised an index of contact for Aborigines, but it is applicable to groups of Aborigines rather than individuals, and was designed to discriminate between groups differing greatly in the amount of contact with western society. On his index, nearly all individuals at Kormilda would be given the same score, although individual differences did exist. Bianchi, Cawte and Kiloh (1970) have also devised an index of contact, which they label Acquisition of Western Culture Scale and include as a dimension of ethnic identity. Its content is specific to the particular community and age group for which it was developed, however, and it could not be used in the present study.

A new scale for Contact was therefore developed, which considered both community or group factors such as isolation from the dominant society, and individual differences within such communities. Five items were selected as reflecting degree of contact:

1) access to mass media

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scoring:</th>
<th>none</th>
<th>restricted</th>
<th>fully available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) travel to centres of European population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scoring:</th>
<th>never, or short hospitalisation</th>
<th>brief visits</th>
<th>several visits or extended stay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) access to European artifacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scoring:</th>
<th>no local store</th>
<th>limited to store supplies</th>
<th>full range of goods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4) residence

**Scoring:**
- 1: humpy, tin shack without facilities
- 2: house with limited facilities
- 3: European style house

5) rural mobility

**Scoring:**
- 1: never left own community
- 2: visited relations in another community
- 3: lived in different tribal area or town

**Total score range:** 5 - 15

Data for each individual concerning these items were obtained from interview material and from knowledge of settlements, missions and pastoral properties. E and an independent observer rated individuals on the above five items, and the coefficient of reliability on the total scale scores is 0.796.

**Internal validity**

An item analysis indicates that each item correlates significantly with the total score corrected for contribution of that item. Table 5.9 shows s.d. for each item and Pearson product moment correlation coefficients.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.47*</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.59*</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.45*</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.26*</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.40*</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = p < .05

5.2.5 Gratification measure

Shybut (1963) has carried out a comprehensive study of gratification within a tri-ethnic community and used a number of measures which he combined to form an index, thereby increasing predictive validity. This index is suitable for adolescents, unlike the measure adopted by Bochner and David (1968) in their research with Aboriginal children. However, closer inspection of Shybut's index revealed that most of his measures were unsuitable for the present study since they required essay-type answers or choices between situations unique to the particular school
organization. One measure which appeared to be relevant for the present study was adopted, but subsequent pre-testing indicated that the technique was unsuitable and it was dropped. (This technique is described in Appendix 5.8)

A different technique was therefore adopted. After the interview and testing session, each subject was told by E:

"Because you've spent so much time here today and have been very helpful to me and answered all those questions, I'll give you some money so you can go and buy a drink or something at the tuckshop. The trouble is I have to talk to a lot of other people today, and I haven't got very much money with me. So, if you like, you can have 20 cents now; or if you can wait till I go to the bank the day after tomorrow, I'll get some more money and I'll come and give you 40 cents. If you want to do that, we can write you name down in the book here so I don't forget. Otherwise, you can just take the 20 cents now."

The major weakness in this method which was eliminated in Shybut's (1963) technique is that an element of trust/distrust is introduced. The individual must consider the likelihood of his receiving the reward if he delays gratification. It was felt that the effect of this weakness was minimised by two factors: a) E was resident in the College and thus always available to students; and b) after a few payments, other students were aware that their friends were receiving rewards for delaying gratification, thereby attesting to the trustworthiness of E.

Scoring: 1 = delayed gratification, 0 = immediate gratification

Internal validity

No formal attempt was made to validate this measure. However, previous research has demonstrated empirical relationships between gratification and other scales used in this study and therefore validity can be tested indirectly through its correlation with other measures. (See Chapter Seven)

5.2.6 Interview Schedule

The Interview Schedule was modelled on the Adolescent Adjustment Interview devised by Wintrob and Sindell (1968) for use with Cree Indians. It included a number of sections: general background
information; adaptation to Kormilda; family background; educational, occupational, and social aspirations and expectations; difficulties experienced in school; feelings of inadequacy, anxiety, and depression; and attitudes towards marriage and traditional activities. Whereas Wintrob’s and Sindell’s work was clinically oriented and quantification of responses was not undertaken, an attempt was made in the present study to code some of the responses and include them as items in the aspirations and acculturation scales.

The Interview Schedule was administered individually to all students. Although each was asked the same questions, no rigid structuring or sequence was adopted. Rather, the Interview took the form of an informal discussion and as much personal interest as possible was shown to encourage students to talk about their feelings and difficulties experienced in the College and at home. Considerable time was often spent on tangential topics so that better rapport might be established with the subject.

In order to assess the reliability of information given in the interview, many of the same topics were initiated by E with different students while talking informally in the playground. Information obtained in this way was later compared with responses of individuals during the interview. Some students who were reluctant to talk during the interview spoke freely in the playground where the situation was more informal and topics of conversation appeared to occur naturally.

The Interview Schedule is given in Appendix 5.9.

5.2.7 Ideology questionnaire

Following the preliminary analyses of data at the conclusion of fieldwork, the need was felt for some further information from the students about their perception of the values which the College was attempting to inculcate either directly or indirectly, and to determine ways in which they differed from the pattern reinforced at home. For this purpose, the usual attitude and projective tests were considered to be of little value. However, the form of questionnaire introduced by Bavelas (1942) for investigating individual and group ideologies appeared to be suitable. Oeser and Emery (1954) also used this technique in their study of social structure and personality in a rural community and found it valid and reliable for use with adolescents.

The questions adopted for use in the present study concerned the home and school situations and students answered the same questions for
each. The questions asked are given in Appendix 5.10.

This questionnaire was group administered to all students at Kormilda College in schooltime or in the homework period during an additional short period of fieldwork in 1971. Although all other data in the present study had been collected the preceding year, it was considered that the ideologies both at home and at school would not have changed significantly and the data obtained would therefore be valid. Since the data were not being used for individual comparisons but for descriptive purposes, students who had not been at the College the previous year were included in the testing.

5.3.1 Administration of tests

The scales requiring responses from students were all administered individually to each of the students during school hours. For those students attending school at Kormilda, testing was conducted in E's flat which was situated in the College grounds. As students were frequent visitors to the flat after school and on weekends, it was felt that the more familiar room and informal atmosphere would encourage students to be less inhibited. Kormilda students attending High School were tested at the High School. A room was made available to E, and students were tested individually during school hours.

Each session lasted approximately 1-1/2 hours and an attempt was made at the beginning to encourage the student to relax by looking at College Year Books from previous years, or at books on Aboriginal culture, and to talk about his own community and tribal patterns of behaviour.

Before beginning the Interview Schedule, E told the student about the work she was doing:

"I'm not a teacher here at Kormilda, but I'm living here for this year so I can talk to all you people about Kormilda. I'm trying to find out just what things you like about it here and what things aren't so good so we can all make it a better place for you and for the new people who come. I also want to talk to you about the kind of life you have at home, and the good and bad things about living there. Anything you tell me is just for you and me. I'm not going to tell any of those other teachers what you say, so you don't have to worry about saying things."
All right? Is there anything you want to ask me?"  

Sequence of tests  
1) Interview Schedule  
2) Value Schedule  
3) Attitude Scales  
4) Gratification choice  

5.3.2 Sample  

In order to pre-test the Value Schedule, a sample of 20 students was selected at random from Post-Primary 1 and Transitional Grade 7 classes (10 from each).

From the remaining students in Transitional, 25 Ss were randomly selected, with the restriction that sexes were represented in approximately equal numbers.

Transitional: \( n = 25 \)

A sample of 25 was selected at random from Post-Primary 1, with the same restriction for sex as above. However, five students were too shy to answer questions during the interview and hence were discarded.

Post-Primary 1: \( n = 20 \)

From Post-Primary 2, all students who were in their 2nd year at the College were included in the sample; those students who came to Kormilda in 1970 and entered P-P-2 were therefore excluded, but they are included in the figures of total population for entry to Kormilda in 1970, given in Appendix 5.11.

Post-Primary 2: \( n = 21 \)

From Post-Primary 3, all students who were in their 3rd year at Kormilda were included; Ss who had been transferred from Post-Primary 1 to Post-Primary 3 were excluded, but they are included in figures of total population for entry to Kormilda in 1969, given in Appendix 5.11.

Post-Primary 3: \( n = 6 \)

1st Year High School students were tested at the beginning of 3rd term, 1970, and all students who were still in the College at this time were included in the sample. The drop-out rate in the preceding two terms, however, was greater than expected, and thus the sample size
was greatly reduced and the sample itself is unrepresentative of the group who commenced the year.

1st Year High School: \( n = 13 \)

2nd Year High School students were similarly tested at the beginning of 3rd term, by which time several of them had dropped out of school. All students still resident at the College were included in the sample, but one boy was eliminated since he would not co-operate with a female interviewer.

2nd Year High School: \( n = 10 \)

Total sample size: \( n = 95 \)

The characteristics of the particular sample as compared with the total population are given in Table 5.10 for Post-Primary, and Transitional/High School students separately. It is clear that a representative group was selected, with the exception of the category of High School students who had dropped out earlier in the year, none of whom was included in the sample. This deficiency has been partly overcome by including High School students who dropped out the following year in the figures for drop-outs for some of the analyses. (This procedure is explained in the chapter on results.)

Data were not obtained for all students in the sample on all measures, due to the drop-outs:

1) The Value Schedule was administered to Post-Primary 1 and Transitional Grade 7 students both at the beginning and at the end of the year to determine if the College had any impact on values. Ten students had dropped out of the sample from these classes during this period, and thus there are data on two value testings for 18 Post-Primary 1 and 17 Transitional students only.

2) Data for the attitude scales are also incomplete. Most of the tests were administered to Post-Primary 2 at the end of Term Two, and it was intended to administer an instrument measuring the evaluative aspect of ethnic identity at the beginning of Third Term, since the previous instruments adopted had proved unsatisfactory. The previous drop-out rate among Post-Primary 2 students during their second year had not been high, and thus no difficulty in reduced numbers was expected. However, 50% of the students in P-P.2 did not return in Third Term and thus no data on attitudes to whites, self, or Aborigines were obtained for these students.
Table 5.10  Analysis of student population of 1970

Figures are based on students enrolled at Kornilda in 1st term, 1970, and who had either dropped out, completed courses or were still in the College to the end of 3rd term, 1971.

Transitional and High School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drop out during 1st year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; end 1st year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; during 2nd year</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; end &quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; during 3rd year</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; end &quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>still at Kornilda after 1 year</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3 &quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Post-Primary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drop out during 1st year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; end &quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; during 2nd &quot;</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; end &quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; during 3rd &quot;</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 4th &quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>complete course after 2 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3 &quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>still at Kornilda after 1 year</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sample size for each of the particular tests administered is given in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11 Sample sizes for all tests administered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test Values</th>
<th>1st testing</th>
<th>2nd testing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitional</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Transitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Primary</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Post-Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude Scales</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustment Scales</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratification</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER VI: CASE STUDIES

Four case studies are presented in order to provide a detailed description of the three different models of identity orientation discussed in Chapter Two (Section 2.2.5): polarisation towards a white model, a traditional model, and synthesis of both white and traditional models. These cases were selected to represent different positions on the identity continuum and to exemplify points made in the earlier discussion. Following the presentation of case studies for each identity orientation, an attempt is made to generalize from the individual to the group of which it is "representative".

The first case study is that of an individual who was traditionally oriented. It is apparent from the analysis that the traditional model towards which he was polarising differed considerably from anthropological descriptions of a "traditional" Aborigine, and his attitudes, values, norms, and aspirations reflected considerable contact with the dominant society. In the present study, the location of "traditional orientation" on the continuum of ethnic identity has already moved away from the traditional pole.

The second and third case studies describe individuals who attempted a synthesis of both white and traditional models. Case Study Two illustrates successful resolution of identity conflict, while Case Study Three exemplifies the intense conflict and identity confusion experienced by a girl who was unable to choose between contrasting values, role expectations, and models for identification. While she is categorized as attempting to synthesise both white and traditional models, she was located close to the white pole on the identity continuum and eventually tried to resolve conflict through white polarisation.

The final case study was that of a girl who was white-oriented. However, her membership group continued to influence her, and it is clear that she had not completely internalised the attitudes, values, norms, and aspirations of the dominant society. Her location on the identity continuum has been defined as white-orientation, but it does not represent the most extreme point possible.

Material for each of these case studies was obtained from a number of sources, including objective tests, formal interview data, casual conversations in the playground, and observations. Emphasis is placed on subjective material, however, and an attempt made to provide
a global description of the individual rather than to analyse particular responses to test material.

6.1 Case One: Traditional Orientation

A.B. was 17 years old and in his 2nd year of Post-Primary. He enjoyed his first year at the College, but considered he was old enough to leave school at the time when interviewed and did not want to remain at Kormilda any longer.

He came from a Roman Catholic mission, 200 miles from Darwin, but his contact with the dominant society had been increased by visits to Sydney, Brisbane, and Melbourne. His family lived on the mission in an iron house, without facilities such as water and lights, and everyone slept on the floor. His father was dead, and his mother, who spoke a little English, worked in the sewing room. A.B. did not mind the way of life back home and said that he would be perfectly happy living in a similar house when he was older. Ceremonial life was still important on the mission, and A.B. was a particularly good dancer and enjoyed the music and dance which went on in the camp during the evenings. However, he realised that these traditions had no place at Kormilda and said sadly during the interview: "I feel shamed. I've been in the College too long. I would look silly if I did dances when I get back from the College - I've been to Kormilda and they don't expect people to do that sort of thing any more. I would have to stay home a long while and get used to it again. I don't mind dancing in front of other people."

A.B. enjoyed hunting and fishing when he was home and spoke about the kinship obligations which were still observed: "We have to share things with all the people - that's our way, you know. Last holidays, I caught three kangaroos and gave one to each of the three camps." He recognized, however, that the mission was changing things and that boys must go to school: "Boys are different, they should go to school first. Girls are allowed to stay home."

However, A.B. believed that after one year at Kormilda he had learned enough, and the futility of spending too long at school was apparent to him: "That Superintendent, he said the boys had to stay at Kormilda and get a good job. He said "you boys got lots of things to learn at Kormilda." People are getting real wild with him now because he promises things and then they aren't there."
Following the holidays in first term A.B. did not want to return and he and his friends missed the plane. His mother wanted him to stay home and help look after the children since his father was dead and he was the eldest child. The Superintendent, however, encouraged all the boys to return, some against their will, since they created trouble at home and there was not enough for them to do.

Besides feeling homesick for his family and missing the traditional way of life back home, A.B. disliked certain aspects about Kormilda. There were too many rules - "they're always telling us to do things here" - and he and his mates disliked the Principal whom they accused of being too friendly with the girls and completely ignoring the boys. However, he did enjoy the pictures, the opportunity to go shopping, and Manual Training, and admitted that "when I'm back home, I sometimes like to be here, and when I'm here I like to be home - it's funny, you know."

At school A.B. was a very likeable student who clowned in class and got on well with other students and teachers. He enjoyed school, and did not experience any difficulties with the work. The class atmosphere was very relaxed and all the students particularly liked their class teacher; he never felt nervous in class when asked questions or requested to do something for the first time. In fact, he stated; "I don't worry about Europeans, I think Europeans are friendly. I worry about Aborigines because they fight when they're drunk." However, he admitted that he often felt unhappy, especially when he came back from the holidays. At first, he used to get a lot of headaches and feel sick, and the Sister would give him medicine, but he said that he did not feel like that so much any more. He often felt scared, though, "especially when I see Mr. Benjamin (the Principal) coming - I certainly do. My voice seems to be choking me; my voice goes all funny."

A.B. was a member of a gang of boys from the same mission, none of whom wanted to be at Kormilda. Because of this desire to be home, and the lack of community support back home for their presence at the College, the boys caused much trouble in out-of-school hours. A.B. spoke with delight about their raids on the kitchen and tuck shop and his antics in the girls' dormitories at night. He ran away from the College on a number of occasions and was involved in an assault on the Principal. Towards the end of second term, he was caught snifing petrol with his peers, and steps were then taken by the Principal for
their expulsion from Kormilda. None of the boys from the mission returned to Kormilda for the remaining term.

When it was time for him to leave school, A.B. wanted to work at timber cutting on the mission. As he himself claimed, he had learned a lot of things at Kormilda but had been there too long and did not need to know any more. This attitude is understandable as no formal education was required to fulfil his aspirations, and prolonged detention at Kormilda for a boy of 17 only created conflict and frustration with consequent overt reactions against the system.

The only aim of A.B. at the time of the Interview was to leave Kormilda and return home to live in the same way as his kinsmen. He felt that things should stay the way they were at that time and people should not start making changes - "there's too much trouble that way." He was promised to a young girl and although he could appreciate the reaction by some Aborigines to the promise system, maintained that tribal laws were the most important and that he must marry his promise: "The people would be angry if I don't marry her. You've got to pay money to that man if you don't want to marry his daughter."

Despite his traditional orientation, and friendships only with boys of his own tribe, A.B. thought Australian identity to be the most important: "Most Aborigines at home think tribe comes first. But we children think Australia comes first - Australia is a big country."

A.B.'s socially deviant behaviour can be seen to arise from the discontinuity between the two environments of home and College and a failure to adjust to the situation in which he was then detained. Conflicts inevitably arose and the only reaction which seemed possible to such a student was to fight against the system itself. His hostility was not directed towards Europeans and the dominant society, but towards the College itself and the Principal as the figure who represented authority: "He knows I hate him - he can see it in my eyes." As a result of this hostility, A.B. did not internalise any of the values the school was trying to inculcate, nor did he develop occupational and educational aspirations different from those of his peers back home. He therefore might have been expected to experience little difficulty in adjusting to a life on the mission since the material advantages of Kormilda had not made any major impact on him and he was not dissatisfied with the average lot of the individual in the camp situation to which he wished to return.
A.B.'s feelings about home, his attitudes to Kormilda, and his deviant behaviour, were fairly typical of the 11 other students who were traditionally-oriented. All but one individual had dropped out of the school system before completing a Post-Primary course, and many had vented their feelings of frustration in deviant behaviour directed against the College. They all wished to work at home in the range of occupations available to Aborigines on settlements, and none had any aspirations which could not be fulfilled in home communities. The traditional way of life was still important and the major dissatisfaction at Kormilda arose from the failure of the school to provide continuity in this area.

6.2 Case Two: Synthesis of traditional and white models

C.D. was 17 years old and in his last year of Post-Primary, having begun as one of the foundation students of the College. He was a very likeable, friendly student who was well adjusted and self-confident. He was popular with all the other students, and his best friends were two boys who also came from Darwin. English was his first language and he maintained that he did not speak a tribal language at all.

C.D. had lived on a government settlement, east of Darwin, for most of his life but four years earlier he and his family had moved to the local settlement on the Aboriginal Reserve in Darwin where they lived in one of the Housing Commission homes. They also owned a car. There were a substantial number of people from their former settlement living on the Darwin Reserve, and considerable movement occurred between the two communities. C.D. and his family usually returned to their former community each year to visit relations. His father was a linesman with the PMG and his mother looked after the house, although an Aboriginal woman also helped with the housework since his mother was afflicted by leprosy. His family included two sisters, one of whom was also at Kormilda and attending High School. C.D.'s parents placed a high value on education and were very keen for their children to be at Kormilda. His father maintained with pride that all his family only spoke English, although they could in fact converse in pidgin which was the lingua franca of the district in which they formerly lived.

The life led by C.D. at home was very similar to that at Kormilda. He slept in a bed and was bound by a relatively fixed time schedule and sequence of activities which characterise the dominant society. His parents had internalised many of the western values and emphasis was placed on personal appearance and hygiene. Having lived in Darwin for
a few years, C.D. had developed many of the modern social skills necessary for integration and acceptance within the community and had interacted with white peers and adults in many different situations.

C.D. liked being at home during the holidays and wished to continue living there when he left school. However, he considered the best things about Kormilda were being away from home and the pressures and demands of parents, and the opportunities for playing in sporting teams.

Ceremonial life was no longer of any significance for C.D. or his family, although he continued to identify as an Aborigine and wanted to marry an Aboriginal girl of his own choice. His parents no longer believed in the importance of the promise system and there were no tribal pressures on him to accept this marriage pattern. His concept of identity as "Aboriginal" was related to kinship ties and his affinity with his kinsmen both from his former community and at the settlement in Darwin, and he felt that being an Aboriginal was more important to him than being Australian. His attitude towards the Aboriginal people was favourable, although not as high as his own self-concept or attitude towards Europeans. He was oriented towards the future and believed that things would be better for him than for his parents and that people must forget about the old ways if they want to get ahead. He himself wanted to get a good job so that he might buy the material possessions that Europeans in the dominant society enjoy.

When the time came for C.D. to leave school, he wanted to follow a full mechanics course and work as a qualified mechanic in Darwin. Although he was in Post-Primary, rather than in the academic stream, his ability surpassed many of those at High School and it seemed likely that he would be able to realise his aspirations. He did not experience any difficulties in school and teachers' reports indicated that he coped well with the work. He enjoyed Manual Training, particularly mechanics, and received an Award at the end of the year as an outstanding student in this trade.

Despite an outward appearance of self-confidence, C.D. was still unsure of himself in some situations. He reported that he sometimes felt nervous in the presence of white people and often felt homesick for his family. However, he showed no other signs of maladjustment or conflict which characterised so many students at the College, and was
rarely in trouble for any form of misbehaviour. As a dormitory prefect he organized other students, and his discipline in this situation was accepted by all.

C.D. was a student who exemplifies a successful outcome of the goals of the education policy and of the broader assimilation policy. While he identified as an Aborigine and was proud of his ethnic group, he was nevertheless integrated into the community and had the skills and work attitudes to enable him to fulfil his aspirations and participate in the economic, social, and political structures of the dominant society. He had successfully resolved any personal conflicts in identity facing him in a cross-cultural situation, through integration of the attitudes and beliefs of the two societies. A probable reason for this successful resolution and adjustment was the continuity between the two environments in which he was socialised. For him, Kormilda did not present a host of new situations requiring new norms of behaviour and the development of new skills; rather, it reinforced most of the values he had already internalised through identification with his own parents. The continuity between the two environments promoted more effective learning since most of his time was not taken up in adjusting to the conflicts between life at Kormilda and life at home. Contact with whites in the dominant society and with white peers in the primary school had led to a greater degree of self-confidence and the acquisition of skills which would enable him to fulfil his educational, occupational, and social aspirations.

6.3 Case Three: Synthesis of traditional and white models

E.F. was 16 years old and in her 2nd year at Kormilda and attending Darwin High School in 1st year. She was a friendly, mature girl and got along well with other students and staff. However, she mainly associated with those students who were her kinsmen and claimed to feel uncomfortable with the others, especially those from the "Top End". Her English was good and she had no difficulty in communicating ideas and feelings.

Most of her life had been spent on a government settlement 500 miles S.W. of Darwin, where she lived with her parents in a humpy in the camp during the holidays. Neither of her parents had received any formal education, although they were happy for E.F. to go to Kormilda. Her father worked on the settlement, and her mother looked after the younger children, including two brothers who expected to come to Kormilda in 1972. E.F. herself was promised to an old man who died in
an accident and she was subsequently claimed by his brother as tribal custom decrees. She was very much opposed to the promise system and refused to go to this man. She still wished to marry an Aborigine, but wanted to choose for herself. Her attitude towards her own people was ambivalent: on the one hand she was dissatisfied with life at home and wanted to live in a house, wear clean clothes, and be "respectable"; on the other hand, she was not anxious to leave her own people and said that she would like to get a job at home which would enable her to fulfil these aspirations. Her occupational ambition was to follow a secretarial or teaching course and then return home to the settlement to work.

Although she enjoyed returning home for the holidays during her first year at Korrilda, she became increasingly disturbed at the idea during the second year. The prospect of trouble with her promised husband and sleeping in the camp was distasteful to her. In second term, she and a girlfriend were granted permission to live in the Single Staff Quarters during the holidays, and most of the time was spent playing records, being "European", and spending as little time as possible in the camp. The other children at home usually taunted the Korrilda students and accused them of being "whitefellows", but this was dismissed as jealousy and there were enough individuals to give one another support and enable them to resist the peer group pressures of the community at home.

At this time, conflict was clearly present, and the pull of both western and traditional societies apparent. On the one hand, her own people could provide her with a sense of belonging and security, while on the other hand white society provided glimpses of a "better way of life", with more status and material comfort. Her dislike of the promise system and a desire to marry an Aborigine of her own choice revealed further alienation from her own people.

At Korrilda, E.F. appeared happy and well adjusted in the early part of the year and participated in various College activities. She was a frequent visitor to the researcher's house and occasionally confided some of her anxieties. Her best friend at Korrilda was a kinsman who was white-oriented and continually defied the rules until her eventual expulsion. Yet despite this friendship, E.F. was rarely in trouble for the first half of the year. She enjoyed High School and appeared to cope well with the work. Her teachers described her at this stage as a conscientious, cooperative, and mature student who
was popular with others in the class and had more self-confidence than many of the other Kormilda students.

However, in mid-year, E.F.'s attitude changed completely. While she admitted to liking the first year at Kormilda, she no longer wished to be at the College and claimed an intense dislike of High School. She ran away from the College on numerous occasions and refused to attend school when forcefully returned to Kormilda. She admitted spending several nights with one of her kinsmen at Bagot Aboriginal Reserve in Darwin, and eventually left on a truck returning to the settlement, but was apprehended en route and returned to Kormilda once more. Her best friend was then expelled from the College and this left E.F. with no incentive to remain, and all punishments were ineffective. She organized a job for herself in the kitchen at Bagot Reserve in Darwin and when again sent back to the College, wrote a letter to the Principal stating her reasons for giving up High School:

"...Another reason is that I don't want to continue my schooling at High School. I think I'm old enough to leave school. You see I'm nearly 17. I shouldn't be in 1st year anyway. I know it worries me a lot going to school. I want to give up the whole idea of going to school. I think I've learned enough. You might think education is important and I think so too. Well, you got me all wrong about this. I don't want to be well educated person. I don't want to show off for my family especially. I think I know and understand about the European society now. I'm quite sure I know I don't want to go to school.

...At X, many people think I should leave school not because they jealous. They want me there. They know and they've told me that I'm sensible enough to work and help them even though I don't want to finish High School properly. I want to leave school. I don't want to continue my school at Darwin High. I'm not very satisfied about going to school, especially the Darwin High School where I find subjects very complicated and difficult to understand.

So please let me have my job back at Bagot.

Thanks very much for your help."
Following this plea, E.F. left Korrnilda and went to stay at Bagot where she worked for a time in the kitchen and then got a job in a Dry Cleaners in Darwin. She did not like this work, however, and eventually returned to her home community and spent the first six months of 1971 working as a Teaching Assistant in the school there. Trouble with her promised husband prompted the Superintendent to send her out on the plane to Darwin, and she returned to Bagot and was once more given a job working in the kitchen. At this stage (August 1971), the researcher was back at Korrnilda for a further period of fieldwork and E.F. asked if she could come and see her to talk about things. The conflict she then faced was clearly apparent: she had developed aspirations which were impossible to realise and was caught between the lure of European society and elevated status, and her own society which offered a greater degree of security. Her opening remarks to the researcher were:

"I'm sad all the time; I worry; I'm just unhappy you know. I'm always getting upset. I don't like living at Bagot - I should be at Korrnilda. I liked Korrnilda the first year I was here and for the second year. It was I.J. (her best friend) who made me do things.

I've been educated, I know how to behave good - I've been to High School. It's hard you know, that X mob at Bagot - they want me to go to them. But I'm not going to - I know the right way for a person to behave. I was silly last year, but I don't want to live like that any more."

E.F. no longer wanted to return to her own settlement, but would have liked to do a secretarial course and work in Darwin, living in a hostel somewhere. While secretarial and other courses were offered for Aborigines, they were mainly intended to provide individuals with skills that would enable them to work in their own communities and were usually not of sufficient standard for employment in Darwin. Other jobs in towns, such as shop assistants, required a measure of self-confidence which was lacking in E.F. Visits to Commonwealth Employment Agencies and to the Aboriginal Guidance and Adjustment Section failed to reveal any alternative for E.F. in the immediate future to working in the kitchen. Attendance at Korrnilda and a year at High School, however, had led her to expect greater opportunities and had given her a feeling of superiority over her fellow Aborigines who had received little formal
education. Her present salary and working conditions made it impossible for her to live anywhere else but Bagot, yet it was there that she was subject to the greatest pressures to accept her lower status in Aboriginal society and conform to all its norms which she realised were often opposed to those in western society.

The two case studies of individuals attempting to resolve identity conflict through synthesis of white and traditional models illustrate two possible outcomes of formal education in a cross-cultural context: for one individual conflict was exacerbated since she was forced to choose between contrasting norms, role expectations, and models of identification; while for the other, the experiences at school provided continuity with his life-style at home and enabled cultural synthesis to occur. The majority of students at Kormilda synthesised both models, although only a few individuals experienced identity confusion as intensely as E.F. It is possible that it is only at a point in time when the individual has to make decisions concerning occupation or place of residence that conflict becomes more intense and resolution may be perceived as impossible.

Although many students were able to reduce role conflict through observing different norms in different behaviour settings, many showed symptoms of stress. The drop-out rate was still high among individuals who were attempting to resolve identity conflict through synthesis of both models, and truancy from the College was very common. The school had made some impact on most of the students in areas such as personal hygiene and appearance, and had helped them to develop a degree of self-confidence, but it had created many conflicts in the attitudinal area. One boy who had been at Kormilda for three years stated: "You can't change anything that goes against tribal law, even if you don't think it's right", and another asserted that: "We should do things the way the old people have done them - we have to carry on for our parents".

Most students had a favourable self-concept and only occasionally made reference to ethnicity: one boy retorted during a conversation that "You forget there's one difference between us - you should know - you're white and I'm black!" However, despite a favourable self-image, many students had negative attitudes towards other Aborigines. One boy refused to acknowledge that he could speak a dialect: "I follow white man's language; I live in a white man's house." His fellow students
in class all explained: "He's shamed - he doesn't want to say any words in language." Another part-Aboriginal girl was observed putting talcum powder all over her face to see what she looked like as a white person.

Students varied greatly in their degree of self-confidence and ability to cope with the environment outside the College. Most were still shy in interacting with whites, and one girl confessed: "We only understand Europeans a little bit, they do things differently from us." While the students in Post-Primary classes coped adequately with their school work, many of those at High School found the work very difficult and expressed feelings of inadequacy: "I just haven't got any brains and I can't understand those things. I wish I was brainy. I try hard at school, but I just can't do some of those things." Some of the students at High School faced opposition from parents in their desire to continue. This created conflict and deprived students of the necessary encouragement from home to persevere. A senior student expressed her difficulties in a letter: "I sometimes find my work and studies very hard but I don't like to give up. I'll try my best and keep going no matter whether the work seems hard or easy. I'll still try so one day I'll set an example for my own people. Some of my people don't understand and they don't too."

One of the greatest conflict areas for students attempting to synthesise models was the promise system of marriage. While students wanted to return home to live, many girls did not want to marry their promised husbands. The majority of girls rejected the traditional arrangement of marriage and in several cases they disliked returning home for the holidays since conflict was intensified.

6.4 Case Four: White Orientation

G.H. was a sophisticated young Aboriginal girl of 18 who was a foundation student of the College and in 2nd year at High School. She was oriented towards the dominant society and had internalised many of its values and adopted its norms, not only in the situation at Kormilda, but also in her home community. She spoke English well, although dialect was still her first language spoken with her friends, and she appeared self-confident in most situations.

G.H. came from an island mission in the Gulf of Carpentaria, although her parents had recently moved to a mission on the mainland adjacent to a mining town. Her father was head of one of the important tribes and was a councillor at the mission. He had a number
of wives and lived in a humpy in the beach camp, although G.H. and her sister, who also attended Kormilda, usually stayed with their mother or full sister when they went home during the holidays. Although her father was unable to read or write himself and spoke very little English, he considered education to be important and was happy for both his daughters to be at Kormilda, providing they observed the traditional norms of behaviour when they went home.

G.H. was promised to an old man who died and she was subsequently promised to a second man who took another wife. She was very much opposed to the promise-system of marriage herself: "I told my father, I don't want to be promised — why do you have to have a promise? Then I got real angry with all those old men and said I don't want to marry any of you and my father he got real angry too. I think the European way is much better and a person should be able to choose."

Undoubtedly the authority of her father enabled her to avoid being forced to go to her promise, but she now rejected all her own people as marriage partners: "There's no one any good at X - they're all rubbish, those young men. I don't want to marry them." G.H. had a European boyfriend in Darwin, but admitted that she could never return home with him to live there. She asked plaintively: "Why is it wrong to have a European boyfriend?"

Ceremonial life was still very important among her people and her father played an important role in this sphere. She herself still liked the song and dance, although she did not participate very often. Kinship ties remained a dominant aspect of interpersonal relations and even at Kormilda she observed avoidance taboos relating to specific persons and retained traditional supernatural beliefs. While home in the holidays, she mostly spent the time just sitting around, and after a day at home would rather have been back at Kormilda: "It's boring at home and there's not enough things to do - I'd rather be back in Darwin."

G.H. took great pride in her personal appearance and was always well groomed with a ribbon in her hair. This created intense conflicts at home: "The people at home, they don't like us being clean. The other girls are just jealous of us. They don't like us wearing our clean clothes or looking nice." Her father similarly protested at her attempts to be a "narbuci" (pejorative term for European). This basic dilemma between the western way of life as exemplified at Kormilda and accepted by G.H. and the traditional pattern at home was recognized
explicitly: "The people at home call us Kormilda people names. It's hard going back for holidays - we live like Europeans now. They try to make us like Europeans in there - the people at home don't like it."

Despite this dissatisfaction with the traditional way of life back home and the desire to return to Darwin as soon as she had seen her relations, G.H. was not very happy at Kormilda, although she chose that situation in preference to home. She would have preferred to live in a hostel or in a town with a family. The main trouble with Kormilda was that "there are too many rules, too many bossy people and I hate Mr. Benjamin. This place is just a prison, we don't have fun here as teenagers - we're missing out on being teenagers. We should be at home where we have fun growing up."

As a result of the pressures and conflict experienced by G.H., she was repeatedly in trouble and remarks to her by the Principal that such behaviour was to be expected because "she is basically bad" only intensified her maladjustment. She was a petulant individual and was insolent and stubborn with Staff when reprimanded. She ran away from the College on numerous occasions, and refused to comply with the rules when refused permission to leave the College as a punishment for disobedience. Many of her difficulties arose from her age and maturity and the knowledge that she would be treated as an adult at home; at Kormilda, she was bound by all the College rules and accorded no special privileges. She herself said: "I don't want to stay at Kormilda College any more - I'm too old now." G.H. claimed she often used to feel unhappy, but not any more. Sometimes, though, she cried in her room and often had scary dreams about the people fighting back home, which used to wake her up in the night.

At High School G.H. was the only Kormilda student to take an active part in the school organization. She was the class representative on the Students' Council and made an effort to become involved in other school and class activities. She mixed well with other students in the class and in a sociogram administered at the High School the preceding year, was the only Kormilda student who wanted to sit next to a European. Teachers' reports of her performance at school varied, although most said she was one of the best students in the class, even though slow and easily distracted. She was still shy and reserved, however, and was embarrassed to have attention drawn to her. G.H. herself said she found school hard, particularly English. She enjoyed
typing best of all and her teacher maintained that she was the best in the class and should have no difficulty in finding employment in this field. She found all the students in her class friendly and did not feel nervous when the teacher asked her questions. However, she continued to feel uneasy when in the presence of people she did not know and was scared whenever she had to make speeches.

G.H. wanted to continue on at school until 4th year and then get a job working in an office. She would like to live in Darwin in a house and certainly not at Bagot Reserve. However, she was not opposed to living at home if she could get a job with the mining people who were established adjacent to the mission. The availability of a European population, particularly males, was an attraction here.

G.H. typified an individual who was oriented towards white society and had accepted its norms and values and wanted to become integrated within the dominant society. She was very much aware of the subordinate status of women in her own society and saw that the only possible solution to her situation was to marry a white man. She was aware at the same time that this would mean rejection by her own people. Her prolonged stay at Kormilda was a means of postponing the inevitable decisions concerning her future - whether to return home to the camp situation and to marry a promised husband, or to remain in Darwin. However, she also had the ability to fulfil the aspirations which had developed through contact with the dominant society and therefore had the potential to resolve the identity conflict she was experiencing at the time. If she were prepared to accept the European way of life, settle in Darwin, and be independent of her kinship obligations, then conflict might be resolved. The alternative of returning home would satisfy certain needs, but would also create endless dissatisfactions and an inevitable alienation from her own people who had not experienced the same degree of social change.

The conflict G.H. faced was similarly experienced by most of the 12 students who were white-oriented, and a number of these students showed signs of acute identity confusion. Two girls subsequently married European men and the other girls had all rejected their promised husbands and denigrated the men of their own ethnic group as "rubbish ones".

Most of these students had developed high educational, occupational, and social aspirations, and wished to live away from their home communities. Since the majority were at High School, it is
likely that they had the ability to realise their aspirations, but they were nevertheless characterised by a lack of self-confidence in interacting with whites, and some had gross fears of failure. One girl mentioned that she would like to be a nurse and train down south, but felt she could not cope with the situation and with all the white people, and even in Darwin she felt that people in the street were always looking at her.

While nearly all these individuals who were white-oriented did not wish to return home during the holidays, they were not always happy at Kormilda. Each student had run away from the College on at least one occasion, some as often as 15 times, and most exhibited a number of psychosomatic symptoms indicative of emotional conflict. One girl received psychiatric treatment, another had taken an overdose of aspirins; one boy mentioned that he felt sick with worry trying to decide what to do about the future, and just lay awake at night thinking about it; another girl suffered from nightmares; and all remaining students had been in trouble for deviant behaviour, including assault and abuse of staff, disobedience, and promiscuity.
CHAPTER VII: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results are presented in two major sections, corresponding to the research interests and questions of the study which were stated in Chapter Four. First, the results for each individual scale used in the research are presented and the Kormilda students are described in terms of the distribution of responses and performance of the group as a whole on each of the measures. Second, interest is focused on the relationships between measures, both those stated explicitly as research questions and predictions, and those which were identified on a post-hoc basis only after inspection of the total matrix of inter-relationships. Patterns of results on all variables for different groupings of the sample population are also discussed.

7.1 Statistical techniques

Most of the analyses in the present study involve bivariate statistics, although limited use is made of multivariate techniques such as multiple and partial correlation. The advantages of multivariate analysis over the former include the facts that it allows a) a greater economy in the number of relationships brought under consideration; b) a more successful avoidance of misleading indications; c) a more dependable, exact evaluation of the relative importance of various influences. (Cattell, 1966) However, the multivariate design also has disadvantages which reduce its usefulness to the present research. First, and most important, the method compels one to use the same mathematical function over all relations, whereas a bivariate design leaves one free to use different forms for different relations. As some measures in the present study were interval scales and others only nominal, a multivariate analysis of all data was not possible. Second, the research questions generally concern relationships between two variables and bivariate statistics are adequate for analyses of this nature. While such multivariate techniques as discriminant and canonical analysis are valuable for complex studies where the theoretical framework identifies a number of dependent and independent variables, it is impossible to do so in the present research since there are likely to be feedbacks, spiral effects, and other complex interrelationships between variables which preclude multivariate analyses of this nature. Emphasis is therefore placed on the use of bivariate statistics to answer specific research questions and to provide statistical measures to supplement the descriptive material and case studies that were
gathered during 12 months' continuous fieldwork.

A variety of bivariate statistics are used in the analysis of data. The parametric tests include correlation coefficients (Pearson product-moment and point biserial r), t-tests between dependent and independent means, and analyses of variance. A correlation matrix was obtained for the relationships between all variables, and the obtained coefficients are used both to test predictions and to uncover relationships between variables that were not specified in advance. Where significant correlation coefficients are obtained, further statistical analyses employing different techniques are carried out. t-tests are used to test differences between means on variables of interest for each of the groupings within the sample population that were singled out for interest. In cases where comparisons involve more than two groups, one-way analyses of variance are carried out. When significant F-values are obtained, t-tests are used to test differences between only those pairs of means which are of interest to the research. To make allowances for multiple comparisons of this nature, Bonferroni's (1966) t-statistic is applied. This is a method of obtaining a conservative bound to the overall significance level by cutting down the significance level of the separate comparisons. It is particularly appropriate for multiple comparisons when only a specified number of comparisons are of interest, and it is therefore more suitable for the present study than the Scheffe (1953) technique which gives simultaneous results on all comparisons possible and is therefore very conservative. (See Miller, 1966, and O'Neill and Wetherell, 1972, for a discussion of the present state of multiple comparisons method).

The non-parametric bivariate statistic used is the $\chi^2$. Some of the research questions involve variables which are nominal only, and $\chi^2$ is the most appropriate statistic available to test such relationships.

Multivariate analysis is used to test predictions relating to three or more variables. Multiple correlations are obtained between predictor variables and several individual criterion variables, and a partial correlation technique is also used.

All the statistical techniques used are fairly robust, and assumptions of normality of distribution and equal variance can be violated if the distribution does not depart grossly from the normal. Separate analyses were made of three variables with skewed distributions which had been converted to t-scores and these did not yield
significantly different results from those obtained with the raw scores; thus the latter have been used in all the analyses.

The level of significance adopted for testing relationships is .05 (two-tailed) although some results which did not reach this level are also discussed since they suggest relationships of interest which may provide a focus for further research.

7.2 Results for individual measures

7.2.1 Value Schedule

The Value Schedule was administered to Post-Primary 1 and Transitional Grade 7 students on two separate occasions, at the beginning and at the end of the year. Unless specified otherwise, the analyses presented here are based on the second testing. There are two reasons for this procedure: first, the Value Schedule was administered at the very beginning of the year when E was still relatively unknown to the students and they did not readily communicate on that occasion; second, the testing on the Value Schedule for most other students in the College was conducted towards the end of the year and thus differences in grades reflect differences of a year's exposure to the College when results from the second testing are taken. The lack of any significant change in values between first and second testings provides statistical justification for this procedure. (Results from this analysis are given in Section 7.3.2.) The ten students who dropped out before the second testing are included in the total sample and are assigned their score from the first testing.

The inter-correlation between Time and Relational values is 0.241 (p < .05) which suggests sufficient common variance in the two measures to justify the addition of both scales to provide a total achievement value score. This result confirms that of Watts (1970) who found a significant positive relationship between these two variables for the Aboriginal sample, although not for whites. Since some of the research questions and predictions concern differences between the two value scales, analyses are carried out both separately for the two scales and for the combined scores.

Time Value

The Time Value has three orientations - present, past, and future - and traditional Aboriginal society is characterised by a past/present orientation, while the dominant society is future-oriented. The Time
value scale consists of four items which were scored for selection of the achievement (future orientation) or non-achievement orientations and the possible range of scores is 4-8.

The mean score on the Time value for the subjects in the present study is 6.10, s.d. = 0.98. This result indicates that the total group lies midway between achievement and non-achievement orientations, or at the median point of a traditional-western continuum. The frequency distribution on the total scores for this value is given in Table 7.1. This table shows that seven students did not adopt an achievement orientation on any one item, while five students chose the achievement orientation on all four items. The modal response coincides with the mean score.

Table 7.1 Distribution of scores on Time value scale

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An analysis of responses to individual items indicates that high consensus was obtained on two items, the large majority choosing the achievement orientation on one, and the traditional, non-achievement orientation on the other. Nearly all students felt it was best to stay on at school, even if they did not like it. (Item 5, Appendix 5.2)

The correlation between responses to this item and subsequent dropping-out is 0.07, which suggests either that a response bias was occurring whereby students gave the response which they considered E expected, or that students did in fact realise that it was best to stay at school, although pressures at Kormilda were too great for some of them. The fact that most students claimed to like school, but disliked the residential aspect of Kormilda supports this latter assertion. The second item on which there was high consensus pertained to changes in ceremonies. (Item 7, Appendix 5.2) Most students chose a traditional orientation and felt it was good to keep ceremonies the way they had been in the past, or to make only small changes. Responses to the remaining two items in the Time value scale were equally distributed between achievement and non-achievement orientations.

Relational value

The Relational value has three orientations - individualistic, collaterality, and lineality. Aborigines traditionally adopted a collateral orientation while the achievement orientation of western
society stresses individualism. The Relational Value scale consists of four items which are scored for achievement and non-achievement orientations.

The mean score on the Relational Value scale is 5.79, and s.d. = 1.14; the range is 4-8. Inspection of the frequency distribution given in Table 7.2 shows responses are slightly skewed towards the traditional, non-achievement orientation. Ten students did not choose the achievement orientation on any item, while nine students selected this orientation on all four items.

Table 7.2 Distribution of scores on Relational Value scale

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Analyses of responses to individual items in the Relational Value scale indicate that high consensus was achieved on Item 1 (Appendix 5.2) pertaining to sharing of food: more than 80% of the respondents said that a person should always share with his relations rather than be responsible only for his own family.

Total value score

The combined scores from the Time and Relational values for all respondents have a mean of 11.89, and s.d. = 1.62. This falls just below the median point, and thus Aborigines can be described as tending towards a non-achievement, traditional orientation on this measure. The distribution of scores for the combined scale is given in Table 7.3. Only one individual chose the achievement orientation on all items, and no-one selected the non-achievement orientation on all items. This last finding indicates that the sample of Aborigines in the present study had already moved away from the traditional pole and no traditionally-oriented Aborigines, as typified by Elkin's descriptions, were included in the sample.

Table 7.3 Distribution of scores on Total Value scale

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Since many of the items in the Value Schedule are content-specific to Aborigines, it was impossible to obtain comparable data from a control group of low socio-economic whites. Nor is it possible to
compare results directly with those obtained by Watts (1970) and Eckerman (1971) since their findings were based on a different value schedule which included a number of items which were eliminated in the present study after pre-testing.

7.2.2 Acculturation

The scale of acculturation consists of five items each of which purports to reflect the extent to which the individual has adopted the norms of the dominant society as a result of identification with it.

The results indicate that there is wide variation among students, with a mean of 14.39 and s.d. = 3.07. The range of scores for this scale is 8-20, and the mean therefore lies at the median point between traditional and western poles. The obtained distribution of scores is given in Table 7.4. A relatively small number of students lie at both extremes of the scale, although no student has a minimum score of 7.

Table 7.4 Distribution of scores on scale of acculturation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis of responses to individual items provides further interest. The item on language reveals that one-third of the respondents claimed to speak English with their own kinsmen while the remainder usually spoke Aboriginal dialect. This finding reflects the expected relationship between acculturation and contact, since many students lived away from their tribal areas or in country towns where pidgin English had become the lingua franca. A few students who were able to converse in their own dialect chose to speak English with their kinsmen and two of these disclaimed any knowledge of an Aboriginal language.

Responses to the item on friendship patterns indicate that 60% of the students claimed to have at least one friend who was not a tribal kinsmen. This result suggests that Kormilda College was to some extent breaking down the barriers of tribal ethnocentrism, although a substantial number still chose to interact only with their own kinsmen. The time spent at Kormilda surprisingly did not seem to increase the likelihood of making best friends among non-kinsmen as there was no significant correlation between these two variables. The fact that 40% of the students maintained personal contact predominantly with kinsmen and
probably spoke Aboriginal dialect with them is an indication of tribal group solidarity and may be a coping mechanism used by students to adjust to a conflict situation.

Students varied greatly in their ideas about marriage. Twenty-two persons (23% of the sample) maintained that they would marry their own promised husband or wife. Of this number, 15 were boys and 7 girls, which suggests that education encouraged girls more than boys to defy the traditional marriage system. Since the polygamous system often deprived young men of wives, one might have expected the boys at Kormilda to reject the promise-system of marriage but this did not appear to be the case. A further 28 students (29%) thought they would marry someone who was in the prescribed skin relationship although they wanted freedom of choice within this restraint. Sex differences again emerged, and 18 boys compared with 10 girls selected this alternative. If this category is combined with the first, the preference of boys for the traditional system of marriage which greatly reduces the individual's freedom of choice, is very apparent. The modal response on this item was for marriage to an Aboriginal of one's choice and 39 persons selected this alternative. Eleven individuals in this group were in fact promised and claimed they would not comply with the traditional marriage system, while for the remainder tribal customs had already broken down in that they had never at any time been promised. Finally, six students, all of whom were girls, wanted to marry a white man. It is possible that education made these girls dissatisfied with their status in Aboriginal society and their dismissal of all Aboriginal young men as "rubbish ones" meant they either remained unmarried or took the alternative means of fulfilling their aspirations by marrying a white.

7.2.3 Aspirations

Results from the measures of aspirations are given separately for each subscale. However, the significant inter-correlations, given in Table 7.23, justified their summation as a composite aspirations score, for which results are also given. Two students failed to respond to the questions on aspirations during the interview and thus n is reduced to 93 for all analyses involving these scales.

Educational Aspirations

The Education subscale consists of three items which are discussed in full in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.2.3.
The students at Korrilda had widely diverging Educational aspirations, encompassing the total range of possible scores from 3-9. The mean score is 6.68, with s.d. = 1.70. The distribution of scores is given in Table 7.5, and inspection of the frequencies indicates that it is skewed towards high aspirations.

Table 7.5 Distribution of scores on Educational aspirations subscale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first item concerning the length of time wanted to stay at school reveals great variation among responses. Almost half the Post-Primary students wanted to leave school at the time interviewed, or before completion of their course. With the exception of one student, this group did in fact drop out. Students in Transitional Grade saw attendance at High School as a logical progression in the process of education but only four set Fourth Year as a particular goal, while the remainder had never considered how long they would continue there. Students already at High School varied in the length of time they expected to stay and only 4 of 23 students wished to leave school at the time when interviewed.

Although all students were asked how long they wanted to stay at school, and how long they expected to stay, only one girl in Transitional Grade perceived that parental pressures might prevent her from going to High School. The remainder gave the same answers to these two questions and considered personal choice to be the sole determinant of the length of time to be spent at school.

Many students revealed anxieties about school and their inability to master the work; these are discussed in Section 7.2.5 on adjustment at school. In addition, four students in Transitional Grade 7 wished to transfer to Post-Primary classes where they felt the work would be easier, or where most of their friends were located.

Students were also asked in the interview about their reasons for liking and disliking Korrilda. One-third of the respondents gave answers concerned with the academic setting as reasons for liking school (particularly Post-Primary students who said they liked Domestic Science or Manual Training) and only two students gave answers associated with school as reasons for disliking Korrilda. All other answers, both favourable and unfavourable, were concerned with non-academic aspects.
of the social system.

Analysis of responses to the first value question on Education (Item 18, Appendix 5.2) reveals that a number of students (19 out of 95) had a fatalistic attitude towards the practical value of education and maintained that job opportunities at home were dependent on the personal decisions of the Superintendent rather than on educational qualifications obtained at school. Information presented in the case studies suggests that this attitude was not always groundless. In one instance, boys from a Mission were told they must complete two years of Post-Primary in order to obtain a job, but work was not provided when this requirement was fulfilled.

Responses to the value question concerning the relationship between education and leadership (Item 19, Appendix 5.2) indicate that two-thirds of the respondents felt it was important for leaders of their people to have a good education in order to make the right decisions, while the remainder considered that experience and status of the tribal elders counted most and that education was unimportant.

Occupational aspirations

The Occupational subscale consists of three items which are fully discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.2.3. The range of possible scores is 3-9.

The Occupational aspirations of students varied considerably, with a mean of 5.70, and s.d. = 1.84. The distribution of scores is given in Table 7.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses to the question "What sort of work would you like to do when you leave school?" fell into three broad categories: unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled or professional. Over 40% of the respondents indicated they would like to do work of an unskilled nature; jobs mentioned by girls included working in the kitchen, washing clothes, and collecting oysters, while boys listed timber cutting, driving a truck, and being a stockman. A further 40% of the students wanted jobs of a semi-skilled nature; these included jobs requiring some post-school training which was provided on settlements and missions, but the qualifications obtained were not recognized for work outside Aboriginal
communities. Many boys in this category nominated trade jobs such as mechanic, carpenter, and brick layer, and girls mentioned office worker, teaching assistant, and nursing aide. The remaining students (nearly 20%) nominated jobs which required full training and which suggested the use of whites as an identification group; these included superintendent, teacher (fully trained), patrol officer, and welfare worker. Only five students gave different answers for aspirations and expectations, and four of these were in the last category. The boys who wanted to work as air pilot and metal worker thought that they would probably become a mechanic and unskilled worker in the Works Force respectively; of the two girls aspiring to be an air hostess and a police woman, one expected to become a nursing aide and the other was uncertain. These four individuals gave lack of ability or insufficient knowledge about how they might obtain these jobs as the reasons for the discrepancy between aspirations and expectations. In one other instance, however, a girl from a cattle station who wanted to be a secretary yet continue to live with her own kinsmen, realised that the barrier to fulfilment of her occupational aspirations lay in the environment. Thus, with few exceptions, aspirations were based on realistic levels of performance, although they did not always reflect the occupational opportunities available. This was particularly the case for girls from pastoral properties who wanted employment other than as domestics, although opportunities for any other sort of work were generally non-existent.

Students aspiring to jobs categorized as semi-skilled or skilled and professional frequently had no conception of the qualifications required or of the means of obtaining these qualifications. Only six students knew what qualifications distinguished fully trained teachers, nurses, and trade occupations from the "assistant" category for each of those jobs. Several individuals wanted to become mechanics and carpenters on their own settlements or missions without completing a pre-trade course of any description. The failure on the part of education authorities to explain fully the structure of jobs, the precedence of unqualified Aborigines in semi-skilled jobs, and the tendency to use Aborigines as reference models in this sphere, all presumably combined to produce these results.

During the interview, students were asked the reasons behind their particular choice of a job. Ausubel (1961) has classified the motivations underlying occupational aspirations as prestige, task-
oriented, and group welfare motivation.

**Prestige**
- social importance
- good wages

**Task-oriented**
- interest in job
- ability

**Group welfare**
- to help others

The responses of the Transitional Grade and High School students and the senior Post-Primary students indicate that motivations underlying job aspirations of this group of Aborigines were predominantly Group Welfare and Prestige. This substantiates Watts' (1970) findings that part-Aboriginal adolescent girls preferred occupations stressing family approval and security. However, Ausubel's classification is inadequate for the present study since it cannot accommodate such factors influencing occupational choice as the sort of work which the respondent's friends had, attitudes towards the white person in control, or how far from the camp a person must work. Many students indicated that they would be happy with any kind of work, and expected to be given a job by the Superintendent, rather than make a choice themselves. While good wages may have been an incentive for some Aborigines, their effect is minimised since the majority of Aborigines receive only the basic training allowance. Rowley (1971) has criticised this aspect of the economic structure of settlements and missions because it precludes any incentive to perform better.

Responses to the second question in the Occupational subscale concerning "good jobs that a person could have" seem to suggest that other Aborigines were adopted as a reference group by more than half of the students. 18% of the respondents nominated jobs in the unskilled category only; 36% mentioned at least one job which was semi-skilled, and 46% nominated at least one job which could be classified as skilled or professional. Included in this last category were such jobs as doctor, professor, member of parliament, pilot and architect. Differences between Post-Primary and Transitional/High School are very marked; the percentage of jobs nominated in each category for different classes is given below.
The breakdown of percentages also reveals that a clear majority of High School students (66%) and more than half the Transitional Grade students (52%) selected occupations in the skilled category, thereby indicating that whites had been adopted as models rather than other Aborigines. This finding is of particular interest, although it is open to different interpretations. One explanation is that the higher educational achievement of this group is due to its adoption of white models, while another is that the learning situation at Kormilda and at High School has exposed them to a range of jobs that they were previously not aware of. It would not seem that attendance at Kormilda College alone has raised their occupational aspirations since those students in Post-Primary who have spent a similar length of time at Kormilda have significantly lower occupational aspirations, although the possibility of interaction cannot be discounted.

Comparison between responses to this question and the first concerning job aspirations reveals differences in the percentages falling in the unskilled and professional categories. More than half the students who expected to get work of an unskilled nature were able to nominate good jobs requiring skills or professional qualifications. This finding indicates that many of those choosing work of an unskilled nature were in fact aware of a wider range of jobs.

The value item relating to Occupational aspirations reflects the acceptance or rejection of western work habits. Two-thirds of the respondents chose the answer that it is best to have a job that allows the individual to take time off if he feels like it, even if this job provides lower wages.

Social aspirations

The Social aspirations subscale consists of two items, with a range of possible scores from 2-6. The items and their response categories are discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.2.3.
The Social aspirations stated by students indicate that kinship ties were still of paramount importance for Aborigines, and that the majority wished to return home and obtain employment in their own communities. Over all the respondents were happy with their existing social environment at home and did not want any change.

The mean score on this scale is 3.64, and s.d. = 1.17. The distribution of scores is given in Table 7.7. It can be seen that five students claimed they wanted to live "down south" (i.e. outside the Northern Territory), although none wanted to live there permanently; 30 students, of whom two-thirds were females, wanted to live in towns in the general community, and not on one of the Aboriginal settlements located adjacent to towns; the majority (65%) preferred to live in their home communities close to their kinsmen. The correlation between this item and the Relational value scale is 0.239 (p < .05) which confirms the importance of kinship ties in determining choice of a place of living.

The attitude measures were based on the semantic differential technique (Osgood et al. 1957) and consist of six 7-point scales which load on the evaluative dimension. Three concepts were rated on each scale - whites, Aborigines, and self - and thus three attitude scales were obtained with scores ranging from 0 to 6 on each. The test construction and administration is discussed in Chapter Five, Section 1.2.2.4.

The results for the attitude measures were analysed first for each of the scales, and second for the total score for each concept across scales. The sample sizes for all analyses involving attitude measures is 74 since 22 subjects had dropped out of school before completing all tests.

Table 7.8: Mean scores on attitude scales "whites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Happy</th>
<th>Friendly</th>
<th>Hardworking</th>
<th>Clever</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Easy to get along</th>
<th>White people</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Extras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whites</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>4.77</td>
<td>5.04</td>
<td>4.59</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>6.71</td>
<td>6.40</td>
<td>6.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>5.93</td>
<td>5.91</td>
<td>5.58</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>5.96</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.7 Distribution of scores on Social aspirations scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses to the item about housing facilities indicate that 20% of the students were happy to continue living in the humpies or tin shacks in which their families were living at the time of the interview; 40% wanted to live in houses which were characteristic of the majority of Aboriginal communities and had only limited facilities; and the remaining 40% aspired to Stage 3 houses which were of Housing Commission standard with full facilities. This result suggests that the majority of Aborigines were happy with housing which was sub-standard by comparison with that in white society, and that a rise in the standard of living did not appear to be an incentive.

7.2.4 Attitude measures

The attitude measures were based on the semantic differential technique (Osgood et al, 1957) and consist of six 7-point scales which load on the evaluative dimension. Three concepts were rated on each scale - whites, Aborigines, and self - and thus three attitude measures were obtained with scores ranging from 0-36 on each. (The test construction and administration is discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.2.4.)

The results for the attitude measures are analysed first for each of the scales, and second for the total score for each concept across scales. The sample size for all analyses involving attitude measures is 74 since 21 subjects had dropped out of school before completing all tests.

Scales

The mean scores for each concept on each of the scales is given in Table 7.8 and frequency distributions are shown in Appendix 7.1. A score of 6 indicates the most favourable attitude, 3 is the mid-point, and 0 the most unfavourable attitude.

Table 7.8 Mean scores on attitude scales x concepts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>happy</th>
<th>friendly</th>
<th>hardworking</th>
<th>clever</th>
<th>proud</th>
<th>good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sad</td>
<td>unfriendly</td>
<td>lazy</td>
<td>stupid</td>
<td>ashamed</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whites</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>3.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All but two of the means lie at or above the mid-point or slightly favourable position for each of the concepts. The two exceptions are ratings of the concept of "Aborigine" where the mean scores lie towards the unfavourable pole for the scales lazy/hardworking and stupid/clever.

$t$-tests for differences between dependent means for the three concepts reveal significant differences ($p < .001$) in three scales: hardworking/lazy, clever/stupid, and proud/ashamed. On each of these scales, students had a more favourable attitude towards whites and self than towards Aborigines; there is no difference between attitudes to whites and to self. Inspection of the frequency distributions (given in Appendix 7.1) reveals that for the hardworking/lazy scale, nearly two-thirds of the respondents had very favourable attitudes (scores of 5, 6) towards whites and self, compared with only 13% of students who were equally favourable towards Aborigines; on the clever/stupid scale, scores of 0 or 1, which signify a very unfavourable attitude, were given by three $S$s to whites, and by two $S$s to self, but by ten $S$s to Aborigines, while at the opposite end of the scale, over 25% had very favourable attitudes to whites and self, compared with only 7% who rated Aborigines as very clever; finally, the proud/ashamed scale reveals large differences at the extremes with Aborigines being rated by 12 $S$s as very ashamed, compared with frequencies of five and one persons who rated whites and self, respectively, in a similar unfavourable way, and at the opposite pole 37 students rated whites as very proud, 27 gave similar scores to self, and only 13 were equally favourable towards Aborigines.

**Total measures**

A total measure for each concept is obtained from the summation of scores over scales. Inter-correlations between the scales reveal that attitude to self is related to both attitudes to whites and to Aborigines, but that attitudes to whites and to Aborigines are unrelated. Table 7.9 gives correlation coefficients obtained between attitude measures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>attitudes to whites and self</th>
<th>attitudes to Aborigines and self</th>
<th>attitudes to whites and Aborigines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.462*</td>
<td>0.418*</td>
<td>0.215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .01$
In order to determine whether this pattern of correlations is reflected in each of the scales, the correlation matrix of relationships between concepts on all scales was obtained. (Table 7.10 gives relevant correlation coefficients.)

Table 7.10  Correlations between concepts x scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n = 74</th>
<th>attitudes to whites and self</th>
<th>attitudes to Aborigines and self</th>
<th>attitudes to whites and Aborigines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy/sad</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly/unfriendly</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hardworking/lazy</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clever/stupid</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proud/ashamed</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good/bad</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>-.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inspection of the Table indicates that there is no consistent pattern of correlation coefficients across concepts for each of the scales. Attitude to Aborigines and whites correlates significantly for two of the scales - proud/ashamed and hardworking/lazy - but correlations for the remaining four scales are not significant. The most noteworthy finding is the negative correlation between attitudes to Aborigines and self on the scale good/bad. The pattern of findings, in general, suggests that students may have adopted different criteria or frames of reference when evaluating each concept on a particular scale.

The mean scores for each of the three attitude measures is given in Table 7.11. t-tests between dependent means for each of the concepts are significant between whites and Aborigines and between Aborigines and self (p < .001) which indicates that subjects evaluated whites and self more favourably than Aborigines. However, all mean scores lie towards the favourable end of the scale and thus mean score
differences reflect degrees of favourableness rather than any negative attitude.

Table 7.11 Mean scores on attitude measures and t-values for mean differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>X</th>
<th>Comparisons</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whites</td>
<td>25.04</td>
<td>W-A</td>
<td>4.92*</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>20.89</td>
<td>W-S</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self</td>
<td>25.47</td>
<td>A-S</td>
<td>6.65*</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .001

The finding that the individual tended to exclude himself from the attributes he imputed to other Aborigines may have been a function of attendance at Kormilda College, which enabled the student to adopt a superior attitude towards the rest of his kinsmen with regard to his higher educational achievements and familiarity with the western way of life. Significant differences (p < .001) occur on three scales: clever/stupid, hardworking/lazy, and proud/ashamed, which possibly reflect on education and employment. Correlations between proud/ashamed and all other scales on the self concept are positive which suggests that proud represents a generalized feeling rather than relating more specifically to hardworking and clever.

The failure to find any significant differences between attitudes to whites and to self suggests that the devalued self-image found among Negro and other minority group members was not typical of Aborigines. Possible explanations for this finding of a favourable self-image were suggested in Chapter Two: first, the relative isolation of students from the dominant society prior to attendance at Kormilda, and second, the limited interaction of students with members of the community while resident at the College, both of which restricted knowledge of the prejudices that whites may have had towards Aborigines. However, it is also possible that the white population in Darwin was not prejudiced towards minority groups and the origin of students' attitudes towards Aborigines perhaps lay in the adoption of Aborigines as a negative valuation group.

Parker (1964) claims that "a devalued ethnic image and hostility towards western society emerge from a situation where individuals set new goals which they then perceive cannot be reached". Analysis of
Occupational aspirations, however, reveals that only five students saw any discrepancy between their stated aspirations and their expectation of achieving them. Thus, it is possible that a negative self-image and unfavourable attitude towards whites may only develop when the individual leaves school and has to make decisions concerning his future.

7.2.5 Measures of Maladjustment

Various measures of maladjustment have been used in the present study; these include two scales, Tension-Discharge which provides a measure of deviant behaviour, and Anxiety-Inhibition which is a syndrome of psychosomatic symptoms. The nature and construction of both these scales are discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.3. A different type of measure is the index of school adjustment compiled from teachers' ratings of students (see Section 5.2.3); in addition, the drop-out rate among students is taken as a measure of stress and maladjustment. The results for each of these scales are presented and an attempt is then made to relate the findings to the predictions concerning maladjustment of students.

Tension-Discharge - deviant behaviour

The scale of Tension-Discharge consists of 10 dichotomous items which are scored 1 and 0 for presence and absence of symptom, respectively. The total range of scores is therefore 0-10.

The mean score for Tension-Discharge is 2.1, with s.d. = 2.1. The distribution of scores is given in Table 7.12 and it can be seen that almost one-third of the respondents showed no symptoms at all while 23% of the students engaged in four or more types of deviant behaviour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible that the students who showed no symptoms of Tension-Discharge may have experienced stress which was expressed differently in symptoms of Anxiety-Inhibition. The mean score for this group on Anxiety-Inhibition was therefore calculated and it is marginally higher than the mean score for the remaining sample. This result gives limited support for the assertion that students who did
not engage in deviant behaviour nevertheless experienced stress which manifested itself in a different syndrome.

The frequency distribution for each of the symptoms is given in Appendix 7.2. Inspection of the distributions reveals that the most common symptom of deviant behaviour was "absence from the College without permission". This category included students who ran away from the College because they did not like it and wished to return to their home communities, and students who were absent for short periods for a specific purpose such as going to the cinema. More than half the students in the College had been absent on at least two occasions. One-third of the respondents engaged in promiscuous behaviour and a similar number created problems in discipline.

The present scale did not take frequency of the occurrence of deviant behaviour into account, and thus does not adequately reflect the conflict experienced by those individuals who engaged in only one form of deviancy. However, frequencies of occurrence were recorded for each type of deviant behaviour, and are of interest: 25 students were absent from the College on at least five different occasions, and some as many as fifteen; eight High School students were truant from school at least eight times; 10 boys were caught breaking into the kitchen or tuck shop on at least three separate occasions. Other deviant behaviour such as petrol sniffing occurred only once, but several boys were involved.

Anxiety-Inhibition – psychosomatic symptoms

The scale of Anxiety-Inhibition consists of ten dichotomous items, scored 1 or 0 for presence or absence of symptoms respectively, with a total score range of 0-10.

The mean score for the sample of students at Kormilda is 2.4, with s.d. = 1.7. The distribution of scores is given in Table 7.13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inspection of the Table reveals that only two students failed to exhibit any psychosomatic symptom while 25% showed at least four. While such symptoms do not necessarily result in an inability to cope with the environment, their frequency suggests that the environment at
Kormilda created a stressful situation for the majority of students. A few individuals were particularly maladjusted and two received psychiatric treatment. The most senior student in the College suffered from frequent asthmatic attacks which she herself realised were psychological in nature and resulted from conflicting pressures in the school and home situations. The case studies have attempted to relate the psychosomatic symptoms to the conflicts experienced by students as a result of residence at Kormilda.

Analysis of frequencies for each of the symptoms (given in Appendix 7.2) reveals that the most common psychosomatic expression of stress and maladjustment was "often sad, and cries". Students frequently said they were homesick and both girls and boys admitted that they often cried - it was not uncommon to find students lying on their beds, crying. Other symptoms with high frequencies are headaches, stomachaches, nightmares and hypochondriasis.

Adjustment at school

Ratings on adjustment at school were obtained for all students, but interest here is focused on students in Transitional Grade 7 and at High School since only for these two groups can changes in behaviour be examined as a result of interaction with white peers at High School.

Transitional Grade

After one year in Transitional Grade 7 at Kormilda, only one student admitted to finding school hard, and all others in the sample said that they could keep up with the work. At the beginning of the year in 1970, 67% of the students claimed they felt nervous when asked a question in class, but by the end of the year, only 22% had not overcome this feeling.

Teachers' appraisals of the behaviour of students in Transitional Grade 7 indicate that 30% were characterised by shyness, lack of self-confidence, and a reluctance to participate in class activities; 50% of the students lacked concentration in class and were easily distracted, while 25% were lazy or apathetic. Only two students (10%) revealed gross fears of failure and inadequacy, and an additional two were considered temperamentally or insolent.

The adjustment of the Transitional Grade 7 students was followed up at High School the following year (August 1971), in order to determine the effect on them of a new school system. Nearly two-thirds (60%) of
the students were described by teachers as being shy, failing to participate in class activities, or lacking in confidence; 35% lacked concentration or were easily distracted; 13% were apathetic or lazy; 21% were insolent or temperamental; finally, 54% did not mix with any students in the class other than those from Kormilda.

This comparison of the behaviour of students in Transitional at Kormilda and at High School reveals that the most significant difference lies in the increase from 30% to 60% of students who became withdrawn, and the failure of more than half the students to interact with European peers in the class. However, it is not certain that these changes in behaviour can be attributed to the different behaviour settings at High School; other factors which may have influenced the results include the fact that different teachers carried out the ratings, using different groups for comparison and therefore probably with different expectations.

The adjustment of the 1970 intake of students at High School (discussed above) appeared to be better than that of the previous two years' intakes. This was possibly due to the increasing numbers of Kormilda students at High School who provided support for one another. Teachers' ratings of these previous two years' intakes revealed that 60% were shy and lacking in confidence, and of this group one-third were extremely withdrawn and almost totally uncommunicative in class while a further 12% of the group revealed gross fears of failure and inadequacy; 30% of the total group were easily distracted in class and 50% were apathetic or lazy; finally, teachers reported that 50% of the students made no attempt to interact with other members of the class.

The changes in behaviour of students when they left Kormilda suggest that a number of them were maladjusted at High School, and that learning was therefore likely to be impaired. Apart from acute withdrawal symptoms which characterised several students, three girls showed symptoms of acute school phobia, hiding in cupboards or toilets or locking themselves in their rooms to avoid going to school. Many other students were truant on several occasions. There was one case of enuresis by a girl who expressed extreme nervousness at having to attend High School. The data therefore indicate that while students adjusted relatively easily to the classroom situation at Kormilda, they failed to do so at High School.
Drop-out rate

The final measure of maladjustment to be considered is the rate of drop-outs at Kormilda. The most effective way to reduce conflict resulting from residence at Kormilda was to leave the College and return home. However, the rate of dropping out at Kormilda is difficult to determine. An analysis of the enrolment figures in each of the classes reveals that many students had not progressed through the school system in the usual sequence of grades: some students enrolled during the year, others entered 2nd or 3rd year on arrival, and a few individuals were transferred to higher grades in mid-year or by-passed a year altogether as numbers in some classes became depleted due to drop-outs. An indication of the drop-out rate can be obtained from three different analyses:

1) students dropping out during 1970 (year of testing)

2) numbers successfully completing courses

3) analysis of the drop-out figures relative to the initial intake numbers

1) students dropping out during or at the end of 1970

Of all students enrolled at Kormilda in 1st term, 1970, 43% had dropped out by the end of that year. This figure excludes students who successfully completed a course and then left at the end of the year (i.e., Post-Primary 3 students). Enrolment numbers, drop-outs to the end of 1970, and enrolments for the total sample and cumulative drop-outs to the end of 1971 for the sample are given below in Table 7.14.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) number of students successfully completing a course

Post-Primary

Since the Post-Primary course was three years, only students who enrolled in 1968 or 1969 could have completed the course by the end of
1971 (year on which these figures are based). However, some students entered 2nd year Post-Primary in their first year of attendance at Korrnilda in 1970, and thus they are included in the Table since they finished a course after two years. Analysis of these figures reveals that only 17% of students enrolled at Korrnilda during the period 1968-1970 who could have completed Post-Primary 3, did in fact do so. Enrolments for each year and numbers completing Post-Primary 3 are given in Table 7.15.

Table 7.15 Post-Primary students completing a course in relation to initial enrolments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1968</th>
<th>1969</th>
<th>1970*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>total enrolments</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number completing Post-Primary 3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* this figure only includes students entering Post-Primary 2 in their first year of attendance at Korrnilda

Transitional Grade/High School

At the time of the data collection, no students had reached 4th year High School (which represents successful completion of a course for this group) since the College only began in 1968, so figures are not available for this group of students on successful completion of a course. However, for purposes of comparison with Post-Primary, the number of students completing 2nd year High School (corresponding to three years at Korrnilda and equivalent therefore to Post-Primary 3) are calculated.

Of all the students enrolled in the Transitional class at Korrnilda in either 1968 or 1969, 26% had completed 2nd year High School by the end of 1971. Enrolments for each intake year and the numbers completing three years at Korrnilda and total of non-completers are given in Table 7.16.

---

1. One student completed 4th year at Darwin High School in 1970, but he was only resident at Korrnilda for one year, and was therefore not included in the enrolment figures.
Table 7.16  Transitional Grade/High School students completing 2nd year High School and non-completers in relation to initial enrolments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1968</th>
<th>1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>total enrolments</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number completing 2nd year High School</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-completers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) drop-out rates relative to intake numbers

There were three intakes of students who had been at the College for a minimum of two years. Enrolments and subsequent drop-outs (excluding those who had completed Post-Primary 3) are given for Post-Primary in Table 7.17 and for Transitional Grade/High School in Table 7.18. All enrolment figures at Kormilda since the inception of the College in 1968, are given in Appendix 5.11.

Post-Primary

Table 7.17  Student enrolments in Post-Primary and subsequent drop-outs for intake years 1968, 1969, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>enrolments</th>
<th>drop-outs after:</th>
<th>completers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results indicate that 44% of Post-Primary students dropped out during or at the end of 1st year in the College. A further 22% of the total intake dropped out during or at the end of 2nd year. Inspection of the Table, however, indicates that the relative proportion dropping out is less for the 1970 intake than for the preceding two years' intakes. It is possible that this result is due to a different selection procedure, since the total enrolment for 1970 was less than those of both 1968 and 1969, although one would expect this figure to be increasing each year as the total number of students in Special Schools has increased each successive year.
Table 7.18 Student enrolments in Transitional Grade 7/High School and subsequent drop-outs for intake years 1968, 1969, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>enrolments</th>
<th>drop-out after:</th>
<th>still at school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results indicate that 38% of students dropped out during, or at the end of, 1st year, and that a further 26% of the total intake dropped out during 2nd year. Contrary to the findings among Post-Primary classes, a greater proportion of the 1970 intake of students in the academic stream dropped out during their first year, as compared with the previous two intake years.

The results from these three analyses clearly indicate that there was a high drop-out rate at Kormilda. More than 63% of students in both Post-Primary and Transitional Grade/High School had dropped out of Kormilda before they had completed a minimum of two years in the College. Only 17% of Post-Primary students had finished a course, despite the fact that no other educational opportunities were available to the remaining 83% in their home communities, unlike those existing for students in the academic stream who could transfer to Post-Primary in their home community if they no longer wished to stay at Kormilda.

No sex differences were apparent in preliminary analyses of enrolments and the figures given above are for both sexes. It is of interest to note, however, that the group of students in the senior class at High School included five females and one male. Interview protocols indicate that factors other than achievement motivation or ability may have been responsible for this higher educational attainment among girls and this sex-difference is discussed later in Section 7.3.7. However, if the analysis is based on the numbers of students who had completed three years at Kormilda, then the sex ratio becomes three females and two males, since two of the senior girls were not
enrolled at Kormilda for Transitional Grade 7 and one male repeated a grade.

The results relating to maladjustment of students indicate that a substantial proportion (25%) were unable to resolve conflict and experienced stress which was expressed in a variety of symptoms. The drop-out rate perhaps provides the best index of dissatisfaction with the educational system at Kormilda, although lack of comparative data precludes the possibility of attributing this directly to the College itself. Comments by students during the interview and informal conversations, however, seem to suggest that the discontinuity between the two environments of home and school was a major contributing factor to their decision to leave the College.

Although only one individual failed to show any symptom of maladjustment, a number of students received only low scores. It is possible that individuals in this group did experience intense conflict which manifested itself in only one symptom, and it is a reflection on the inadequacy of the scales that such an explanation could not be empirically tested.

However, an alternative explanation for the low scores on the maladjustment scales is that many students were able to minimise, in some way, role conflict and its accompanying stress. Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1965) have shown that role conflict can be minimised when two sets of incompatible norms are made specific to separate situations. They write:

"Membership in different groups whose role prescriptions are opposed to each other involves minimal conflict when the different norms are alike in specifying situations in which one set of role expectations takes precedence over the others. This area of inter-group consensus, if it is effective in minimising conflict, has the effect of presenting a single set of norms that says, "Everybody expects you to be peer-group-like in these and these situations, and to be family-like in those and those". (pp. 419-420)

It is likely that some students at Kormilda were able to minimise conflict through situational relevance of certain forms of behaviour, although the incidence of maladjustment indicates that others were clearly unable to do so. Wintrob and Sindell (1968) found that Cree Indian students in elementary (primary) grades showed more identity
conflict and manifest psychopathology than did students at High School. They suggested that older students attempted to resolve identity conflict through synthesis of traditional and white models and were more successful in doing so, while elementary students were not yet as realistic and were more inclined to polarise towards white or traditional models.

The results obtained in the present study support those obtained among other minority ethnic groups in similar culture-conflict educational environments. Wintrob's and Sindell's (1968) results among the Cree Indians in Canada indicate that 48% of the students experienced clearly defined identity conflict, and in an additional 14%, indications of identity conflict were sufficiently pronounced to be qualified as "identity confusion". (p. 10) Hobart's (1968) findings among Eskimo students in residential colleges provide further evidence for identity conflict and confusion. These researchers all claim that the identity conflict experienced by students is augmented by the enculturative discontinuities between life-styles at home and in the College, and the different reference groups available to the individual.

The description of the social system at Kormilda highlighted the discontinuities which exist between home and school and the above findings suggest that it is therefore not unwarranted to make a causal inference about the educational environment and the ensuing maladjustment. The design, however, does not permit the formal validation of this relationship, so any conclusions reached are still tentative. There are several ways in which data might have been obtained that would permit empirical testing.

A second way would have been to obtain data on the values, aspirations, and mental health of the subjects before they entered Kormilda College. A limited attempt was made to obtain this information by assessing the values and aspirations of students entering Post-Primary I and Transitional Grade 7, at both the beginning and the end of the year. However, reduced numbers in the sample due to the relatively high drop-out rate made it difficult to be conclusive about the findings.

Alternatively, data could have been obtained on the personal identity of comparable age groups living on settlements, missions and pastoral properties. It is difficult to obtain a control group, however, since those individuals who are selected for the Transitional Grade presumably differ in some important respects from others not selected. Further, many of the symptoms of maladjustment were specific to the
social environment at Kormilda and it would not have been possible to collect data on them in other communities.

Finally, some evidence for the impact of Kormilda as a total institution on the personal identity of students could perhaps have been obtained through the collection of comparative data from white students attending a residential college in Darwin. In this way, an assessment could have been made of the special difficulties experienced by Aboriginal adolescents in a residential setting.

Although William's (1971) work with Aborigines suggests that identity conflict is minimised by giving situational validity to behaviour, a limited number of studies concerned with the adjustment of Aborigines in a culture-conflict situation indicate that many individuals experience stress in their home communities. (Nurcombe et al., 1970; Bianchi et al., 1970; Money et al., 1970) It is not uncommon for boys to engage in such deviant behaviour as breaking into classrooms and offices, petrol sniffing, stealing from white staff and assault. In such communities, considerable discontinuity exists between the economic structure and formal educational system, and the life-style of Aborigines. Money et al. (1970) in fact state that the conflicting reference groups which embody conflict between the traditional and western ways of life are responsible for the crisis in self-identity experienced by adolescent males:

"The three types of nonconformity, sniffing, stealing and sex, were manifested by boys and youths who were experiencing acutely and at first hand the incompatibility of what their fathers and tribal elders stood for, versus what their school teachers and others of the mission staff stood for. The adults were unable to work out a compromise. Those youths who were unable to take sides, completely rejecting either the Aboriginal old guard or the mission new, had no model on whom to identify their teenaged sense of masculine identity". (p. 397)

7.2.6 Contact scale

The contact scale provides a measure of the amount of contact an individual has experienced with the dominant society before going to Kormilda. The scale consists of five items, each scored 1, 2, or 3, and the possible range of scores is therefore 5 - 15. Individual items and test construction are discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.4.
The mean contact score is 10.17, and s.d. = 2.20. Inspection of the distribution of scores, given in Table 7.19, reveals that 10 of the individuals had a very high contact score as a result of living in towns; although no students scored 5 which represents the minimal amount of contact on this scale, seven individuals had very low scores indicating very restricted contact with the dominant society.

Table 7.19 Distribution of scores on content scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of responses on individual items indicates that while the large majority had restricted access to mass media, a small number of individuals had no regular contact at all, and at the opposite extreme 15% were fully exposed to mass media as a result of living in towns. The second item concerned travels to centres of European population and 25% of the students had never left their settlement, mission or pastoral property before going to Kormilda; this group
contrasted with a further 33% who had been to a large town for several visits or an extended stay; finally, the remaining 42% had made at least one brief visit to a centre of European population. The third item pertained to access to European artifacts and the large majority of students (66%) lived in communities which depended on the local store for most of their commodities; 26% of the respondents had access to a full range of goods, while only three students (3%) lived in areas where there was no store and goods were supplied by the Manager of the pastoral property. The remaining two items measured individual differences within communities of contact with the dominant society: the fourth item was concerned with the type of residence in which the respondent lived and the results indicated that 40% lived in humpies, or tin shacks without any facilities, while 38% came from houses with limited facilities, and 22% had homes of Housing Commission standard or lived in the Scout Hall on one particular settlement; the last item was a measure of the rural mobility of S's family and responses indicated that 26% had never left their own communities at any time, 43% had visited relations in another community, and 26% had lived in a different tribal area away from their own kinsmen.

7.2.7 Gratification choice

This test involved a choice of reward by the subject after the interview session, which could be taken immediately or deferred. Instructions concerning administration of the reward are given in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.5. One student failed to comply with instructions, and thus n is reduced to 94.

Immediate reward was chosen by 34 students (36%) while the remaining 60 Ss (64%) chose delayed reward. Previous research has indicated that the relative proportions choosing one type of reward over another vary with the particular measure used. The results from the present study can therefore be most meaningfully compared with Shybut's (1966) findings in a tri-ethnic community where he used a similar behavioural measure. In his sample of 125 students aged from 15-20, 86% of the respondents delayed reward, and 14% chose immediate gratification. Comparison between these two studies indicates that Aborigines have a greater tendency to choose immediate gratification than Spanish Americans, Anglos, or other non-Anglo groups. It is possible, however, that this difference can be attributed to the younger ages of the Aboriginal students (13-19).
Another study of gratification choice has also been conducted among the Australian Aborigines by Bochner and David (1968), although a different behaviour measure was used and results are therefore not strictly comparable. Of the sample of 44 children aged 7-15, 41% chose immediate reward and 59% chose delayed reward. These findings are not statistically different from those obtained in the present study, despite the different measures used and the younger ages of subjects.

7.2.8 Interview

Results for the Interview as such are not presented since many of the questions have been incorporated into scales and responses discussed in relation to individual items, while other relevant information obtained has been used for descriptive analyses, and to illustrate case studies.

7.2.9 Ideology Questionnaire

Responses obtained to the Ideology Questionnaire have been used in the descriptive analysis of the social system at Kormilda presented in Chapter Two, as an indication of students’ perceptions of various aspects of the school organization. No attempt is therefore made in this Section to present responses in frequency tables since formal statistical analyses have not been carried out on the data.

7.3 Results for questions and predictions concerning relationships between measures

7.3.1 Identity orientation

Identity orientation is considered to be a key concept in the present research and a number of research questions were asked and predictions made relating to identity orientation and other measures.

Three variables were selected to define identity orientation—values, aspirations, and acculturation—and the underlying rationale for their choice was based first on the concepts of reference groups and ethnic identity, and second on the model of the temporal sequence of achievement variables adopted by Rehberg et al (1970). (Both these were discussed in Chapter Two.) The significant correlations between values, aspirations, and acculturation (given in Table 7.23) justified their selection as variables reflecting the identification group adopted. However, in order to determine that the relationship between aspirations and values was not merely due to the intervening variable of I.Q. (as
predicted by Rehberg et al), a partial correlation between these two variables, with I.Q. controlled, was computed, and the resulting correlation of 0.34 is still significant (p < .01).

Individuals who had adopted whites as an identification group were characterised as having high aspirations, achievement orientations on values, and high acculturation scores. Individuals who were traditionally-oriented, on the other hand, were characterised as having low aspirations, a non-achievement orientation on values, and low acculturation. The remaining individuals were defined as synthesising both white and traditional models.

An empirical procedure was then adopted in order to categorize students according to identity orientation. The distributions of scores on all three variables were divided into thirds. Each individual therefore fell into one of three sections - high, medium, low - on each of the variables defining identity orientation. A number of patterns across variables could be distinguished after note was taken of the relative locations on variables.

1. high on three variables
2. high on two variables, low or medium on a third
3. medium on three variables
4. medium on two variables, low or high on a third
5. high, medium and low on three respective variables
6. low on two variables, high or medium on a third
7. low on three variables

Students who had high scores on all three variables were classified as white-oriented.

Students who had low scores on all three variables were classified as traditionally-oriented.

These two groups of students established the two poles of the identity continuum, and the remaining groups were defined as synthesising traditional and white models. However, on the basis of the above patterns, three synthesising groups were ordered along the identity continuum:

Individuals who had high scores on two variables were located towards the white identity pole.

Individuals who had medium scores on three or on two variables, or a high, a medium, and a low score, were located in the middle of the continuum.
Individuals who had low scores on two variables were located towards the traditional pole.

When students were classified in this way, the following groups were identified. (The sample size is reduced to 93, since two students did not respond to items on aspirations.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean scores on aspirations, values, and acculturation for each of these five identity orientations are given in Tables 7.20, 7.21 and 7.22.

Table 7.20 Mean scores on values x identity orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Groups</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>7.36</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13.83</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>5.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>5.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 7.21 Mean scores on aspirations x identity orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspirations</th>
<th>Identity Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>8.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td>7.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>4.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7.22 Mean scores on acculturation x identity orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 7.3.1.1 Relationships between identification group variables

It was predicted that values (Time, Relational, and Man-Nature), aspirations (Educational, Occupational, and Social), and acculturation were positively correlated since these three variables are determined by the identification group adopted by the individual. (Prediction 4.2.1.1). Inter-correlations between the subscales are given in Table 7.23.
Table 7.23  Inter-correlations for all subscales measuring values, aspirations, and acculturation  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Education Asps.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occupational Asps.</td>
<td>.474**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Social Asps.</td>
<td>.398**</td>
<td>.466**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Total Asps.</td>
<td>.794**</td>
<td>.853**</td>
<td>.717**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Time value</td>
<td>.235*</td>
<td>.144</td>
<td>.271**</td>
<td>.280**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Relational value</td>
<td>.217*</td>
<td>.175</td>
<td>.391**</td>
<td>.308**</td>
<td>.241*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Total values</td>
<td>.283**</td>
<td>.198</td>
<td>.408**</td>
<td>.365**</td>
<td>.811**</td>
<td>.752**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Acculturation</td>
<td>.370**</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>.400**</td>
<td>.348**</td>
<td>.449**</td>
<td>.232*</td>
<td>.451**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05  ** p < .01

With the exception of correlations between Occupational aspirations and certain scales, all other relationships between variables reflecting the identification group adopted by the individual (i.e., the group which is the source of the individual's norms, values, aspirations) and attitudes, are significant in a positive direction.

7.3.1.2 Relationships between individual identification group and comparison group variables

It was predicted that a) positive significant correlations existed between scores on values, aspirations, and acculturation, and attitudes to whites; and b) negative correlations existed between the former three variables and attitudes to Aborigines. No relationship was predicted between self-concept and identification group variables. (Prediction 4.2.1.2)

These predictions concern the relationships between the variables measuring different components of ethnic identity, i.e., the relationship between the identification group (source of the individual's attitudes, values, norms, and aspirations) and the comparison group.
(which determines the individual's attitudes towards himself, his membership group, and the dominant society).

Inter-correlations between all scales measuring identification and comparison groups are given in Table 7.24.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Attitudes</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>Self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>-.239**</td>
<td>-.079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>.140</td>
<td>-.271**</td>
<td>-.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.069</td>
<td>-.308**</td>
<td>-.072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>-.162</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td>.138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td>-.029</td>
<td>-.003</td>
<td>.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>-.131</td>
<td>.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-.079</td>
<td>-.112</td>
<td>.076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation</td>
<td>-.032</td>
<td>-.194</td>
<td>.033</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05   ** p < .01

There is no relationship between attitudes to whites and any of the variables reflecting the identification group adopted by the individual. This result is surprising since it was expected that those individuals who had high aspirations or had adopted an achievement orientation on values or become acculturated must have adopted whites as reference models and hence would hold favourable attitudes towards them. The frequency distribution on the measure of attitudes to whites indicated that most Aborigines, not only those who had presumably adopted them as an identification group, held favourable attitudes towards whites. It appears that the large majority of Aborigines regarded whites as a positive valuation group, and even those Aborigines who were traditionally-oriented held favourable attitudes towards them.

The possibility cannot be discounted, however, that this result is an artefact of the demand characteristics of the testing situation since E was white and no Aboriginal E was used in the study to check the effect of ethnicity of the experimenter on responses to attitudes.
Towards whites.

There is a significant negative correlation between attitudes to Aborigines and achievement values (p < .01). This indicates that those Aborigines who internalised achievement value orientations on Time and Relational value scales held less favourable attitudes towards Aborigines than did those who had a more traditional orientation profile on values. This finding gives limited support for the prediction made earlier following discussion of the saliency of traditional Time and Relational orientations for Aboriginal identity: it was asserted that the collateral orientation in particular was fundamental to identity as Aboriginal and that those Aborigines who adopted an individualistic orientation on the Relational value would also have an unfavourable image of their own membership group. However, while there are significant negative correlations between attitudes to Aborigines and the Relational and Time values, this result does not necessarily imply that attitudes to Aborigines were unfavourable since the mean score on attitude to Aborigines (given in Table 7.11) lies towards the favourable pole. It is possible, however, that students characterised by an achievement orientation profile on the majority of items did in fact have an unfavourable attitude to Aborigines.

A second prediction related to the greater saliency of the Relational than of the Time value to Aboriginal identity. Attitude to Aborigines has a slightly stronger negative relationship to the Relational value than to the Time value, as predicted, although there is no significant difference between the two correlation coefficients.

Aspirations show no relationship to attitudes to whites or to Aborigines, a finding which suggests that occupational choice and educational aspirations did not necessarily reflect the identification group adopted by individuals.

Acculturation is not related to attitudes towards Aborigines or whites. This result is surprising since the scale of acculturation purported to measure choice of norms which reflected identification with western or traditional cultures. Individuals with a high score on acculturation were expected to hold favourable attitudes towards whites and to be unfavourable towards Aborigines. In both cases, no significant relationship was obtained.

Attitudes towards self are not correlated with any of the variables purporting to measure the identification group adopted by the individual.
It seemed possible, however, that students characterised by an achievement orientation profile on the majority of values did in fact have an unfavourable attitude to Aborigines. In order to test this relationship, the mean scores on attitude to Aborigines were calculated for the group of students with high scores on the total value schedule (scores of 14, 15, 16), and also for the remaining group. The results are presented in Table 7.24b.

Table 7.24b Mean scores, t-value for attitude to Aborigines* for high and low scorers on value schedule.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total value score</th>
<th>high</th>
<th>low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude to Aborigines</td>
<td>17.08</td>
<td>12*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 5.096 \quad p < .001 \]

* = 2 Ss dropped out before administration of attitude scales.

There is a significant difference between the two groups, which clearly indicates that those students who were characterised by an achievement orientation value profile were significantly less favourable to Aborigines than those who retained a non-achievement value orientation. The mean score for the high achievement-oriented groups lies towards the unfavourable pole, thereby supporting the prediction that the internalisation of collateral and future orientations is accompanied by an unfavourable image of the membership group.
No predictions were made for relationships between this measure and other variables since a favourable self-concept could have been associated with adoption of either Aborigines, or whites, or both as an identification group.

7.3.1.3 Pattern of relationships between identification and comparison groups

This research question concerned with the identity orientation groups sought to determine what pattern of relationship existed between the identification and the comparison groups adopted by the individual, i.e. to determine the effect that the identification group adopted by the individual had on his attitudes to whites, Aborigines and self. (Research question 4.3.1)

Although ethnic identity was conceptualised as comprising two components, normative and evaluative, and the identity orientations were defined in terms of both groups, the identification group alone was used to empirically define identity orientation. It is thus possible to determine what patterns of relationship exist between identification and comparison groups and to check on the validity of the identity models as defined earlier.

In order to determine the relationship between identity orientation groups and attitudes to Aborigines, whites, and self, a two-way analysis of variance (2 factor mixed design, repeated measures) was computed.

The results are presented in Table 7.25.

Table 7.25 Mean scores, F-values, for attitude measures x identity orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>identity orientation</th>
<th>whites</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
<th>self</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>26.33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>24.92</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>synthesis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>23.72</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>29.00</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>26.66</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.25 contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>d.f.</th>
<th>m.s.</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7539</td>
<td>213</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between SS</td>
<td>3756</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100.75</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error b</td>
<td>3353</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>50.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within SS</td>
<td>3783</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trials</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>24.07</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trials x conditions</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25.37</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error w</td>
<td>2644</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>19.44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The F-value for differences between identity groups, in their attitudes towards whites, Aborigines, and self, is not significant.

These results are surprising since it was expected first that Aborigines polarising towards white identity had a more positive attitude to whites than those who were traditionally oriented. Inspection of mean scores indicates that there is no apparent trend in the results, and that four identity groups had a favourable attitude to whites while the mean of the remaining group fell in the 'uncertain' category.

Second, it was expected that significant differences between identity groups on attitude to Aborigines would emerge. Although the mean scores are in the predicted direction, with traditionally oriented Aborigines (groups 4 and 5) showing an attitude tending towards the favourable pole, and the white-oriented students (groups 1 and 2) towards the unfavourable pole, there are no significant differences between identity orientations.

However, the F-value for differences within each identity orientation across attitudes on each of the three concepts is significant at the .001 level. Multiple t-tests between mean attitude scores for three concepts (applying Bonferroni's correction for multiple comparisons) reveal significant differences between attitude to Aborigines and attitude to whites and self, for white and white synthesis groups only. The results are presented in Table 7.26.
The results of this analysis indicate that Aborigines polarising towards white identity had significantly less favourable attitudes to Aborigines than to whites and self (p < .01). The second group (white synthesis) showed a similar pattern of results (p < .05). No differences were obtained between attitudes in either of the remaining two synthesis groups, or among those polarising towards a traditional model.

The above pattern of results suggested that there was an interaction effect between identity orientation and attitudes, but the F-value for trials x conditions is not significant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>identity orientation</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
<th>whites</th>
<th>self</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>self</td>
<td>whites</td>
<td>self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.74**</td>
<td>3.30**</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.67*</td>
<td>3.10**</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.99</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p < .01  * p < .05
The research question sought to determine first whether high scores on values, aspirations, and acculturation were associated with increased maladjustment; and second what relationship existed between the attitude measures and maladjustment. (Research question 4.2.1.4) The description of the social system at Kormilda College suggested, however, that most students experienced conflict, regardless of identity orientations since resolution of identity conflict was not facilitated.

Inter-correlations between ethnic identity variables and maladjustment are given in Table 7.27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A-I</th>
<th>T-D</th>
<th>A-I</th>
<th>T-D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>values</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>-.082</td>
<td>-.044</td>
<td>.259*</td>
<td>-.327**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td>-.092</td>
<td>.211*</td>
<td>-.327**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.176</td>
<td>-.089</td>
<td>.206*</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>acculturation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>-.080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whites</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.324**</td>
<td>-.104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.226*</td>
<td>-.181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05
** p < .01

The results indicate that there is a significant negative correlation between Educational and Occupational aspirations and
Tension-Discharge. (p < .01) Thus, those individuals who had high educational and occupational aspirations were less likely to engage in deviant behaviour. However, the correlations between aspirations and Anxiety-Inhibition are all significant in a positive direction which indicates that high aspirations were associated with an increased tendency to exhibit psychosomatic symptoms. Nurcombe (personal communication) maintains that this finding is predictable: individuals who are high achievers and have high aspirations learn to inhibit outward manifestations of stress, and this stress finds an outlet in psychosomatic or internal symptoms.

The significant correlation between Anxiety-Inhibition and Relational value is of interest. (p < .05) The importance of this value to Aboriginal identity has been emphasised and, as predicted, individuals who had adopted an individualistic orientation tended to experience more stress which was expressed in the form of psychosomatic symptoms.

Finally, significant negative correlations (p < .01) are found between both attitudes to Aborigines and to self, and Anxiety-Inhibition. This results suggests that the more favourable the subject was to other Aborigines, the less likely he was to experience conflict; and the more favourable his self-concept, the fewer psychosomatic symptoms he showed.

7.3.1.5 Relationship between identity orientation group and maladjustment

It was predicted that students lacked the potential to resolve identity conflict, irrespective of the particular identity orientation adopted, and that each orientation was associated with a similar degree of stress and maladjustment. (Prediction 4.2.1.5)

The results from one-way analyses of variance between mean scores on Anxiety-Inhibition and Tension-Discharge for each of the five identity orientations are both not significant. Results are given in Table 7.28. This finding indicates that location along the identity continuum was not associated with any particular level of stress. The mean scores on Tension-Discharge and Anxiety-Inhibition across identity orientations reveal that symptoms of maladjustment were shown by all groups. Although there are no significant differences between groups, a consistent pattern emerged whereby individuals polarising towards the white identity model (groups 1 and 2) tended to express stress through Anxiety-Inhibition
symptoms, while those polarising towards the traditional model (groups 4 and 5) had highest scores on the Tension-Discharge syndrome.

Table 7.28 Mean scores and F-values for Anxiety-Inhibition and Tension-Discharge x identity orientation

| identity orientation groups | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  |
|-----------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Anxiety-Inhibition          |   |   |   |   |   |
| \( \bar{x} \)               | 3.16 | 3.10 | 2.45 | 2.64 | 2.16 |
| s.d.                        | 2.69 | 1.69 | 1.66 | 1.33 | 1.02 |
| n                           | 12  | 19  | 36  | 14  | 12  |
| \( F = 0.93 \) d.f. 4/87 N.S. |   |   |   |   |   |

| Tension-Discharge           |   |   |   |   |   |
| \( \bar{x} \)               | 1.50 | 2.55 | 1.92 | 2.07 | 3.08 |
| s.d.                        | 1.73 | 2.61 | 1.72 | 2.16 | 2.53 |
| n                           | 12  | 19  | 36  | 14  | 12  |
| \( F = 1.24 \) d.f. 4/87 N.S. |   |   |   |   |   |

7.3.2 Achievement values and aspirations

A major interest in the present study concerns the changes in students' values and aspirations mediating achievement behaviour which were required if the goals of education were to be achieved and modern occupational status attained. The research question sought to determine what changes occurred in values and aspirations that could be attributed to the length of time spent at Kormilda College. (Research question 4.2.2)

Although lack of longitudinal data preclude a definitive answer to this exploratory question, the data suggest that the College had little impact on the values and aspirations of the students. Comparisons were made between Post-Primary classes and between Transitional Grade and High School since individual students were selected for the sample in such a way that their particular class at the time of the present study reflected the amount of time they had spent at Kormilda. Analyses of variance for mean scores between classes on Relational and Time
values, and on Educational, Occupational, and Social aspirations showed significant F-values for Time, Educational, and Occupational aspirations. Subsequent t-tests for differences between pairs of means after applying Bonferroni's correction for multiple comparisons, indicated that the major source of variance in Occupational aspirations occurred in group comparisons which are of no particular interest to the present study. In the remaining two analyses of Educational aspirations and Time value, significant t-values were found between Post-Primary 2 and Post-Primary 1, in the reverse direction from that expected, i.e., P-P.1 had a higher score than P-P.2 on both variables. This finding suggests that the significant difference between P-P.2 and P-P.3 could not be attributed to the impact of Kormilda but was more probably a function of particular intake characteristics.

Tables 7.29 and 7.30 give results on these variables for all classes.

Table 7.29 Mean scores and F-values on values x classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P-P.1</th>
<th>P-P.2</th>
<th>P-P.3</th>
<th>Trans.</th>
<th>H.S.1</th>
<th>H.S.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>6.45</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>6.08</td>
<td>6.36</td>
<td>6.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F = 3.0295*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                | 5.40  | 6.00  | 6.66  | 5.64   | 5.90  | 5.90  |
| Relational     | 20    | 21    | 6     | 25     | 13    | 10    |
| s.d.           | 0.75  | 1.48  | 1.21  | 0.99   | 1.03  | 1.13  |
|                | F = 1.4885 |

|                | 11.85 | 11.42 | 13.33 | 11.68  | 12.27 | 12.09 |
| Total values   | 20    | 21    | 6     | 25     | 13    | 10    |
| s.d.           | 1.30  | 1.98  | 1.96  | 1.49   | 1.42  | 1.70  |
|                | F = 1.5188 |

* p < .05 level
Significant t-values between groups of interest following multiple comparisons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparison</th>
<th>P-P.1</th>
<th>P-P.2</th>
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<th>.01</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time value</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.30 Mean scores and F-values on aspirations x classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P-P.1</th>
<th>P-P.2</th>
<th>P-P.3</th>
<th>Trans.</th>
<th>H.S.1</th>
<th>H.S.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 4.9521**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 3.5257**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 1.0436</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>3.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 4.5122***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05   ** p < .005   *** p < .001
These results are surprising since one would expect the high drop-out rate of students to have resulted in a concentration of students with high achievement value orientations and aspirations in the senior classes, thereby inflating the scores on these variables. It is possible that intake years differed significantly from each other in achievement variables as a result of different selection procedures, or of differences in previous educational experiences of students. Although there are no data available to indicate that selection procedures did differ, it is not unlikely that this was the case since numbers in the academic stream were increasing each year, while a constant number of students was selected for Kormilda. This would have resulted in increasingly higher educational attainments which may have been mediated by achievement value orientations and high aspirations. It would seem that any valid attempt to assess the impact of the school on values and aspirations must be based on repeated observations of the same students over a period of time.

One such limited attempt was made to obtain data from Post-Primary 1 and Transitional Grade 7 students on change in values over a year since it was felt that these two groups would probably have evinced the most change as a result of the initial impact of the College. The Value Schedule was administered to the students at the beginning and at the end of the year. Two methods of assessing change in values over time were made. First, t-tests for the differences between dependent means, for which only those students who were present in the College for both testings could be included, resulting in samples of 17 and 18 students in Transitional and Post-Primary 1 respectively.

There are no significant differences between dependent mean scores on either Time, Relational, or Total values for Transitional Grade which indicates that no change in values over time had occurred for this group. Although there is no significant difference between mean scores on Time or Relational for Post-Primary students, a t-test for dependent means on the Total values scale is significant ($p < .05$) which indicates that some overall change in an achievement orientation direction did occur for this group. It is possible that the more traditional orientation on values (as indicated by mean scores given in Table 7.31) which characterised students in Post-Primary before they came to Kormilda meant that there was more scope for change to occur. The second procedure adopted for measuring change took this factor into consideration.
Table 7.31 gives mean scores on all scales for two testings.

Table 7.31 Mean scores on values for both testings for Transitional Grade 7 and Post-Primary 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Relational</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Relational</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st testing</td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>11.82</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd testing</td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>6.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.436</td>
<td>0.417</td>
<td>1.409</td>
<td>1.917</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .05$

A second approach to assessing change was that suggested by the model of Rehberg et al (1970) of the temporal sequence of achievement variables. This was used to determine whether aspirations of students on entry to Kormilda could predict any value change over a year. A Pearson product-moment correlation between aspirations and residual value scores is not significant, however, which further supports the finding that no significant change in values towards an achievement-orientation occurred. The method used to obtain residual value scores is given in Appendix 7.3.

The failure to find significant correlations between first and second testings for both Transitional Grade 7 and Post-Primary 1 indicates that changes in values did occur, although they were not necessarily from the non-achievement orientation to the achievement orientation. The impossibility of obtaining a rank-ordering of alternative responses on those items with more than two orientations precludes the testing of Caudill's and Scarr's hypothesis that values pass through the preferred alternative. Another possible explanation of this result is that the test may be unreliable, although the Value Schedule was administered individually to students and an attempt made to elicit further reasons for choices on orientations in order to guard against unreliability. It is also possible that some students adopted achievement value orientations before going to Kormilda as a result of anticipatory socialisation, but experiences in the College and a desire to return to home communities on completion of school may have led some to revert to traditional value orientations.
7.3.3 Contact

The amount of contact which an individual had experienced with the dominant society before going to Kormilda was considered to be an important determinant of the identity orientation adopted by the individual and in his subsequent adjustment at Kormilda.

7.3.3.1 Relationships between contact and identification group variables

Those students who had experienced a greater amount of contact before going to Kormilda were predicted to have higher scores on achievement values (Time and Relational), aspirations (Educational, Occupational and Social), and acculturation, than those who had experienced less contact.

Correlations between contact and the variables measuring the identification group adopted by the individual are given in Table 7.32.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Aspirations</th>
<th>Acculturation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n = 95</td>
<td>n = 93</td>
<td>n = 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>.291*</td>
<td>.237*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.218*</td>
<td>.359**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05 ** p < .01

The significant correlation between contact and the Time value (p < .05) indicates that those individuals who had experienced greater exposure to the dominant society before going to Kormilda also adopted a more future orientation than those with less contact. It is not possible to make any causal analysis here since a concern for the future may have led families of these students to seek employment in areas where there was greater contact with whites, or conversely, contact with whites may have led to their adoption as reference models and consequent internalisation of western value orientations. The failure to obtain any significant correlation between contact and the Relational value, and the general tendency to respond traditionally to this value suggests that kinship ties remained important for the majority of individuals and were resistant to the impact of western society.
Thus, although some individuals may have had more contact with whites as a result of living in towns, they still tended to observe kinship obligations and to retain a collateral orientation.

There are significant correlations between educational and social aspirations with contact, which indicates that increased exposure to the dominant society and the greater availability of white models was accompanied by the development of higher educational and social aspirations. Surprisingly, there is no significant correlation between occupational aspirations and amount of contact which suggests that the greater availability of whites as potential reference models for students who had experienced contact with the dominant society did not lead to higher occupational aspirations. It is probable that aspirations were developed at Kormilda, rather than back in the home communities when students were still relatively young and did not face an occupational choice situation.

The highly significant correlation between acculturation and contact \((p < .001)\) confirms the prediction that a change in self-definition accompanied increasing contact with the dominant society. However, research among other ethnic groups suggests that in certain situations, the individual may be highly acculturated despite a low degree of contact with the dominant society. Studies by Chance (1965, 1968) among the Canadian Eskimos and Chinese in Taiwan have shown that such individuals experience more psychosomatic stress than do individuals who have a greater amount of contact, irrespective of the degree of acculturation. An attempt was made to determine whether Chance's findings could be generalized to the Australian Aborigines. Mean scores on Tension-Discharge and Anxiety-Inhibition were calculated for three groups differing in relative levels of contact and acculturation. Following Chance's methodological procedure, both variables - contact and acculturation - were split into thirds - high, medium, and low - and an analysis based on relative scores: a) group with equal status on both variables: high-high, low-low, medium-medium; b) group with contact<acculturation: medium-low, low-high, low-medium; c) group with contact>acculturation: high-medium, high-low, medium-low. Mean scores on Tension-Discharge and Anxiety-Inhibition, for each of these three groups, are given in Table 7.33. F-values, following one-way analyses of variance both failed to reach significance.
reflect the same degree of stress as indicated by a high score on the C.M.I. adopted by Chance to measure stress, and relative degrees of contact may have differed similarly. It is possible that the relationship between contact, acculturation and maladjustment may only be uncovered when there is a wide range on each of these variables.

Table 7.33 F-values for contact x acculturation x maladjustment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>=</th>
<th>&lt;</th>
<th>&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-I</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>0.1437</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>X</th>
<th>2.02</th>
<th>2.04</th>
<th>1.85</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T-D</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>12.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>0.0911</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.3.2 Relationship between contact and identity orientation

There is a significant relationship between the identity orientation adopted by the individual and the amount of contact experienced with the dominant society before going to Kormilda. Analysis of variance between mean contact scores for the five identity groups is significant (p < .01). t-tests between independent means with Bonferroni's correction for multiple comparisons indicate that the significant differences in contact occur between: a) the traditionally-oriented group and both the white identity group and the white synthesis group; b) the traditional synthesis group and the white synthesis group; and c) the synthesis group and the traditional synthesis group. The large majority of students polarising towards a traditional identity came from missions which were usually located in isolated areas and it is therefore not surprising to find that mission students had minimal contact with whites. The relatively high standard deviation in the two white-oriented groups indicates that students polarising towards the white model did not all come from areas where there was greater contact.
with whites, and it would appear that variables other than availability of a potential white reference group influenced the individual's adoption of whites as identification models. Results are presented in Table 7.34.

### Table 7.34 Mean scores and F-value for contact x identity orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>identity orientation groups</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F = 4.78  d.f. 4/87  p < .01

Significant differences between means following multiple comparisons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparison groups</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>2.933</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-4</td>
<td>2.921</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>2.706</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 7.3.3.3 Relationships between contact and attitude measures (comparison group)

Relationship between contact and attitude measures are also of interest. No predictions were made concerning the relationships between contact and attitudes to Aborigines and whites, but on the basis of previous research on self-concept, it was predicted that individuals who had experienced more contact with the dominant society before going to Kormilda had less favourable attitudes towards self. (Prediction 4.2.3.2)

The results on these measures are presented in Table 7.35.

The failure to find significant correlations between contact and attitudes to whites, Aborigines and self suggests first that increased contact with whites did not result in a more favourable attitude towards them; second, increasing contact with the dominant society might have been expected to correlate with an unfavourable attitude towards...
Aborigines if such contact reflects a degree of alienation from other Aboriginal kinsmen, but no support was found for this supposition; finally, the lack of relationship between self-concept and contact refutes findings among other minority ethnic groups whereby individuals experiencing greater amounts of contact with the dominant society were found to have incorporated negative feelings into their own self-image. The present finding suggests that Aboriginal students who came into contact with members of the dominant society did not perhaps experience hostile reactions on the part of whites.

**Table 7.35 Inter-correlations between a) contact and b) attitudes to whites, Aborigines and self. n = 74**

| Attitudes     | r  
|---------------|---
| whites        | -.045  
| Aborigines    | -.053  
| self          | -.061  

### 7.3.3.4 Relationship between contact and maladjustment

The relationship between contact and maladjustment was also considered to be of interest. Correlations were obtained between contact and scores on Tension-Discharge and Anxiety-Inhibition, since previous research among Aborigines and other ethnic groups indicated there was a relationship between these two variables. Nurcombe and Cawte (1967) studied Aboriginal tribal groups on Mornington Island and found that Aborigines with high contact (as a result of previous residence on the mainland) showed more symptoms of stress typical of the Tension-Discharge syndrome, while the group of Aborigines with low contact and high internal cohesiveness (as a result of drastic changes to their ecological environment) showed a concentration of Anxiety-Inhibition symptoms. Results from the present study do not confirm this relationship between contact and maladjustment. However, the lack of substantial range on the contact scale may have obscured any relationship between these two variables. Mean scores for high and low contact groups on Tension-Discharge and Anxiety-Inhibition are given in Table 7.36.
Table 7.36  Mean scores for contact x maladjustment (T-D and A-I)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>high contact</th>
<th>low contact</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-I</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>1.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05

7.3.3.5 Relationship between contact and type of community

A final relationship of interest is that between contact and the type of community from which the individual came. (Research question 4.2.3.4) A comparison of mean contact scores for each type of community (with corrections made for multiple comparisons) following a significant F-value for a one-way analysis of variance indicates that town dwellers predictably had higher contact scores than students from the other three types of community (settlements, missions, and pastoral properties), and that individuals from settlements had more contact than those from missions. Table 7.37 gives results for the relationship between these two variables.

Table 7.37  Mean scores, F-value on contact x community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pastoral property</th>
<th>settlement</th>
<th>mission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.86</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>town</td>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.20</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F = 14.40</td>
<td>d.f. 3/92</td>
<td>p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Significant t-tests between means

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pastoral property - town</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settlement - mission</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settlement - town</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mission - town</td>
<td>7.73</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.4 Gratification choice

Delay of gratification has been shown to be related to a number of variables mediating achievement behaviour and several predictions as to expected relationships between preference for delayed reward and other variables in the present study were made. In other cases, exploratory questions were asked.

7.3.4.1 Relationship between gratification choice and Time value

It was predicted that preference for delayed reward was positively correlated with future time perspective (Prediction 4.2.4.1) Inter-correlations (point-biserial r) between gratification choice and values are given in Table 7.38.

Table 7.38 Correlations between gratification choice and value scales \( n = 94 \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>-.136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-.088</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lack of any significant correlation between preference for delayed gratification and future time perspective does not support the usual findings that these two elements co-vary to a high degree. (Shybut, 1963; Le Shan, 1952; Jessor et al, 1968) It is possible that a single measure of gratification is unreliable, although expected relationships with other variables were found which provides some evidence of validity.

7.3.4.2 Relationship between gratification choice and aspirations

Delay of gratification is correlated with Occupational aspirations which indicates that those individuals who set high goals for themselves in terms of future careers were also able to postpone immediate gratification. The lack of any significant correlation with Educational
aspirations is not particularly surprising since data gathered in the course of the Interview indicated that many students wished to stay on at school in order to avoid conflict situations at home rather than remaining at school in order to achieve long term goals. (Research question 4.2.4.2) Results are given in Table 7.39.

Table 7.39 Correlations between gratification choice and aspirations
n = 93

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspirations</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>.049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td>.259*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>.130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .02

7.3.4.3 Relationship between gratification choice and identity orientation

A test of association between gratification choice and identity orientation is significant (p < .05). Inspection of cell frequencies in Table 7.40 fails to reveal any consistent pattern of results, however, and it would appear that white-oriented individuals chose immediate gratification as often as traditionally-oriented students. This result is surprising since it was expected that white-oriented individuals would show a greater tendency to delay gratification. Bandura and Mischel (1965) were able to show that children with established tendencies towards immediate or delayed gratification could be influenced to change their tendency through exposure to a different model whose behaviour was opposite to their own. If such modelling occurred at Kormilda, then those students who were oriented towards white-society should have been more likely to choose delayed reward.

Table 7.40 $\chi^2$ test of association between gratification choice and identity orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>identity orientation groups</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>delayed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 10.68$  p < .05
This finding is supported by a number of other studies among different ethnic groups. Mischel (1961) found that Trinidadian delinquent children chose immediate reward significantly more often than non-delinquents; Shybut (1963) and Jessor et al (1968) also demonstrated a relationship between preference for delayed reward and psychological adjustment among adolescents in a tri-ethnic community.

7.3.4.4 Relationship between gratification choice and maladjustment

It was predicted that students who chose immediate gratification also tended to engage in deviant behaviour. (Prediction 4.2.4.4) t-tests between mean scores on Tension-Discharge and Anxiety-Inhibition for individuals delaying and seeking immediate gratification show a significant difference for Tension-Discharge (p < .05) which confirms the prediction. (Results are given in Table 7.41) No relationship existed between gratification choice and Anxiety-Inhibition.

Table 7.41 Mean scores for gratification choice x maladjustment (T-D and A-I)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>delayed</th>
<th>immediate</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-D</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-I</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05

7.3.4.5 Relationship between gratification choice and age

Interest is also focused on the relationship between gratification and age. (Research question 4.2.4.5) A t-test between mean ages for individuals choosing delayed rather than immediate reward is significant (p < .01). Table 7.42 gives frequencies at each age level choosing delayed and immediate reward and the t-value for the difference between independent means. The results obtained in the present study confirm the relationship between age and gratification that has been found among other ethnic groups, although it contradicts those of Bochner and David (1967, 1968) who found age and gratification to be unrelated for Australian Aborigines. It is possible, however, that the results of the present study are an artefact of the selective drop-out rate of students as students in the older age groups choosing immediate gratification had most likely already dropped out of school. Further research is required to determine the relationship between age and gratification choice. The association between gratification choice and dropping out of school is...
discussed in Section 7.3.5.

Table 7.42 Frequencies of students choosing delayed and immediate reward x age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age</th>
<th>delayed</th>
<th>immediate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.29</td>
<td>4.87*</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .01

7.3.4.6 Relationship between gratification choice and I.Q.

A final research question concerns the relationship between gratification choice and I.Q. (Research question 4.2.4.6) A correlation (point-biserial r) between scores on the Junior A Intelligence Test and gratification choice is 0.434 (p < .01). This result confirms the relationship usually obtained between these measures and refutes the finding by Bochner and David (1968) of a significant negative correlation between I.Q. and preference for immediate reward among Aboriginal children. However, results from the latter study are not strictly comparable to those of the present research since their measure of I.Q. was based on the Porteus Maze Test and ability tests, while the measure adopted in the present study is highly loaded on verbal factors and reflects school performance rather than innate ability.

7.3.5 Drop-outs and stayers

It seemed likely that students who dropped out of school before completing their courses (drop-outs) differed from those who remained to complete their courses (stayers). The research question therefore sought to determine in what ways the drop-outs differed from stayers with regard to the variables which were of interest to the present study. (Research question 4.2.5.1)

Students classified as drop-outs were those who left Kormilda without completing a course at any stage during 1970 (year of testing), or during the subsequent year (1971). Completion of a course was defined as completion of Post-Primary 3, or 2nd year High School, regardless of the number of years spent at Kormilda. It was felt that the inclusion of students who dropped out during 1971 was justified on the grounds that experiences of the previous year probably influenced their decision to drop out, and a more complete profile of the drop-out
could be obtained. Students categorized as stayers may subsequently have dropped out of the system before completion of a course, and were therefore erroneously classified as stayers, but no other alternative categorization of students was possible at the point of time when analyses were made.

The numbers of drop-outs for 1970 and 1971 for the total and sample populations were given in Table 7.14 and the figures for the sample population are reproduced here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>enrolments 1st term 1970</th>
<th>drop-outs to end 1970</th>
<th>cumulative drop-outs to end 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sample population</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results on each of the variables are presented for the 48 drop-outs and the 47 stayers, and the total pattern of findings is then discussed.

### 7.3.5.1 Values

Students who continued at school (stayers) were significantly more future-oriented than those students who dropped out before completing their course (p < .05), but there was no difference between them on the Relational value. The mean scores for both groups and t-value for differences between independent means are given in Table 7.43.

Table 7.43 Comparison between drop-outs and stayers on Time and Relational values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>drop-outs</th>
<th></th>
<th>stayers</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \bar{X} )</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>( \bar{X} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>5.86</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05

### 7.3.5.2 Acculturation

A t-test between independent mean scores for drop-outs and stayers on acculturation is not significant which indicates there was no difference in the level of acculturation between these two groups of students. Mean scores and t-value are given in Table 7.44.
Table 7.44  Comparison between drop-outs and stayers on acculturation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>drop-outs</th>
<th>stayers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>13.87</td>
<td>14.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 1.68 \text{ N.S.} \]

7.3.5.3 Aspirations

Students who dropped out of school before completion of their course had significantly lower Educational, Occupational and Social aspirations (p < .05) than those who remained at school. The mean scores for drop-outs and stayers on aspirations are given in Table 7.45, together with t-values for differences between independent means.

Table 7.45  Comparison between drop-outs and stayers on aspirations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>drop-outs</th>
<th>stayers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.80</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05  
** p < .02  
*** p < .01

7.3.5.4 Attitudes to whites, Aborigines, and self

It was expected that Aborigines who had left school would have been less favourable to whites and more favourable to Aborigines than those who stayed on. However, drop-outs from Kormilda did not differ significantly from stayers in their attitudes towards whites, Aborigines, or self, although all the differences between mean scores are in the expected direction. Table 7.46 shows mean scores for both groups on each of the attitude measures and t-values for differences between independent means.
Table 7.46 Comparison between drop-outs and stayers on attitude measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude to:</th>
<th>drop-outs</th>
<th>stayers</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whites</td>
<td>23.57</td>
<td>6.41</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>21.78</td>
<td>6.39</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self</td>
<td>24.64</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.5.5 Adjustment scales

Anxiety-Inhibition

Students who dropped out of Kormilda did not differ significantly from stayers in the mean number of Anxiety-Inhibition symptoms shown. Table 7.47 gives results for a t-test between independent means.

Table 7.47 Comparison between drop-outs and stayers on Anxiety-Inhibition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>drop-outs</th>
<th>stayers</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>0.143</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tension-Discharge

Drop-outs had significantly higher Tension-Discharge scores than those who continued at the College (p < .001). This result is partly due to two gangs of students who engaged in various collective forms of deviant behaviour before dropping out at the end of second term. Table 7.48 gives results for a t-test between independent means.

Table 7.48 Comparison between drop-outs and stayers on Tension-Discharge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>drop-outs</th>
<th>stayers</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>5.104*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3.5.6 Contact

There was no difference in the amount of contact with the dominant society experienced by drop-outs and stayers before going to Kormilda. Mean contact scores for each group and t-values for the differences between independent means are given in Table 7.49.

Table 7.49 Comparison between drop-outs and stayers on contact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>drop-outs</th>
<th>stayers</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>10.44</td>
<td>9.80</td>
<td>1.424</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.5.7 Gratification choice

There is a significant relationship between preference for immediate reward and dropping out of school (p < .01). Results for a $\chi^2$ test of association between gratification choice and drop-outs and stayers are given in Table 7.50.

Table 7.50 Comparison between drop-outs and stayers on gratification choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>drop-outs</th>
<th>stayers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>delayed</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 9.031$  $p < .01$

7.3.5.8 Identity orientation

There is a significant relationship between identity orientation and dropping out of school (p < .01). Students who polarised towards the white identity model (groups 1 and 2) tended to remain at school while those polarising towards the traditional model (groups 4 and 5) were more likely to drop out. Table 7.51 gives cell frequencies and $\chi^2$ value.
Table 7.51 Comparison between drop-outs and stayers on identity orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>identity orientations</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drop-outs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stayers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 13.736 \quad p < .01 \]

7.3.5.9 Type of community

Closely associated with the degree of contact with the dominant society is the type of community from which each individual came. A \( \chi^2 \) test of association between type of community (mission, settlement, pastoral property, and town) and drop-outs and stayers is significant \( (p < .05) \). Inspection of the cell frequencies given in Table 7.52 reveals that a greater proportion of students dropped out from settlements than from any other communities and this proportion was twice that of students from pastoral properties and towns.

Table 7.52 Comparison between drop-outs and stayers \( \times \) community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pastoral property</th>
<th>settlement</th>
<th>mission</th>
<th>town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drop-outs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stayers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 8.205 \quad p < .05 \]

7.3.5.10 Discussion of pattern of results for differences between drop-outs and stayers on all variables

Differences between drop-outs and stayers have been presented for each of the variables separately and it is now possible to return to the original research question concerned with this grouping of the sample population:

What distinguished those students who left Kormilda before completion of their courses from those who remained at school to complete their courses?
Table 7.53 gives the pattern of results obtained after comparison of scores between drop-outs and stayers on each of the variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>variable</th>
<th>statistical test</th>
<th>value</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time value</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational value</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total value</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acculturation</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude to whites</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude to Aborigines</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude to self</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety-Inhibition</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tension-Discharge</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contact</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gratification choice</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>9.03</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identity orientation</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>13.73</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>type of community</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>8.20</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The significant differences between drop-outs and stayers reflect differences in variables mediating achievement behaviour. Stayers had significantly higher Educational, Occupational and Social aspirations than had the drop-outs and were future- rather than present-oriented; consistent with this latter finding was a marked preference by drop-outs for immediate gratification. It is significant that the two groups did not differ on the Relational value which suggests that stayers wished to retain kinship ties and to return to their home communities on completion of their courses.

The significant difference between the two groups on Tension-Discharge, with drop-outs showing a stronger propensity for deviant behaviour, suggests that this group experienced stress while at Kormilda and did not abandon school simply because of parental or community wishes that they remain at home. The tendency for drop-outs to express such stress through Tension-Discharge rather than Anxiety-Inhibition symptoms
supports findings among other ethnic groups that deviant behaviour is associated with lack of long-term goals and consequent dropping out of school.

Finally, the association between type of community and dropping out of school is of interest. The tendency for town students to remain at the College might reflect the greater continuity in life-styles, while for students from pastoral properties it may be a realistic appraisal of the employment opportunities and dissatisfaction with the limited recreational and social activities available at home. The high drop-out rate among students from settlements cannot be attributed to any one factor, and it was probably a result of a complex interaction of several variables. These might have included the provision of Post-Primary facilities on most settlements for students who left Transitional and High School classes; less pressure on students to return to Kormilda by teaching staff on settlements; less community support on settlements for Kormilda; and more job opportunities on settlements, with the result that students who dropped out could more readily obtain employment.

7.3.6 Post-Primary and Transitional Grade 7/High School students

Comparisons between these two groups are of particular interest since they not only represent the non-academic and academic streams, respectively, but administrators also have different expectations for them. Differences between groups on each of the variables are first presented, and then the total pattern of results is discussed.

7.3.6.1 Values

Although the Transitional/High School students represented the academic stream, the results indicate that they did not differ from Post-Primary students in their profile of achievement value orientations. There are no significant differences between means for both groups on either Relational, Time, or Total value scales. Table 7.54 gives obtained mean scores and t-values for differences between independent groups.
Table 7.54 Comparison between Transitional/High School and Post-Primary students on values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trans/High School</th>
<th>Post-Primary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \bar{X} )</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12.02</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.6.2 Acculturation

There is no significant difference between Post-Primary and Transitional/High School on acculturation which suggests that acculturation was not related to those variables mediating the higher educational attainments of the academic group. Mean scores for both groups and a t-value for the difference between independent means are given in Table 7.55.

Table 7.55 Comparison between Transitional/High School and Post-Primary students on acculturation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( \bar{X} )</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitional/High School</td>
<td>14.23</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>0.433</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Primary</td>
<td>14.51</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.6.3 Aspirations

The results reveal that students in the academic stream (Transitional/High School) were significantly higher on Educational and Occupational aspirations (\( p < .02, p < .01 \), respectively), and the trend was in the same direction but not significant for scores on Social aspirations. Mean scores and t-values for differences between independent groups are given in Table 7.56.
Table 7.56 Comparison between Transitional/High School and Post-Primary students on aspirations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trans/High School</th>
<th>Post-Primary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\bar{x}$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>7.93</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td>6.33</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17.45</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .02$  ** $p < .01$

7.3.6.4 Attitudes to whites, Aborigines, and self

Students in Post-Primary had a more favourable self-concept than those in Transitional/High School ($p < .05$), but the two groups did not differ significantly in attitudes to either whites or to Aborigines. Mean scores for each group on three attitude scales and results of $t$-tests between independent means are given in Table 7.57.

Table 7.57 Comparison between Transitional/High School and Post-Primary students on attitude measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trans/High School</th>
<th>Post-Primary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude to:</td>
<td>$\bar{x}$</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whites</td>
<td>24.11</td>
<td>5.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>21.02</td>
<td>6.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self</td>
<td>24.04</td>
<td>4.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .05$

7.3.6.5 Maladjustment

Anxiety-Inhibition

Students in the academic stream did not differ significantly from students in Post-Primary in the number of symptoms of Anxiety-Inhibition shown. Mean scores for both groups and $t$-values for differences between independent means are given in Table 7.58.

Tension-Discharge

There was no difference in the mean Tension-Discharge scores between students in Post-Primary and in Transitional/High School.
Mean scores for both groups and t-value for difference between independent means are given in Table 7.58.

### Table 7.58 Comparison between Transitional/High School and Post-Primary students on Anxiety-Inhibition and Tension-Discharge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trans/High School</th>
<th>Post-Primary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety-Inhibition</td>
<td>( \bar{X} ) 2.70, s.d. 1.80, n 48</td>
<td>( \bar{X} ) 2.51, s.d. 1.62, n 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tension-Discharge</td>
<td>( \bar{X} ) 2.47, s.d. 4.9, n 48</td>
<td>( \bar{X} ) 2.48, s.d. 2.3, n 47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 7.3.6.6 Contact

There was no difference between students in the academic stream and those in Post-Primary classes in the amount of prior contact with the dominant society. Mean scores for both groups on contact and t-value for difference between independent means are given in Table 7.59.

### Table 7.59 Comparison between Transitional/High School and Post-Primary students on contact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact</th>
<th>( \bar{X} ) 10.39, s.d. 2.04, n 48</th>
<th>( t ) 0.888, N.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trans/High School</td>
<td>( \bar{X} ) 9.99, s.d. 2.34, n 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 7.3.6.7 Gratification choice

Post-Primary students and Transitional/High School classes did not differ in the proportion of students choosing delayed rather than immediate gratification. A \( \chi^2 \) test of association between groups x gratification choice is not significant. Cell frequencies and obtained \( \chi^2 \) value are given in Table 7.60.

### Table 7.60 Comparison between Transitional/High School and Post-Primary students on gratification choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>delayed</th>
<th>immediate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trans/High School</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Primary</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 1.028 \text{ N.S.} \]
7.3.6.8 **Identity orientation**

There is a significant relationship between the identity orientation adopted by the individual and his location in the academic or non-academic stream. Inspection of the cell frequencies, given in Table 7.61, indicates that those students who adopted a traditional orientation were, with only one exception, all in Post-Primary. However, at the other extreme, students polarising towards a white identity were equally likely to be found in either the academic or the non-academic stream.

**Table 7.61** Comparison between Transitional/High School and Post-Primary students on identity orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>identity orientation groups</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trans/High School</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Primary</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

χ² = 10.768  p < .05

7.3.6.9 **Drop-outs vs stayers**

There was no difference between students in Post-Primary or in Transitional/High School classes in their decisions to drop-out of Kormilda or to remain to finish their courses. Cell frequencies and the χ² value obtained are given in Table 7.62.

**Table 7.62** χ² test of association between drop-outs vs stayers and Transitional/High School students vs Post-Primary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trans/High School</th>
<th>Post-Primary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drop-outs</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stayers</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

χ² = 0.010  N.S.

7.3.6.10 **Discussion of pattern of results for differences between Transitional/High School and Post-Primary students on all variables.**

The research question concerned with this grouping of the total sample sought to determine in which ways students in Post-Primary differed from those in Transitional Grade and at High School.

The differences between the two groups on each of the variables are presented in Table 7.63.
Table 7.63 Pattern of results for differences between Transitional/High School and Post-Primary students on all variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>variable</th>
<th>statistical test</th>
<th>value</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time value</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.729</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational value</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.255</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total value</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.380</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acculturation</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.433</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>2.315</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>3.421</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.845</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>3.694</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude to whites</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.264</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude to Aborigines</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude to self</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>2.740</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety-Inhibition</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.559</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tension-Discharge</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contact</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.888</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gratification choice</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>1.028</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identity orientation</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>10.768</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drop-outs vs stayers</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis of the results shows that students in the academic stream had significantly higher educational and occupational aspirations ($p < .02$, $p < .01$, respectively) but that there were no differences between the two groups on achievement values. Consideration of the mean scores on Time and Relational values suggests that the students in Transitional/High School classes had not yet internalised the achievement values which mediate aspirations and subsequent achievement in society. Since no measure of need for achievement ($n_{ach.}$) was obtained, it was not possible to determine the individual's internal impetus to excel, and this variable may have been responsible for the greater school achievements of students at the time they were streamed into the academic grade. The results on the attitude measures further indicate that Transitional/High School students did not hold more favourable attitudes to whites than did the students in Post-Primary, which refutes the idea that the higher aspirations of the Transitional/High School group was due to their greater tendency to adopt whites as a reference group. However, it is likely that teachers had higher educational and occupational aspirations for students in the academic stream and thus
the observed differences might reflect direct teaching rather than motivational effects.

The significant difference between groups on attitudes to self is of particular interest. This finding appears to contradict the observation that students in the academic stream at Kormilda frequently made derogatory remarks to Post-Primary students concerning the latters' presumed lower status and inferior academic ability. The less favourable self concept held by Transitional/High School students, however, while in the reverse direction from that expected, is in accord with results from other research and may perhaps be explained by the different experiences of the two groups and the audience groups available to them. Students in the academic stream may have had more feelings of inadequacy resulting from an inability to cope with school work of an academic nature, superior performance of whites in school, higher expectations for them by white teachers and by some members in their community, and a lack of confidence in interacting with whites. If this explanation were correct, one would expect to find that High School students had a less favourable self-concept that Transitional students as a result of increased contact with white peers at High School and an increased likelihood of the adoption of white peers as a positive valuation group. A t-test between independent means for Transitional and High School students on self-concept reveals that the latter did hold significantly less favourable attitudes to self (p < .05). Additional support is provided by the school adjustment ratings by teachers, and students' own reports on their performance at school, which indicate that students were more withdrawn, uninvolved, and lacking in confidence at High School than the preceding year when they were in Transitional Grade 7 at Kormilda. Research by Bochner and Perks (1970) also has implications for this finding. They showed that cross-national interaction increases ethnic role salience, and it follows that students probably became more aware of their identity as Aborigines while at High School and were therefore more likely to incorporate some of the less favourable images which they held towards their own membership group into the self-concept. However, it must be stressed that although the two groups did differ significantly in self-concept, the mean score for the Transitional/High School group is still favourable which indicates that individuals in this group were not characterised by feelings of low self-worth and personal inadequacy. Research among other minority ethnic groups has indicated that such feelings are accompanied by alienation, increasing
disinterest in school, and a high drop-out rate (Bryde, 1968; Guggenheim and Hoem, 1967). Since students had not progressed beyond 2nd year at High School when the research was undertaken, it was not possible to determine whether the students at Kormilda developed increasingly unfavourable attitudes to self, over a longer time span.

The lack of any significant differences between Post-Primary and Transitional/High School students in their attitudes to whites is contrary to the expectation that students in the academic stream would have had more favourable attitudes to whites. This prediction was based on the belief that the higher performance or achievement of the majority of students in the academic stream reflected the use of high achievers as identification models; however, the lack of high achievers among the Aborigines suggests that whites must have fulfilled this function and a more favourable attitude towards whites could have accompanied their adoption as reference individuals. This prediction was not supported by the results, however, and the academic stream did not differ from the non-academic stream in their attitudes to whites. Watts (1970) also failed to find any significant differences in attitudes to whites between high and low achievers among part-Aboriginal adolescent girls.

7.3.7 Males and females

A final research question sought to determine whether there were any differences between males and females in the variables mediating achievement behaviour, in the conflicts and subsequent maladjustment experienced, and in the attitudes held by students towards whites, Aborigines, and self. (Research question 4.2.7.1) Results are therefore given for sex differences on each of the measures and an attempt is then made to analyse the pattern of results.

7.3.7.1 Values

Males did not differ significantly from females on either Time or Relational values, although females showed a tendency to be more future oriented than boys (p < .05, one-tailed test). Mean scores on value scales for both groups are given in Table 7.64.
Table 7.64 Comparison between males and females on values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>males</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>females</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \bar{X} )</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>( \bar{X} )</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>47'</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>1.782*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>5.61</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>1.532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11.53</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>12.27</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>1.239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05 (one-tailed)

7.3.7.2 Acculturation

There was no difference between males and females on acculturation. Table 7.65 shows mean scores on acculturation for the two groups and the obtained value of \( t \) for differences between independent means.

Table 7.65 Comparison between males and females on acculturation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( \bar{X} )</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>13.83</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>14.80</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.7.3 Aspirations

Girls at Kormilda did not differ significantly from boys in their levels of Educational, Occupational, or Social aspirations. Table 7.66 shows the mean scores and \( t \)-values for the three subscales and for the total aspirations score.

Table 7.66 Comparison between males and females on aspirations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( \bar{X} )</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>( \bar{X} )</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>6.52</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6.87</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.584</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td>5.58</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5.80</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.540</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.741</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15.68</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16.57</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.232</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3.7.4 Attitudes to Aborigines, whites and self

Girls at Kormilda had significantly less favourable attitudes to Aborigines than boys had (p < .05), but the two groups did not differ in their attitudes to whites or to self. Mean scores and t-values for differences between independent means are given in Table 7.67.

Table 7.67 Comparison between males and females on attitude measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude to:</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whites</td>
<td>25.35</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>24.55</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0.641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>22.25</td>
<td>5.31</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>19.71</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2.045*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self</td>
<td>25.76</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>25.14</td>
<td>5.13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0.513</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05

7.3.7.5 Maladjustment

Girls showed significantly more symptoms of psychosomatic stress than boys (p < .001). However, there was no difference between the groups on the Tension-Discharge syndrome. Mean scores for Anxiety-Inhibition and Tension-Discharge and t-values for differences between independent means are given in Table 7.68.

Table 7.68 Comparison between males and females on Anxiety-Inhibition and Tension-Discharge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anxiety-Inhibition</th>
<th>Tension-Discharge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .001

7.3.7.6 Contact

There was no difference between males and females in their degree of contact with the dominant society prior to attendance at Kormilda College. Table 7.69 gives mean scores for both sexes and t-value for differences between independent means.
Table 7.69 Comparison between males and females on contact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Contact</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>10.31</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.415</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>10.12</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.7.7 Gratification choice

Boys and girls showed similar patterns of response in the choice between delayed and immediate reward. A $\chi^2$ test of association between sex and gratification choice is not significant. Cell frequencies and the $\chi^2$ value obtained are given in Table 7.70.

Table 7.70 Comparison between males and females on gratification choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Delayed</th>
<th>Immediate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 0.552$ N.S.

7.3.7.8 Identity orientation

A $\chi^2$ test of association between identity orientation and sex is not significant which indicates that there was no difference between boys and girls in their polarisation towards white or traditional models. Cell frequencies are given in Table 7.71. Inspection of the Table indicates that Traditional identity differentiated most between sexes, with boys showing a strong tendency to polarise towards this model. However, this result was very probably an artifact of the selection procedures, rather than reflecting the identity-orientation pattern of Aboriginal adolescents. A number of communities provided Domestic Science facilities for girls in their home communities and only sent boys to Kormilda for Post-Primary courses. Girls who were traditionally-oriented were therefore more likely to have remained at home.
Table 7.71 Comparison between males and females on identity orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>identity orientation groups</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 8.26$ N.S.

7.3.7.9 Post-Primary vs Transitional

There is no association between sex and streaming since students were selected from Post-Primary and Transitional classes in such a way that equal representation of the sexes was obtained.

7.3.7.10 Drop-outs vs stayers

There was no difference between boys and girls in relation to dropping out of school or remaining to complete a course. A $\chi^2$ test of association between these two variables is not significant.

Results are given in Table 7.72.

Table 7.72 $\chi^2$ test of association between males vs females and dropouts vs stayers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>drop-outs</th>
<th>stayers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 0.264$ N.S.

7.3.7.11 Discussion of pattern of results for differences between males and females on all variables

The results obtained from the analysis of sex differences are given in Table 7.73.
Table 7.73 Pattern of results for differences between males and females on all variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>variable</th>
<th>statistical test</th>
<th>value</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time value</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.782</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational value</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.532</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total values</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.239</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acculturation</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.795</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.584</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.540</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.741</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total aspirations</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1.232</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude to whites</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.641</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude to Aborigines</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>2.045</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude to self</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.513</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety-Inhibition</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>4.415</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tension-Discharge</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.802</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contact</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>0.415</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gratification choice</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.552</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identity orientation</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>8.261</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drop-outs vs stayers</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.264</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were no differences between boys and girls in their adoption of aspirations or values mediating achievement behaviour. The tendency for girls to be more future-oriented than boys possibly reflects a greater concern among girls with their future role in Aboriginal society since education has had a considerable impact on their acceptance of their present status in that society.

Although there was no difference between males and females in identity orientation, girls had significantly less favourable attitudes to Aborigines than boys had. It has been suggested that this result may have reflected a dissatisfaction on the part of women with their status in traditional Aboriginal society. Anthropologists differ, however, in their conception of the role of Aboriginal women in the social structure. White (1970), for example, states that,

"In conclusion, I see Aboriginal women in the status of junior partner to men, not only in everyday affairs, but also in the task of assuring the continual..."
existence, bodily and spiritually, of the society."
(p.26)

Catherine Berndt (1970), however, maintains that in the domestic sphere, in traditional society, the husband was formally dominant, but in practice the balance was likely to be fairly even, depending on such factors as the personalities of the people concerned, and their outside links with other kin. However, she goes on to assert that increasing contact with the dominant society reinforced this domestic-centred orientation, and women have taken more readily to the new settlement life:

"In this new kind of life, a wider range of choices was open to Aboriginal women than to Aboriginal men.... In many cases the women came to serve as "hinges" or "pivots" occupying a crucial position between the newcomers and their own menfolk - as intermediaries, or broadly speaking, interpreters, or as sources of conflict or misunderstanding.... On the whole, then, outside conflict enhanced woman's already strong domestic economic status and at the same time decreased the extent of her formal subordination vis-a-vis men." (p.41-42)

Comments by girls, however, indicate that many of them saw their role in Aboriginal society as being subordinate to male authority. While the majority appeared resigned to this role structure, there were a few individuals who refused to comply and were subsequently ostracised by their own communities. Even if the promise system of marriage could be successfully avoided, however, it was unlikely that there would be any males in their home communities with educational qualifications and aspirations similar to their own. Money et al (1970) also suggest that the status of women in Aboriginal society is a major factor in their greater tendency than men to orient themselves towards white society:

"...The very circumstance of their being sexual chattels not only facilitates their erotic inhibition, but also makes women so unimportant that they have less to gain by fidelity to the old order of things than by allegiance to and acculturation in the new." (p.397)
In general, it seems that there were more pressures on girls creating conflict situations which were difficult to resolve, and one would therefore have expected to find a higher level of stress among girls than boys. Results from the scales of maladjustment indicate that there was a highly significant difference between boys and girls on Anxiety-Inhibition (p < .001) but there was no difference between the sexes on Tension-Discharge. This finding confirms the postulate that girls experienced more stress, and is in general agreement with studies among other ethnic groups. Berry (1970), for example, found that among part-Aborigines in an Aboriginal coastal community, women experienced more stress than men, and Chance's (1965) work with Eskimos revealed three times as many symptoms of stress in females as in males. (Both these studies used the Cornell Medical Index.) Wintrob's and Sindell's findings for the Cree Indians showed that females at Elementary school experienced far more identity conflict than did males, but this result did not hold among High School students.

6.1 Educational goals and culture conflict

Spindler (1968) has suggested that the search for identity is a constant process in all human beings as members of cultural systems and that this process is exacerbated in cross-cultural situations. Education plays a major role in such situations by either fostering identity conflict in forcing people to choose between contrasting sets of values, role expectations, and models for identification, or by promoting personal and cultural synthesis.

The underlying philosophy of education for the Australian Aborigines clearly indicated that education was regarded as the desirable outcome and that retention of Aboriginal identity was an essential element. The results of the present study, however, indicate that this goal was not being achieved. This finding suggests either that the goals of education were not realistic in theory, or that the means adopted for their achievement were inadequate.

Collacher (1969) stated that education must seek to achieve certain value orientations of Aboriginal that are identical to achievement in western society, while at the same time be stressing the importance of the retention of Aboriginal identity. However, values are regarded as an essential element of the individual's self-identity and any change in orientations presupposes adoption of new reference models. In situations where Aborigines were not available as reference models
The research findings presented in Chapter Seven have been discussed in relation to specific research questions. It is important, however, to consider the results in a more global manner and to endeavour to assess their implications for Aboriginal education in the Northern Territory. This can perhaps be best achieved by discussing the results first in relation to Kormilda College as a total system itself, and second in relation to Kormilda as one inter-dependent social system in the wider framework of society.

What is common to these two levels of analysis is that they concern culture-conflict. This conflict pervades Kormilda and it pervades the social field within which Kormilda functions. Some discussion of culture conflict therefore seems necessary before engaging in the two main levels of assessment of results.

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Gallacher (1969) stated that education must seek to change certain value orientations of Aborigines that are inimical to achievement in western society, while at the same time he stressed the importance of the retention of Aboriginal identity. However, values are regarded as an essential element of the individual's self-identity and any change in orientations presupposes adoption of new reference models. In situations where Aborigines were not available as reference models
embodying the achievement value orientations of the dominant society, then adoption of the achievement profile by Aboriginal students at Kormilda signified that whites had been taken as models at the expense of continued identification with the membership group. This basic incompatibility between the goals for education, namely to change certain values and to encourage the retention of Aboriginal identity, appeared to be an empirical impossibility. The results of the present study generally support this assertion and indicate that those individuals who had adopted an achievement orientation profile and high aspirations also held the least favourable attitudes towards other Aborigines. The mean score on attitude to Aborigines, however, is one of uncertainty, rather than unfavourableness. The most extreme group on the identity continuum, the white-oriented students, had the least favourable attitude towards Aborigines which tended towards the unfavourable pole, but it is not possible to claim that they rejected their own group, as was predicted. The relative positions of the three concepts evaluated perhaps provide more information concerning the attitudes of students: the significant differences between attitudes to Aborigines and attitudes to whites and self clearly indicate that Aborigines were regarded in the least favourable degree.

Where does this relatively de-valued image of Aborigines originate? It was suggested earlier that it might stem from the internalisation of unfavourable attitudes held by whites towards Aborigines as a result of the acceptance of the dominant society as both identification and positive valuation groups, or from the adoption of Aborigines as a negative valuation group. No data are available on the attitudes of the dominant society in the Northern Territory towards Aborigines, so it is not possible to determine the validity of this first suggested origin. However, the fact that students themselves had very favourable self-images suggests that they did not experience intense prejudice and discrimination, unlike other coloured minorities such as the Negro and American Indian who are characterised by feelings of low personal worth. The results suggest that the attitudes held by high achievers towards their membership group reflect the adoption of Aborigines as a negative valuation group in certain situations and that such individuals were able to maintain a favourable self-image by increasing their social distance from other Aborigines.

The results indicate that one of the key values in this process of alienation from other Aborigines was the Relational value. The
importance of kinship ties with their interpersonal network of role obligations cannot be overemphasised, and any attempt by the individual to adopt an individualistic, competitive orientation must imply a rejection of Aboriginality. Gallacher (1969) has expressed the need for researchers to identify those elements of Aboriginal culture which may be consonant with our own values and those which may be antagonistic, (p.103) and it would seem that the collateral orientation among Aborigines is one of these significant elements. The question therefore arises as to whether it is necessary for Aborigines to develop an individualistic orientation and a competitive spirit.

Several other cultures provide parallels with the Aboriginal kinship system. In Japan, for example, the family rather than the individual has tended to be the traditional unit. Success for oneself was only considered a sign of excessive immoral egotism and one lost one's selfish feelings in the pursuit of goals benefiting the family. (De Vos, 1968, p.361) Economic development in Japan depended not only on individuals being ready to take chances to further their individual aims, but also on the cooperative, concerted effort of many people distributed throughout the society who were imbued with a relatively high sense of mutual trust and a sense of social responsibility.

The Chinese social system similarly is characterised by its focus on extended kinship networks: "The central feature of traditional Chinese society as a whole was that the individual's loyalty towards the family transcended all his other social obligations and that the family was the determining factor in the total pattern of social organization." (Yang, 1959, p.167) The family in this context included not only the nuclear family but incorporated the wider network of collaterals. While the Chinese revolution has considerably broken down the family organization and attempted to substitute the state as the centre of loyalty, it is still important to note that "rewards" in Chinese society for achievement accrue to a collective body (whether family or state) rather than to the individual. The economic success of Chinese families who immigrated to other parts of the world before changes occurred in family loyalty indicates that an over-riding concern for cooperation and subordination to group interests does not inhibit their achievement within societies stressing a highly individualistic
and competitive orientation.

These studies suggest that culturally determined syndromes psychologically different from the achievement syndrome proposed by McClelland (1963) and Rosen (1959) may lead to economic development and modern status without being directly individualistic and competitive in nature. De Vos (1968) supports this assertion and states that "McClelland's concept of need achievement has the virtue of seeing some internally motivated processes as antecedent to goal-directed behaviour, but his emphasis on achievement as something generally counterposed inversely to a strong need affiliation is ethnocentric. His hypothesis concerning underlying patterns of socialisation makes good sense in a Western setting but do not necessarily hold for other societies." (p.363)

The concepts of individualistic and collateral orientations can also be discussed in relation to Angyal's (1966) holistic theory of personality which re-interprets the Relational value in more psychological terms. Angyal claims that all human activity shapes itself according to a broad double pattern: the trend towards increasing autonomy (which parallels the individualistic orientation), and the trend towards homonomy (akin to the collateral orientation); far from being irreconcilable opposites, these two trends can be viewed as part aspects of one trend.

At the cultural level, the person's conception of the larger unit to which he belongs, or to which he strives to belong, varies according to his cultural background and personal orientation. The superordinate whole may be represented for him by a social unit - family, clan, nation - by an ideology, or by a meaningfully ordered universe. "The important fact is that the trend towards homonomy, the wish to be in harmony with a unit one regards as extending beyond his individual self, is a powerful motivating source of behaviour." (Angyal, 1966, p.15)

The fact that homonomy and autonomy can co-exist suggests that advantage should be taken of the motivation engendered by a dominant homonomous trend among the Australian Aborigines in order to achieve those autonomous goals required for integration in western society. Angyal claims that an individual who derives identity from the group and whose behaviour is determined by superindividual goals may in fact
be able to do things of which he would be incapable when pursuing purely individual aims. Thus, rather than placing emphasis on increasing autonomy or individualistic orientation, education should perhaps create a social environment such that teamwork and co-operation are appropriate forms of behaviour and advantage can be taken of the motivating forces of homonous behaviour to achieve other goals relating to learning. Recent statements by educationists indicate that there is an increasing tendency to encourage cooperative behaviour among white students in the classroom and a decreasing emphasis on competition and individualistic striving. This suggests that those Aborigines who wish to integrate within the dominant society will share a collateral orientation in common with European classmates.

The preceding discussion of the Relational value and its expression in homonous and autonomous trends has important implications for education of Aborigines. While the present results indicate that the collateral orientation lay at the core of Aboriginal identity and that adoption of the individualistic orientation was accompanied by increasingly less favourable attitudes to Aborigines, other research indicates that stress on cooperation and subordination to group interests do not inhibit achievement behaviour and the attainment of modern occupational status. Congruity between home and school experiences is important and it would seem that learning might be increased if students could transfer their homonous trends to the classroom. (Philip, 1967)

8.2 Implications of research findings in relation to Kormilda as a total social system

With these considerations in mind, we can now look at Kormilda College as an educational and social system. While the aims of education included the substitution of a new profile of achievement orientations for the traditional profile and the development of work habits and attitudes, the results indicate that no changes in achievement behaviour were associated with increasing exposure to the school system. Although a small group of students was characterised by an achievement syndrome, it is possible they had internalised these values and aspirations before coming to Kormilda.

Several explanations were suggested for this failure to find any significant changes in values and aspirations. Most of these related to the nature of interaction between students and whites and the range of behaviour settings which precluded the establishment of meaningful
personal relationships with white peers, College staff, or other whites. An additional explanation which is consistent with the above is that the peer group assumed great importance among the students and one of its values was joint opposition to staff which further mitigated against the establishment of close friendly relations with individual whites. Many of the students also formed cliques at various times, and frequently spoke in dialect and discussed their relations and home community experiences. Such activities served to reinforce Aboriginal identity.

Williams (1971) studied peer groups in an Aboriginal community and stated that opposition to European missionary staff was a salient characteristic among the boys: any individual who annoyed or frustrated a staff member was considered a hero and other boys were amused by his exploits. (p. 10) Similar behaviour was observed at Kormilda among the traditionally-oriented boys who actively engaged in behaviour which challenged the authority of white staff members. Goffman (1961) maintains that peer group solidarity which emerges in opposition to staff is characteristic of total institutions and enables reassembly of the self to take place.

Both these explanations highlight the importance of student-student relations for the transmission of new values and attitudes. Unless the social environment is such that close, personal and meaningful relationships can be established between Aborigines and whites, both inside and outside the classroom, then it is unlikely that new attitudes, values, or patterns of behaviour will be internalised and carried over into the home situation.

The second major issue with which this research has been concerned was the adjustment of students at Kormilda and their attempts to resolve identity conflict. The educational goals for Aborigines sought to provide the individual with the necessary skills that would enable him to choose his future and at the same time retain a pride in his identity as an Aborigine. The description of the social system at Kormilda indicates, however, that students were faced with contrasting values, role expectations and models for identification which created a stressful situation for many students and mitigated against the resolution of identity conflict regardless of the orientation adopted. Although the research shows that substantial numbers of students left the College before completing a course and that students showed symptoms of maladjustment to varying degrees, the design did not enable any causality to be determined. However, research among other minority ethnic groups
attending similar residential colleges suggests that the discontinuity which existed between the two environments of home community and school may have been an important determinant of the level of maladjustment. Such conclusions can only be tentative until further research is undertaken.

Although the official policy for Aboriginal education recognized the importance of the retention of Aboriginal identity and the need to establish a transitional college where students could adjust to the life-style of the dominant society in the company of their kinsmen, the social system at Kormilda appeared to defy these goals and precluded their attainment. A similar conclusion was reached independently by Downing, a Social Worker in Alice Springs, who gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee on the proposed construction of a new residential college in Alice Springs:

"I think that Aboriginal education should equip the child firstly to get the best from his own culture and secondly to relate effectively to foreign culture. It can do this only if it sets full value on both, a value which the child can sense and which encourages him not to want to rubbish his own culture and move out of it - because this is the process that is taking place - but to learn as much as he can of his own culture and some of the strengths of it and as much as he can about our culture and the opportunities that are there. In this way, I think healthy development could well lie, but I am sure it does not lie in the present approach; there is rot on one side." (p.35)

The solution to the problem does not appear to lie at the policy level since there was explicit recognition of the fact that transitional colleges must help bridge the gap between the dominant society and the traditional community. What is perhaps required is a continual readiness to appraise the difficulties encountered by the students in the educational process and to modify the school system in the light of experience so that the ultimate goals might be attained. It would appear that the behaviour problems of students as manifested in the high drop-out rate, deviant behaviour, and other symptoms of stress, were considered by the educational authorities to be inherent aspects of a transitional college. This view was expressed by the Director for Welfare in the Northern Territory:
Two comments should be made concerning this failure to replicate Chance's findings among the present sample of Aborigines. First, the contact scale in the present study covers only a narrow range, and very few students had experienced intensive, meaningful, personal contact with whites. This leads to the second point that the scales in the two studies may not have been equivalent so that a high A-I score did not necessarily mean when you are dealing with young people in a "...
"When we first established Kormilda, we found a fairly substantial loss at the end of 1st term. This was one of the things we expected to happen - that some of the children would go home and the break away from the family would be just too much for them. We do have some drop-outs with children who get into behavioural problems but this is nothing unusual when you are dealing with young people in a co-ed situation and in the sort of educational environment that we have." (Giese, 1971, p. 6)

However, the analysis of the social system at Kormilda and research findings for other minority ethnic groups suggest that such problems are not inherent to educational institutions in a cross-cultural setting and indeed that "the sort of educational environment that we have" can be modified in numerous ways so that continuity is maintained with the home life experiences of the students. If transitional colleges are regarded as static systems, then it would seem likely that students will continue to drop-out or evidence signs of stress since such colleges do not appear to satisfy the needs of those they seek to educate.

The present results which indicate that there is a considerable amount of dissatisfaction among students culminating in a high drop-out rate and an inability to resolve identity conflict, thereby open up the question as to whether a transitional college such as Kormilda represents the type of educational institution that is best suited to the needs of the Aborigines at this time. The previous assertion that the discontinuity which existed between home and school was not "inherent in the system", but was subject to modification in accordance with current needs suggests that the concept of a transitional college is valid. Although several alternatives to the present system are possible - such as attendance at the community primary school while residing in foster homes, hostels, or residential accommodation - the arrangement described at Kormilda potentially provides a unique opportunity for the reinforcement of a positive sense of Aboriginal identity and the selection of personnel who can help students resolve identity conflict. Perhaps greater contact could be established with the community schools through participation in common activities so that Kormilda students might be given opportunities to interact with white peers before attendance at High School.
Kormilda College, as a transitional college, was primarily intended for students proceeding to secondary school and the incorporation of a Post-primary course was regarded as a temporary measure. Students in Transitional classes and at High School therefore represented
an "elite" group, which has implications for their future role in society. The Watts/Gallacher Report (1964) recognized the potential dichotomy between the academic and non-academic streams but maintained that the educational organization avoided the likelihood of its occurrence since both groups shared elements in their education programme. However, different goals and ultimate roles for each group in the community were clearly envisaged:

"The children in this group (Post-Primary) will grow up close to their own tribal customs and beliefs, and well-versed in their own culture, and by virtue of their identity and knowledge some will emerge as leaders in their own communities. There will have been developed in all of the children an esteem for and a pride in their own heritage, and there can be created a situation which will develop mutual respect between the children who progress in their European education and those who remain closer to their own culture. The children following an advanced course will have respect for those who have an intimate knowledge and a close emotional adherence to their own culture. These will, in turn, respect the former for their mastery of the European situation." (p.72)

The results of the present research suggest that this ideal was not being achieved. The finding that those who adopted achievement values and high aspirations also tended to devalue other Aborigines indicates that those who "master the European situation" did not respect other Aborigines for their knowledge of the traditional culture. While the current resurgence in Aboriginal identity among de-tribalised Aborigines supports Watts' and Gallachers' assumptions in that there is a new respect by them for the traditionally-oriented Aborigines, it would seem that the full-blood Aborigines who wanted to achieve in the dominant society at this stage regarded their fellow kinsmen as a negative valuation group. Further support for this assertion is provided by the least favourable attitudes towards Aborigines held by white-oriented individuals than by the other identity orientations, and second by the fact that all students at Kormilda ranked Aborigines lower than whites or self on the evaluative dimension. Descriptive data and observations both at Kormilda and in home communities support the statistical findings. Students who returned home for the
holidays were often reluctant to participate in traditional activities which they considered alien to their new role as "Kormilda students". Informal conversations with white staff and other Aborigines in several communities indicated that the Kormilda students were frequently disliked because of the superior attitude they adopted towards other Aborigines. Several students themselves mentioned during the interview that they were often taunted at home and attributed this attitude to jealousy by their peers. Other researchers have also noted the contempt of Aborigines for one of their kinsmen who has adopted white norms. Williams (1971) claims that girls who showed friendship towards European staff were called "balanda" (white person) by other Aborigines, while Nurcombe (1971) notes a more pejorative term was used by the older men to address Aboriginal youths wearing bright European shirts or some similar manifestation of European culture.

It is possible that the lack of any significant emphasis at Kormilda on the retention of Aboriginal identity - whether in curriculum content, leisure activities or value hierarchy implicitly communicated by the staff - contributed to this outcome. However, it is also significant to note that even within Kormilda, the students in Transitional and at High School were aware of their "elitist" status and adopted a superior attitude towards students in Post-Primary. This was clearly expressed in a remark made by a High School student to one of her own kinsmen in Post-Primary: "I'm not in Post-Primary you stupid thing - I'm not a myall like you!" (Traditionally-oriented Aborigine) High School students frequently asserted that students in Post-Primary of a similar age should not have as many privileges as themselves and hostility between the two groups was often quite marked.

The education of an "elite" of Aborigines has implications for the entire structure of Aboriginal society. The Watts/Gallacher Report stated that "some Aborigines from Post-Primary will emerge as leaders in their own communities" (my italics), and the implication appears to be that those students who have attended High School and mastered the European situation are more suited to this role. Research in other organizational structures, however, suggests that this expectation is unfounded. A considerable body of research is available concerning the diffusion of new values, ideas and principles, both at a national level within developing countries and highly industrialized societies, and at the individual organization level. Some of the key findings which have direct relevance to the present research have been first
that diffusion must be firmly based on the existing power structure, and second that beyond the leaders diffusion requires the force of example - and to be forceful the example must be such that the person can readily identify with his own conditions and it must be provided by an accepted exemplar. (Emery, 1970) These findings suggest two reasons why western values and norms, even if internalised by the students at Kormilda, may not diffuse to other members of the community. First, the students who went to Kormilda did not represent the existing power structure of the community - they were not selected by the Aboriginal people but by white staff on the basis of academic ability. Second, and this may be a corollary of the first, the students were not always accepted by other Aborigines as "suitable exemplars" or reference models as the present results have clearly indicated. One possible way of eliminating this problem might be for a change in the selection procedures for Kormilda whereby students are selected by the Aboriginal people from both the academic and non-academic streams and students themselves given a choice as to whether or not they wish to go to a transitional college. The presence at Kormilda of a substantial number of students who disliked the College was a considerable factor in the maladjustment of students, and this problem would be alleviated with different selection procedures.

The results of the present research have highlighted one further problem relating to the organizational structure of the school. In traditional society, role segregation between the two sexes is very apparent during adolescent years, and very little contact occurs between peers across sexes. The presence of both boys and girls in a co-educational College therefore presents a sharp discontinuity with the traditional life-style. A value judgement must be made by educationists as to whether education, and particularly the residential college, should seek to change the traditional role structure and to elevate the status of women in Aboriginal society. Justification for co-education for Aborigines is given by Gallacher (1971):

"It is very firmly my view, anyway, that the emergence of the female in the college situation as a person able to give direction, to make decisions and to talk freely with her male counterpart is one of the highlights of what is happening at the college. If you were to ask me what is the greatest handicap we have in our education programme at the moment, I would say
to you that it is the lack of support in the home. These youngsters will go back into the village situation - lot of them as young mothers rearing families, and I am quite sure that the assistance they will give their children in an education programme stands well for their future educational interests. As Mr. Giese has said, we do have a few boy-girl problems, but I think the wider concept is of greater importance and I would strongly commend co-education." (p. 16)

A recent international comparative study of co-education by UNESCO (1970) showed there is an increasing trend towards co-education at all levels of schooling and that it is exerting a considerable impact on the relative statuses of men and women in society and on the role structure of society. However, it is pointed out that "... however necessary such a change might be, it can take place smoothly only to the extent that it is acceptable to the people themselves." (p. 119) It would seem that there was some opposition by Aboriginal parents to co-education at the adolescent age. In some instances, students were removed from the College when parents learned of relationships between students; in other cases, parents and promised husbands were reluctant or refused to send their children to the College where pregnancies might have resulted, skin taboos violated, and a disrespect engendered for the promise system of marriage. It would seem essential that the concept of co-education be discussed with parents and that they themselves make the decisions as to its desirability since ultimately, they must adjust to the changing role structure which will inevitably ensue.

The results of this research have indicated that the simultaneous attainment of the two prime educational goals has not been achieved and the first level analysis of Kormilda as a total system itself has suggested that this failure may be attributable to the social organization of the College. Studies of other educational institutions for minority ethnic groups suggest that if changes were introduced into the social system or internal organization of Kormilda so as to provide greater continuity with the life-style of students at home, then it is more likely that the educational goals
would be achieved and maladjustment reduced.

8.3 Implications of research findings for Kormilda as an inter-dependent system in the wider society

Kormilda College, as an educational institution, is only one inter-dependent system in the wider society. Research concerned with social and cultural change must therefore consider all systems since change in one has an effect on the others. This point was made by Chance (1968) who claimed that congruity between the technological and environmental system, the cultural system, and the social system must be maintained if stress and conflict are to be avoided. Curle (1947) also adopted a systems approach to society and identified four components: social structure, social roles, social relationships, and culture. He emphasised that the interdependence and inter-penetration of these four systems means that any social change can only occur through the continued dynamic interaction of the four components. The dependency of resolution of identity conflict on systems external to Kormilda, such as the economic system which governs the availability of jobs commensurate with aspirations, was implicit in the models of identity orientation adopted in the present research.

These approaches to social and cultural change indicate that Kormilda College cannot be considered as an isolated system whose goals were achieved completely within the internal structure of the institution, but must be considered in relation to other inter-dependent systems. Thus if the educational institution aimed at providing Aborigines with the skills that would enable them to achieve modern occupational status, then it was essential that suitable family, community, and work roles or job opportunities be available in the society.

The range of employment available for Aborigines was discussed in Chapter One and it was seen that opportunities were considerably restricted in the existing economic structure of Aboriginal communities. Yet, most of the students in the present study retained strong ties with kinsmen and wished to return home and find employment in their own communities. For several students, such social aspirations precluded the attainment of their occupational aspirations and of modern status since suitable jobs were not available. This particularly applied to girls from pastoral properties who aspired to secretarial work because employment there was restricted to domestic service for which no education was required. Even those Aborigines who wished to move into
towns to obtain jobs frequently only had "assistant" qualifications which were not recognized outside Aboriginal communities. The case study of G.H. highlighted the identity conflict experienced by a Kormilda student who had developed modern self-conceptions and had acquired minimum qualifications but who was unable to obtain employment consistent with her concept of modern status.

It would appear that if Kormilda College is to be successful in enabling students to attain modern status, then considerable attention would have to be paid to the social structure or technological and environmental system which operates outside the education system itself. Skills which are required for jobs in specific environments such as mining should be provided and an effort made to provide a wide range of jobs for those moving in to towns. In other Aboriginal communities, the present economic structure perhaps requires a work force of personnel who are multi-skilled. The Gibb Report (1971), for example, has recognized that stockmen on pastoral properties will increasingly require other managerial skills as much of their labour becomes automated; on missions and settlements, similarly, the services required at a particular point in time may rotate between building, plumbing, and mechanic-type jobs. The educational system might therefore aim at providing students with these multiple skills, rather than specialising in the development of a particular trade.

Since the economic system is inextricably bound up with the kinship system among Aborigines, it is also clear that changes brought about in one system have a direct effect on others. If job opportunities are not available in home communities, Aborigines might be encouraged to move into towns in order to obtain jobs, not as individuals, but with other kinsmen, thereby minimising the likelihood of disintegration of the social structure. Suitable accommodation would need to be provided for such extended family groups.

These last two points were included as Recommendations in the Report of the Committee to Review the Situation of Aborigines on Pastoral Properties in the Northern Territory (1971).

In relation to employment, the Committee recommends

a) that the whole problem of placement in employment after training be investigated with reference to:

i) increased use of schemes such as the
Department of Labour and National Service's unskilled training subsidy scheme;

ii) use of Government department agencies to recruit Aboriginal employees and institute training courses to promote their effectiveness;

iii) encouragement of major employers such as retailers, hotels, restaurants, banks, etc., to recruit and train Aborigines; (p. 76)

b) increase in the supply of accommodation for young persons seeking employment in centres of mining, industrial, commercial and administrative growth in conditions which provide help for Aborigines in meeting the social demands of life within the dominant white Australian culture. (p. 73)

The results of the present study suggest that there are no major barriers to integration within the dominant society. Students had a favourable attitude towards whites and a favourable self-concept which suggested that hostile discrimination or prejudice on the part of the dominant society towards Aborigines was probably absent. The lack of self-confidence when interacting with whites, and of the acceptance of decision-making and of responsibility, are factors inhibiting integration, but support provided by the kinship group would help overcome some of these problems.

Those individuals who are white-oriented and reject their own kin should not experience much difficulty in gaining acceptance in the dominant society. Successful integration, however, would depend on adequate knowledge of the social, legal, political, and economic institutions in the dominant society, and the ability of such Aborigines to take advantage of the services and special provisions made to enable those Aborigines who so desire to take their place in society together with other Australian citizens. It appeared at Kormilda that students were not adequately prepared for this role and there was a marked lack of behaviour settings which might have elicited the types of behaviour prerequisite to integration in the dominant society. The barriers inhibiting successful resolution of identity crisis experienced by those polarising towards a white model appear to lie in the lack of preparedness of individuals, rather than in external barriers imposed
by the dominant society.

This second level analysis of Kormilda College as one inter-dependent system in the broader structure of society has indicated that resolution of culture conflict is not only dependent on the social system at Kormilda itself, but must be related to other external systems. The economic system plays a major role in this respect, and the skills and aspirations developed at Kormilda must be congruent with employment opportunities if identity conflict is to be resolved.

8.4 Suggestions for possible action research at Kormilda which might serve to overcome some of the problems noted

The present study has sought to investigate the adjustment of students attending Kormilda College and their attempts to resolve identity conflict. While every freedom should be accorded the individual to make his own decisions as to whether he wishes to identify primarily as an Aborigine or as an Australian (implying a polarisation towards whites), most of the literature indicates that retention of a positive identification with the membership group promotes positive mental health. The education system therefore should perhaps endeavour to reinforce the individual's sense of group belongingness. The results of the present study indicate that this reinforcement was not provided and the incidence of maladjustment that students may be characterised as "marginal men" - that is, while the majority of individuals felt they belonged to both the Aboriginal and white groups, they found it difficult to adjust completely to either. Lewin (1940) has commented on this phenomenon and asserts that "not the belonging to many groups is the cause of the difficulty, but an uncertainty of belongingness." (p. 179)

Lewin has written several papers on the concept of group belongingness which are directly relevant to the present study and which lead to the formulation of suggestions concerning changes in transitional colleges which might be the subject of further research and experimentation. One of his major contributions in this area has been the notion that identity must be seen within its ground:

"The group to which an individual belongs is the ground on which he stands, which gives or denies him social status, gives or denies him security and help. The firmness of weakness of this ground might not be consciously perceived, just as the physical ground on which we tread is not always thought of.
Dynamically, however, the firmness and clearness of this ground determines what the individual wishes to be, what he can do, and how he will do it."

(Lewin, 1940, p.174)

The research and theorizing in this area suggests that the experiences undergone by students at Kormilda College must not be separated from the ground of their home experiences since the two are psychologically one. However, where discontinuity prevails between the home and the school environments, the individual becomes unsure of his group belongingness: he is a marginal man who is no longer sure which group he belongs to. As a result, he does not feel clear and confident about his views or about his personal relations to either side and he is therefore compelled to remain in a rather vague and uncertain but permanent inner conflict. In order that a positive sense of identity be maintained in a situation where the individual is unsure of his group belongingness, the ground must continually grow. This appears to be one of the major areas where experimentation and further social action research might be undertaken. A number of changes could be introduced in the social system of the College which would reinforce the ground of Aboriginal identity. Long term research could be undertaken to assess the impact of these changes on the personal identity of Aborigines and the establishment of new transitional colleges would enable different types of changes to be implemented and a comparison of results made.

Possible ways of increasing the saliency of the ground or group belongingness of Aborigines would include the appointment of more Aborigines in the College who could be employed as recreation officers, house parents, secretarial staff, domestic staff, and teachers of traditional culture. Trainee teaching assistants might also be incorporated into the education programme in the College both to increase their own experience and to provide reference models for students. The incorporation of some of the older Aborigines into the education system as teachers of Aboriginal culture might provide emotional support for students away from home, reinforce a positive feeling towards traditional culture, and increase the feeling of participation by the older generation thereby lessening the schism occurring between them. Various other activities which would provide greater continuity with the life-style at home might also be introduced. Rules could perhaps be relaxed to enable students to leave the College
grounds and go hunting and fishing in the surrounding bush after school and camping trips for small groups of students could be arranged. Students might also be permitted to visit relations after school and to invite other Aboriginal friends and kinsmen to the College for film-evenings, thereby reinforcing group identity with a wider kinship network.

A second way of increasing the saliency of the ground might involve increased consultation with Aborigines in the home communities at a decision-making level. Aborigines could participate in the determination of school organization such as the desirability of co-education, curriculum content (aspects to be included in the Aboriginal syllabus) and selection of students who attend the College. In this way, support would be provided by the home community for students' attendance at the College. The appointment of a liaison officer/counsellor might also help to sustain "figure and ground". Such an individual could keep parents informed of the adjustment and progress of their children and increase their understanding of the process of education. Students in turn would probably find it easier to discuss problems with a staff member who was familiar with their home situation.

The suggestions above are possible ways in which the "ground" might be reinforced for students while they are at Kormilda College. However, many of the conflicts seem to arise when the students return home and it would appear that useful research might be undertaken in relation to Kormilda as the ground while the home community represents the figure. The present research has only made informal attempts at assessing the adjustment of students back in their home communities, and it appears important to determine the degree to which they are accepted by both peers and the older generation. Research is clearly required to assess the full effects of educating an elite. It was suggested that one possible way to overcome this problem might be to select students for their qualities of leadership, as determined by the Aboriginal people themselves, and an experiment might be undertaken in one of the transitional colleges to assess the effect of selection of students for this attribute rather than for academic reasons.

The social system at Kormilda did not provide many behaviour settings which required behaviour such as decision-making, responsibility, or leadership. Research could be conducted to determine whether any changes in behaviour do occur following the provision of settings which
might promote these types of behaviour. These could include the establishment of a Students' Council where students might be expected to gain a concept of democracy, through the election of office bearers and role playing in positions of responsibility; through the creation of clubs organized by the students themselves; and excursions for which students could take responsibility. Students could also be given part-time jobs in the College or Darwin community - these would not only provide the individual with his own pocket-money but would create a degree of independence, demand some exercise of responsibility, increase his personal contact with members of the dominant society, and familiarise him with the work situation.

A small number of areas of exploratory research also suggest themselves in the light of the present results. First, since the school did not appear to have any significant impact on changes in ethnic identity, it would seem that students coming to Kormilda had already adopted a particular identity orientation. The conditions which determine each identity orientation are of particular interest and case studies could be selected and extended to the family situation. The variables that might be of relevance include early family background, socialisation practices, attitudes of parents towards the education of their children, and a comprehensive study of the family life-style. Second, parental and community attitudes towards education probably play an important role in encouraging the student to stay at school and an attempt might be made to assess the attitudes of significant groups in the home community both towards education itself, and their perceptions of the effect of education on the younger generation. Third, a small number of case studies might also be selected from the drop-outs and non drop-outs in one community and an attempt made to assess the home environmental variables which might distinguish between these two groups.

Finally, the favourable self-image held by Aborigines seems to warrant further research. One project would entail a study of the attitudes of whites and part-Aborigines towards the full-bloods to determine the degree of prejudice and discrimination held by the dominant society. Bochner's (1969) approach to this type of research which is anchored in behavioural situations would seem to be particularly relevant. Another project might be directed towards the development of ethnic awareness in young children. It was stated in Chapter Two that evidence from other research shows there is a direct relationship between problems in the emergence of self and the extent to which the
child's ethnic or social membership is socially unacceptable and subject to conspicuous deprivation. If prejudice towards Aborigines increases with contact, then we would expect a negative self-image to emerge in the development of ethnic awareness as individuals come into contact with the dominant society.

The dynamics of social and cultural change among the Australian Aborigines have only recently become the focus of academic research, and future emphasis on social action research, as suggested here, would represent one way of combining the rigours of research method and experimentation with a concern for the social problems that currently characterise Aboriginal society.
**APPENDIX 1.1: BREAKDOWN OF ABORIGINAL POPULATION IN CONTACT WITH MISSIONS, GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENTS, AND PASTORAL PROPERTIES, AS AT 30/6/70, AND THE DATES OF ESTABLISHMENT OF THESE COMMUNITIES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission Type</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Total Pop. at 30/6/70</th>
<th>Date of Establishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Church Missionary Society</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angurugu</td>
<td></td>
<td>515</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbulwar</td>
<td></td>
<td>402</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oenpelli</td>
<td></td>
<td>502</td>
<td>1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lutheran</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermannsburg*</td>
<td></td>
<td>231</td>
<td>1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Methodist Overseas Mission</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elcho Island</td>
<td></td>
<td>1109</td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croker Island</td>
<td></td>
<td>179</td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulburn Island</td>
<td></td>
<td>245</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milingimbi</td>
<td></td>
<td>831</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yirrkala</td>
<td></td>
<td>722</td>
<td>1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Catholic Missions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathurst Island</td>
<td></td>
<td>854</td>
<td>1911</td>
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<td>150</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Keats</td>
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<td>667</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Teresa</td>
<td></td>
<td>549</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Full blood Aborigines only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoonguna</td>
<td></td>
<td>288</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areyonga</td>
<td></td>
<td>338</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagot</td>
<td></td>
<td>394</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamyili</td>
<td></td>
<td>455</td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delissaville</td>
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<td>155</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden Point</td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooker Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td>433</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwupataka</td>
<td></td>
<td>169</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maningrida</td>
<td></td>
<td>1035</td>
<td>1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngukurr</td>
<td></td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENTS</td>
<td>Total pop.</td>
<td>Date of establishment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papunya</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake Bay</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbakumba</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrabri</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuendumu</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WELFARE CENTRES AND GOVERNMENT PASTORAL PROPERTIES</th>
<th>Total pop.</th>
<th>Date of establishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beswick</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borroloola</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Docker River</td>
<td>309</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haast's Bluff</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave Hill</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, there were 4,305 Aborigines resident on 150 pastoral properties at 31/12/70.
Appendix 1-2 Location of Aboriginal communities

NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA

Legend:
- Government Settlement or Welfare Centre
- Mission Station
- Part Aboriginal Institution
- A. R. Aboriginal Reserve
- Abor. Reserve Boundary
- District Boundary

Survey Branch
- information compiled by the Lands
- Revised January 1971
APPENDIX 5.1: DAWSON'S ACHIEVEMENT VALUE SCALES (Copyright No. 69313)

Each item was rated on a five point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

RELATIONAL

1. There is nothing in life worse for a man that he should have to leave his parents.
2. It is not too much to ask of anyone that he should leave his parents and relatives to get a good job.
3. A man should get a good steady job where he will be looked after by the boss rather than have to work for himself.
4. We do not need to be thinking of our parents and relatives all the time, we should be more concerned with our own problems.
5. We should always live close to our relatives in case we need their help.
6. When something goes wrong it is better that we should depend on ourselves rather than rely on our brothers and sisters.
7. A man should always look after his parents first as they are the most important people in his life.
8. It is better that a man should live and work by himself rather than be with other people all the time.

TIME

1. Planning for the future only makes a person unhappy since plans hardly ever work anyway.
2. Nowadays with the world the way it is, the wise person should make plans for the future.
3. A job should provide enough money for the present and that is all we have to worry about.
4. We should not just keep the present way of life but continue to make changes.
5. The future is too far away to really concern us, we should only be interested in the present.
6. It is better that children should be taught new ways of doing things.

7. We should be happy if our way of life is the same as that of our fathers.

8. We should make plans for the future and not worry too much about present problems.

**MAN-NATURE**

1. If a farmer's crops do not grow because there is no rain there is nothing he can do about it.

2. A farmer should not just take things as they come, he should try to do something about fires and floods.

3. In some years there are good crops, in some years there are bad, there is nothing much man can do.

4. When there is no rain, a farmer should try to do something about it.

5. Every person has a set time to live and when it comes there is no way of avoiding death.

6. There are many forces such as floods and fires over which man will gain control.

7. The best way to survive in this world is to take things as they come, and just try to make the best of it.

8. Man should learn to overcome such problems as fire, floods and drought.
APPENDIX 5.2: VALUE SCHEDULE

The value which each item measures and the orientations that the stories reflect are included, although they were not written on the original Value Schedule.

Item 1: Relational (newly devised item)

Story:
When the men go out hunting, there are different ways they can share the food when they get back to the camp.

Ideas:
1. In some places, when the men get back from hunting, each man looks after himself and only shares what he has caught with his wife and children. (individualistic)
2. In other places, when the men return from hunting, they share out everything they have caught among all their relations so that everyone gets something to eat. (collaterality)

Question:
Which way do you think is the best?

Item 2: Relational (newly devised item)

Story:
Two young men who had been to school did not like the jobs they had on their settlement and were talking about what they would do.

Ideas:
1. The first said he would go away and get a good job in another place, even though he had to leave his parents and relatives since a person has to look after himself first. (individualistic)
2. The second person said that even though he did not like the job he was doing, he would prefer to stay on the settlement so that he would be near his parents and relatives in case he needed their help. (collaterality)

Question:
Which of these two young men do you think has the best idea?
Item 3: Relational (new devised item)

Story:
Three young people were talking about marriage.

Ideas:
1. One said when it is time to get married, the marriage should be arranged by the old people and everyone will be happy that way. (collaterality/lineality)
2. The second person said that young people should choose who they want to marry by themselves. (individualistic)
3. The third person said that young people should be able to choose themselves who they want to marry but they should still talk about it with the old people and marry someone who is right for them. (collaterality)

Question:
Which person do you think has the best idea?

Item 4: Relational

Story:
A community like yours has to send an Aboriginal to an important meeting in Darwin. There are different ways this person can be chosen.

Ideas:
1. They could have a meeting of all the people, and every person vote for the man he thinks is best and the man with the most votes should go. (individualistic)
2. The older, important men should decide who should go since they are the ones who know best about these things. (lineality/collaterality)

Question:
Which way do you think is the best?

Item 5: Time (newly devised item)

Story:
Two people were talking together about whether they would keep going
to school or leave to get a job and earn some money.

Ideas:

1. The first person said he would rather leave school now and get a job which provided enough money for the present since that is all we have to worry about. (present)

2. The second person said he would rather stay at school, even though he couldn't have all the things he would like, since he would have a better job later on and we should always look to our future first. (future)

Question:

Which person do you think had the better idea?

Item 6: Time (Kluckhohn's and Strodbeck's Value Schedule)

Story:

Three young Aborigines were talking about what they thought they would have one day compared with their fathers and mothers. They each said different things.

Ideas:

1. The first said: "I expect that things will be better for me in the future than they are for my mother and father or relatives if I work hard and make good plans. Things usually get better for people who really try." (future)

2. The second one said: "I don't know whether things will be better, the same, or worse, for me than for my mother and father. Things always go up and down, even if people do work hard. Things are always good and bad so you can never tell how things will really be." (present)

3. The third one said: "I expect things will be almost the same as they are for my mother and father. The best way is to work hard and plan to keep things the way they have been in the past." (past)

Question:

Which of these people do you think had the best idea?
Item 7: Time (modified item from Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's Value Schedule)

Story:

Some people in a community like the one you come from saw that the tribal ceremonies were changing from what they used to be.

Ideas:

1. Some people felt that the old ways for ceremonies were best but you can't always keep them the same as before. It makes life easier if you accept some changes when they come. (present)

2. Some people were unhappy because of the change. They felt that ceremonies should be kept exactly - in every way - as they had been in the past. (past)

3. Some people were very pleased because of the changes in the ceremonies. They felt the new ways of doing things are usually better than the old ones. (future)

Question:

Which person do you think has the right idea about this?

Item 8: Time (Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's Value Schedule)

Story:

Some people were talking about the way children should be brought up. Here are three different ideas.

Ideas:

1. Some people say that children should always be taught the ways of the old people. They believe the old ways are best, and that it is when people do not follow them too much that things go wrong. (past)

2. Some people say that children should be taught some of the ways of the old people, but it is wrong to insist that they always do things the old way. These people believe it is necessary for children always to learn about the new ways and to do things the new way if it will help them to get along in the world we live in today. (present)
3. Some people do not think children should be taught much about the ways of the old people at all, except as an interesting story of what has gone before. They believe that the world goes along best when children want to find out for themselves new ways of doing things instead of old ways. (future)

Question:

Which way do you think is best?

Item 9: Time

Story:

People often have different ideas about what has gone before and what we can expect to happen in our lives. Here are three different ways of thinking about these things.

Ideas:

1. Some people think that the ways of the old people were the most right and the best, and that things get worse when you make changes. These people think the best way to live is to work hard and to keep up the old ways. (past)

2. Some people think that it is almost always the ways that are still to come which will be the best. They think the best way to live is to look a long time ahead, work hard, and give up many things now so that the future will be better. (future)

3. Some people think it is best to give most attention to what is happening now in the present. They say that the past has gone and we do not know for sure what is going to happen in the future. These people believe the best way to live is to be ready to accept the new ways which will help to make life easier and better as we live from year to year. (present)

Question:

Which of these ways of looking at life do you think is best?

Item 10: Relational (newly devised item)

Story:

Two children were discussing how hard a person should work in class.
Ideas:

1. The first one said a person should always work hard in class but it is wrong to try and do better than everyone else all the time. A person should work together with the other children in the class. (collaterality)

2. The second one said a person should be working hard all the time and trying to do better than everyone else in the class. (individualistic)

Question:

Which way do you think is the best way to work in class?

Item 11: Relational (Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's Value Schedule)

Story:

There are different ways in which a man can work.

Ideas:

1. One way for a man to work is by himself so he is the boss. The person decides things for himself and what he will do. All he has to do is look after himself and he does not expect other people to worry about him. (individualistic)

2. Another way to work is in a group with other people where everyone works together and there is no big boss. Each person can say what he thinks and they all decide together and help one another. (collaterality)

3. A third way of working is for a big boss, or a man who has been looking after things for a long time. The people who work for him know he will help them in many ways, even though they cannot say anything in deciding what will be done. (lineality)

Question:

Which way do you think is the best way?

Item 12: Relational (modified item from Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's Value Schedule)

Story:

When a community has to decide something which affects everyone, such
as building a village meeting house, there are different ways they can
decide to arrange things like where it will be built and who will do
the work.

Ideas:

1. In some places, the old men decide what is to be done.
   Everybody usually agrees with what they say without talking
   about it much, since the old men have always decided things
   before. (collaterality/lineality)

2. In still other places, everyone has his own ideas and they
decide by voting. They do what most of the people want, even
though there are still a lot of people who aren't happy.
   (individualistic)

Question:

Which way do you think is usually the best?

Item 13: Relational (modified item from Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's
Value Schedule)

Story:

A man got sick and could not do his job to earn money to buy food for
himself or for his family. He had to get help from someone so they
could all eat. There are different ways of getting help.

Ideas:

1. He could go to his brothers and sisters or relatives and
   ask them to help him out as much as they could. (collaterality)

2. He could try and get help on his own from someone who does not
   live in his own community and is not a relative or boss, such
   as a Bank which lends money to people. (individualistic)

3. He could go to someone like the Superintendent, Manager, or
   Village Council and ask them to help out until he could work
   again. (lineality)

Question:

Which man do you think had the best idea?
Item 14: Man-Nature (Kluckhohn's and Strodbeck's Value Schedule)

Story:

Three men were talking about the things that control natural conditions like weather and animals. Here is what each said.

Ideas:

1. One man said: Man must find ways to control the weather and other conditions. One day he will succeed in doing this and might even be able to overcome droughts and cyclones. (mastery-over-nature)

2. The second man said: It is when we do the right things - live in the proper way - and look after our country, our sacred sites and our animals - that all goes along well. (harmony-with-nature)

3. The third man said: There have always been good and bad years. There is no way to change this. That is the way it is and if you are wise you will just accept it as it comes and do the best you can. (subjugation-to-nature)

Question:

Which of these men do you think had the best idea?

Item 15: Man-Nature (Kluckhohn's and Strodbeck's Value Schedule)

Story:

Three men were talking about whether people themselves can do anything to make the lives of men and women longer. Here is what each said.

Ideas:

1. I really do not believe that there is much that human beings themselves can do to make them live longer. I believe that every person has a set time to live, and when the time comes to die he just dies; there is nothing he can do about it. (subjugation-to-nature)

2. The second one said: It is already true that people like doctors are finding the ways to let people live longer by finding new medicines, giving people injections and better sorts of food. If people listen to all these new things, they will almost all live longer. (mastery-over-nature)
3. The third one said: I believe that there is a plan to life which works to keep all living things moving together and if a man will learn to live his whole life according to that plan, he will live longer than other men. (harmony-with-nature)

Question:
Which of these three do you think is the most right?

Item 16: Man-Nature (Kluckhohn's and Strodteck's Value Schedule)

Story:
There were three different groups of people who had planted land on the settlement with fruit and vegetables. They each had different ways of planting and taking care of the plants.

1. One group put in the plants and then worked on them a lot of time and made use of all the new scientific ideas they could find out about. They felt that by doing this they would mostly be able to prevent many of the effects of bad conditions like cyclones and too much rain. (mastery-over-nature)

2. A second group put in the plants and then worked hard and set about living in right and proper ways. They felt it is the way a man works and tries to keep things right between the forces of nature (wind, rain, fire, etc.) that has the most effect on conditions and the way plants grow. (harmony-with-nature)

3. A third group put in their plants. Afterwards they worked on them enough to keep them growing, but no more. They felt it mainly depended on the weather conditions how things would turn out and that people couldn't do much to change things. (subjugation-to-nature)

Question:
Which of these three ideas is the best?

Item 17: Man-Nature (newly devised item)

Story:
Three people were talking together about a woman who lived in their community. Most of the children of this woman had died.
Ideas:

1. The first person said: It is not the fault of the mother because children often die and there is nothing she can do about it. (subjugation-to-nature)

2. The second person said: It is the fault of the mother that her children died. If she had taken proper care of her babies and learned the proper ways to look after them, then they would not have died. (mastery-over-nature)

3. The third person said: The mother must have done something wrong and her children are dying as a punishment. If she had lived the proper way, her children would not have died. (harmony-with-nature)

Question:
Which person do you think is most right?

Item 18: Education Value

Story:
There are different ways of thinking about who determines what job a person will get when he leaves school.

Ideas:

1. Some people say it doesn't make much difference how hard you work at school since everyone gets the same sort of job in the end and it is the Superintendent or the white boss who decides for you.

2. Other people say the sort of job you get depends on how hard you work and it is the person himself who decides what he wants to do. (education orientation)

Question:
Which idea do you think is the most right?

Item 19: Education Value

Story:
Two people were giving their ideas about whether the best leaders for the people were those who had been to school and had a good education
or whether they were those who were the old men and had a lot of experience.

Ideas:

1. The first one said: I think the people who make the best leaders are the ones who have been to school and had a good education since they can understand more and make the right decisions. (education orientation)

2. The second one said: I think the old men should be the leaders of the people, even though they haven't had much education, since they have been deciding things for a long time and this is what counts most.

Question:
Which person do you think had the right idea?

Item 20: Occupational Value

Story:
Two men were talking together about which boss would be the best one to work for.

Ideas:

1. The first boss was a fair man, and he paid more money than most to the people who worked for him. He did not like it much when a man took a couple of days off work to go and visit relatives, go out hunting or have a holiday, and so he did not expect to take those men back on the job. (occupational primacy)

2. The second boss was also a fair man but he did not pay such high wages to the men who worked for him. He could understand that a man might sometimes want to have a couple of days holiday to go hunting or visit relatives, and he would take them back on the job when they returned.

Question:
Which man do you think would be the best one to work for?
APPENDIX 5.3: FORMAT OF READING FOR MEANING TEST

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a test to see whether you understand some stories you are going to read. To show you what to do, a story is printed below. After each story are some short sentences telling what each story is about. Read each story, then underline the sentence which best tells you what it means. Be sure to underline only one sentence.

STORY

Some people say that children should always be taught the ways of the old people. They believe the old ways are best, and that it is when people do not follow them too much that things go wrong.

This story means:

a) Children should learn to do things the same ways as their parents do them.

b) Children should learn new ways of doing things as well as the old ways.

c) Children should try new ways of doing things.
APPENDIX 5.4: EXAMPLES OF JOBS IN OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS CATEGORIES

Unskilled work requiring no qualifications

domestic, collecting oysters, home management, hygiene gang,
general works force, fishing

Job requiring training as an assistant, or semi-skilled

teaching assistant, nurse aid, canteen, office worker,
trade assistant (mechanic, carpenter, builder), baker

Fully trained jobs, skilled and professional

nurse, teacher, secretary, hairdresser, policewoman,
patrol officer, banking clerk, mechanic and other
apprenticed trades

Vaughan (1963) has developed a battery of tests relating to
ethnic awareness and attitudes. A number of them are based on doll or
doll picture identification and discrimination tasks.

Most of the above tests were used with young children and seemed
unsuitable for students ranging from 12-18 years old. While Parker’s
and Durcomb’s measures have been used with adolescents, they require
a degree of verbal fluency from subjects which the shy and reticent
nature of Aboriginals before the European researcher inhibits.

Consideration was also given to the tests of a non-disguised-
structured nature. Grassack (1956), for example, was concerned with
self-conceptions in the general population. Respondents
were asked to write down 70 statements telling "Who am I" and results
were analysed along dimensions of age, racial and religious identity.
Roche and Parks (1970) also used this technique to assess the
A variety of techniques have been used to measure the evaluative aspect of ethnic identity. Coles (1963), for example, obtained data on the ambivalence, self-doubt and lowered self-esteem of Negro children from drawings done by the children. He states: "drawings of children reveal their emerging sense of shame and worthlessness, their feelings of weakness before white skin and their envy of it." (p.334) Significant differences frequently appeared in the relative size of the Negros and whites drawn, and in the colours utilised. Finney (1969) also utilised drawings together with stories explaining the drawings to determine inter-group relations between New Guineans and whites.

Parker (1964) modified TAT pictures to elicit information on the evaluative aspect of Eskimos and their hostility both towards their own group and the dominant society. However, he states that such techniques are useful for short periods of fieldwork and the same data can be more reliably obtained through intensive observation over a length of time. Nurcombe (1968) also modified TAT pictures for use with Aboriginal full-bloods.

Vaughan (1963) has developed a battery of tests relating to ethnic awareness and attitudes. A number of them are based on doll or picture identification and discrimination tasks.

Most of the above tests were used with young children and seemed unsuitable for students ranging from 12-18 years old. While Parker's and Nurcombe's measures have been used with adolescents, they require a degree of verbal fluency from subjects which the shy and reticent nature of Aborigines before the European researcher inhibited.

Consideration was also given to the tests of a non-disguised-structured nature. Grossack (1956), for example, was concerned with group belongingness among Negros and interviewed children between 10-16 years, asking them such questions as "What does being a Negro mean to you?" "What are some good and bad things about being a Negro?" Mulford and Salisbury (1964) used Kuhn's Twenty Statements Test to obtain data on self-conceptions in the general population. Respondents were asked to write down 20 statements telling "Who am I" and results were analysed along dimensions of age, racial and religious identity. Bochner and Perks (1970) also used this technique to assess the
situational determinants of ethnic identity.

These tests all require a fairly high level of literacy and proficiency in English which were lacking among the total Aboriginal sample. Some students were unable to write at all and thus such a test would necessarily have precluded their inclusion as subjects.

Previous research workers have demonstrated that semantic scales can be used reliably with young children. (Donahoe, 1961; Maltz, 1965; DiVesta and Dick, 1966) Osgood (1961) has demonstrated its cross-cultural applicability and the universality of its dimensions. One study has utilised this technique in conjunction with the Machover Draw-a-Man test (1965): Guggenheim and Hoem (1967) conducted a study on Lapps and Norwegians which was designed to test inter-group attitudes and the effects of increasing degrees of cross-cultural contact on the self-esteem of the minority group members. The Draw-a-Man test was administered to a group of subjects who were then required to rate the drawings on a number of cultural concepts taken from Osgood's Semantic Differential.

This test appeared to be suitable for Aboriginal adolescents and was therefore adopted as a measure of the evaluative aspects of ethnic identity and self-esteem.

The Machover Draw-a-Man test was administered to a group of Transitional students during Homework Classes in the evening. This class was usually supervised by the experimenter and the test was therefore undertaken as a normal class activity. At the beginning of the class, each individual was given a large sheet of white paper and coloured pencils and instructed to "Draw a picture of a person like yourself." On completion of drawings, the students were told by the Experimenter: "I want to see whether I can tell from your drawings what the person is really like. So, on the back, I want you to write down some words describing this person." On the blackboard, a number of evaluative bi-polars (scales) had been written.

<table>
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<th>don't know</th>
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<tr>
<td>beautiful</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>ugly</td>
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The scales and intensity categories were all carefully explained. Students were then requested to write down the degree to which each scale applied to their drawing.

An analysis of results clearly indicated that the students in Transitional could not understand the test instructions. Many individuals gave both dimensions or chose the extreme category on all favourable poles. This suggested that any test requiring group administration was unsuitable for the total sample, particularly Post-Primary students.
APPENDIX 5.6: DESCRIPTIONS AND SCORING OF SYMPTOMS INCLUDED IN FINAL TENSION-DISCHARGE SYNDROME

discipline problem - nonconforming, belligerent behaviour, both in the classroom and in other behaviour settings.

Score 1 if behaviour certainly applied to the individual.

truancy, absent without permission - includes absence from the College for a specific short-term purpose (e.g., going to a film), and also running away from Kormilda (long term, e.g., to return home, or to join relations).

Score 1 if individual had been absent from the College on more than two occasions.

assault - physical striking of a member of staff, initiated by student

Score 1 if individual made an assault on one occasion or more.

petrol sniffing - inhalation of petrol fumes.

Score 1 for occurrence of behaviour on one occasion or more.

gang associations - gangs are created by a need for union of adolescents who suffer from status frustrations and loss of self-esteem. By identifying himself with outcasts, the adolescent confirms his negative and hopeless opinion of himself. He revenges himself on those in authority whom he believes have failed him, achieves a degree of status and acceptance in his group, and acquires a feeling of superiority when he engages in prohibited anti-social behaviour. (Verville, 1968, p. 348)

Scoring: gangs were identified from reciprocated choices of best friends (question in Interview Schedule). Observations were then made of these groups, and individuals from those groups which engaged collectively in at least one other form of deviant behaviour were given a score of 1.

promiscuity - undiscriminating sex habits

Score 1 if individual apprehended or known to have visited a student of the opposite sex on at least five different occasions and involving at least two different students in one term.

prostitution - organized sexual intercourse

Score 1 if individual was involved in such organized activity.

disobedience - wilful flouting of authority and refusal to follow requests of staff members.
Score 1 if characteristic of student, i.e., occurred on a number of occasions for one staff member, or among different staff members.

anger, insolence - swearing at staff members in their presence, aggressive reactions without physical assault.

Score 1 if characteristic of student.
APPENDIX 5.7: DESCRIPTIONS AND SCORING OF SYMPTOMS INCLUDED IN FINAL ANXIETY-INHIBITION SYNDROME

hypochondriasis - frequent dispensary attendance, exaggerating effects of minor illnesses.
Score 1 if individual so characterised by Sister.

enuresis - nocturnal bed-wetting.
Score 1 for occurrence on one occasion or more.

school phobia - intense fear of school and refusal to attend.
Score 1 if student refused to attend school on several consecutive days.

frequent headaches
Score 1 if individual answered yes.

frequent stomach aches and vomiting
Score 1 if individual answered yes.

fantastic pseudologia - elaborate, complex fabrications which are not merely lies of expediency. Involved lying of this kind is considered pathological because it is inappropriate, unnecessary and compulsive. Verville (1968) maintains the pathological liar reacts to any situation in which he feels helpless or ineffective by producing a story which enhances his feelings of prestige. (p. 409)
Score 1 if individual often indulged in this behaviour.

isolate - individual who is rejected by his peers and attracts unfavourable attention because he does not fit in with the group.

Scoring: Observations of students in the playground identified students who appeared to be rejected by other students; those individuals who in addition were not selected as "best friend" by any other students were given a score of 1 as an isolate.

often sad, cries
Score 1 for occurrence of behaviour.

shakes inside
Score 1 for occurrence of behaviour.

frequent nightmares
Score 1 for occurrence of behaviour.
APPENDIX 5.8: DESCRIPTION OF GRATIFICATION CHOICE TECHNIQUE
ELIMINATED AFTER PRE-TESTING

At the completion of the interview session, each subject was presented with a "thank-you" ticket, and the following explanation and instructions were given:

"I am very pleased that you gave me so much help today in answering all these questions, so I'm going to give you a ticket which is worth some money. You can hand it in at the tuck shop and get whatever you like instead of paying money. But because a lot of children have these tickets, we might run out of things in the tuck shop. So, if you like, you can keep this ticket for three days and then hand it in at the tuck shop and buy what you like for 40 cents. If you don't want to wait until then, you can hand it in now and buy what you like for 20 cents.

Do you understand that? If you hand it in now or before next .......(day of week) then you can buy what you like for 20 cents; but if you wait until after .... then you can buy what you like for 40 cents."

The ticket given to subjects is reproduced below.

This technique was eliminated since it proved unsatisfactory for a number of reasons: students serving in the tuck shop could not understand what was required when a ticket was handed in; students had no place to keep tickets; some students could not understand the instructions.
APPENDIX 5.9: ABORIGINAL ADJUSTMENT INTERVIEW

Name         Sex
Age          Class
Tribal Group Skin Group
Language     Settlement, Mission, Station

1. How many years have you been at Korrnilda?
2. Are you pleased to be here at Korrnilda, or would you prefer to be at home with your relations?
3. Are any of your friends from ................. here with you at Korrnilda? (Specify)
4. Are they your best friends, or are your best friends still at .......................?
5. Were you a bit scared about coming to Korrnilda?
6. What do you like best about Korrnilda? -
7. What don't you like about it? -
8. Were your mother and father pleased that you were coming to Korrnilda?
9. Who are your best friends here?
10. Do they all speak the same language as you?
11. What language do you speak when you are with them?
12. Do you think it is hard to make friends with some of the other children here?
   Which ones is it hardest to make friends with?
   Why is that, do you think?
13. Are you looking forward to going home for the holidays?
14. What sort of things do you do at home?
15. What do you like best about being home?
16. Is there anything you don't like about home?
17. Do you live with your family at home?
18. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
19. Does anyone else live with you?
20. What sort of place do you live in?
21. Is it all right living in that sort of place? or would you like to live in a different sort?
22. Does your father work?
   What sort of work does he do?
23. How about your mother - does she work or look after the family?
24. Can your mother or father speak English at all?
   Can they write?
25. What places have you visited on holidays? Have you been to Darwin or Alice Springs before? What for? How many times?
26. Have you live anywhere else besides ..................
   (present community of S)?

Educational, Occupational and Social aspirations
27. How long do you want to stay at school?
28. How long do you think you really will stay at school?
29. What sort of work would you like to do when you leave school? (Reason for choice)
30. Can you tell me how long you would have to stay at school to get a job like that? What else would you have to do to get that sort of job?
31. Is ................ (job mentioned) the sort of work you really think you will be doing?
32. Can you tell me three jobs which you think would be the best jobs a person could have. They don't have to be jobs you want to do yourself; but just the very best sort of work that any person could have?
33. Where do you think you would like to live when you leave school and it is time to get a job?
   (If town) Do you want to live on the Reserve, then, or somewhere else?
34. Do you really think you will live there?

School

35. Do you find school hard?
36. Is it harder than last year?
37. What lessons do you like best at school?
38. Do you feel nervous when your teacher asks you a question in class?
39. (If yes) Is it because you don't know the answer, or because she is asking you in front of all the other children?
40. Does it worry you if all the other children laugh when you answer a question?
41. Does it make you feel nervous when you're with people you don't know?
42. Does this happen more often when you're with Whites or with other Aborigines?
43. Does it make you feel nervous (scared) when you are asked to do something you've never tried before?

Depression

44. Do you often feel unhappy (sad)?
45. Is this because you are missing your family or are homesick?
46. Do you often feel like crying?
47. Do you cry then?
48. When you feel worried or unhappy, do you tell anyone about it?
   (Who?)
49. Do you often go to Sister? What for generally?
50. Do you get a lot of headaches?
   Do you often feel sick in the stomach?

Anxiety

51. Do you often have trouble going to sleep at night?
52. Do you ever have bad dreams that wake you up?
53. Can you tell me about one you have had while you've been here?

54. Do you often feel scared like you were shaking inside?

Identity

55. What sort of person do you think makes a good leader?

(Probe for age status vs education and responsibility)

56. What do you think about the promise system?

57. Have you been promised to anyone? Are you going to marry your promise?

(If not) When it is time to get married, do you think it is important to marry someone who is right skin for you?

58. When it's time to get married, do you think you would like to marry an Aboriginal from ................. or just anyone you liked?

59. Why would you make this choice?

60. When the time comes to sing in the Darwin Eisteddfod, would you rather sing with the people from ................. or with Kormilda?

61. When you think of yourself, do you think of yourself as being a ................. (tribe), an Aboriginal or an Australian? Which one comes first? Which one comes next?

62. Do you ever join in ceremonies at home?

63. What sort of music and dancing do they have at home?

64. Do you like the pop music they play at Kormilda, and jiving?

65. Which sort of music and dancing do you like best - the sort all the people do at home, or the European sort you have at Kormilda?
APPENDIX 5.10: MODIFIED BAVELAS IDEOLOGY TEST

A.
1. What are some things you could do at home (Kormilda) which are bad things to do and you get into trouble for?
2. Which one of these things is the very worst thing to do?
3. Who is angry with you for doing them?
4. How do they show you that they are angry with you?

B.
1. What are some things you could do at home (Kormilda) which are good things to do and which make other people pleased with you?
2. Which one of these things is the very best thing to do?
3. When you do these things, who tells you they are pleased with you?
4. How do they show you they are pleased with you?
APPENDIX 5.11: TOTAL ENROLMENTS FOR INTAKE YEARS 1968, 1969, 1970

Post-Primary

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APPENDIX 7.1: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS ON INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDE SCALES FOR EACH CONCEPT

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<table>
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<th>Self</th>
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<th>Self</th>
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<td>clever - stupid</td>
<td>score</td>
<td>frequency</td>
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<td>White</td>
<td>Aborigine</td>
<td>Self</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<th>proud - ashamed</th>
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<td>20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
# Appendix 7.2: Frequency Distributions on Tension-Discharge and Anxiety-Inhibition Symptoms

## Tension-Discharge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symptom</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>discipline problem</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absent without permission</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assault</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>theft</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petrol sniffing</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gang associations</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>promiscuity</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prostitution</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disobedience</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anger, insolence</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Anxiety-Inhibition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symptom</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>school phobia</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypochondriasis</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enuresis</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frequent headaches</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frequent stomach aches, vomiting</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fantastic pseudologia</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isolate</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sad, cries</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shakes inside</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frequent nightmares</td>
<td>28</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX 7.3: METHOD FOR PREDICTING CHANGE IN VALUES AS A FUNCTION OF ASPIRATIONS

\[ Y = 1^{st} \text{testing values} \]
\[ y = 2^{nd} \text{testing values} \]
\[ y_1 = \text{predicted score on 2}^{nd} \text{testing} \]
\[ r = \text{correlation between first and second testings} \]

\[ y_1 = r \frac{oy}{ox} X + (y - r \frac{oy}{ox} X) \]

Residual scores = \[ y^1 - y \]

Correlation obtained between aspirations (1st testing) and residual scores.

Obtained correlation coefficients between 1st and 2nd testings on

Time and Relational values for Post-Primary 1 and Transitional Grade 7:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relational</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-Primary 1</td>
<td>-0.100</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional Grade 7</td>
<td>0.400</td>
<td>17</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-Primary 1</td>
<td>0.165</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional Grade 7</td>
<td>0.198</td>
<td>17</td>
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