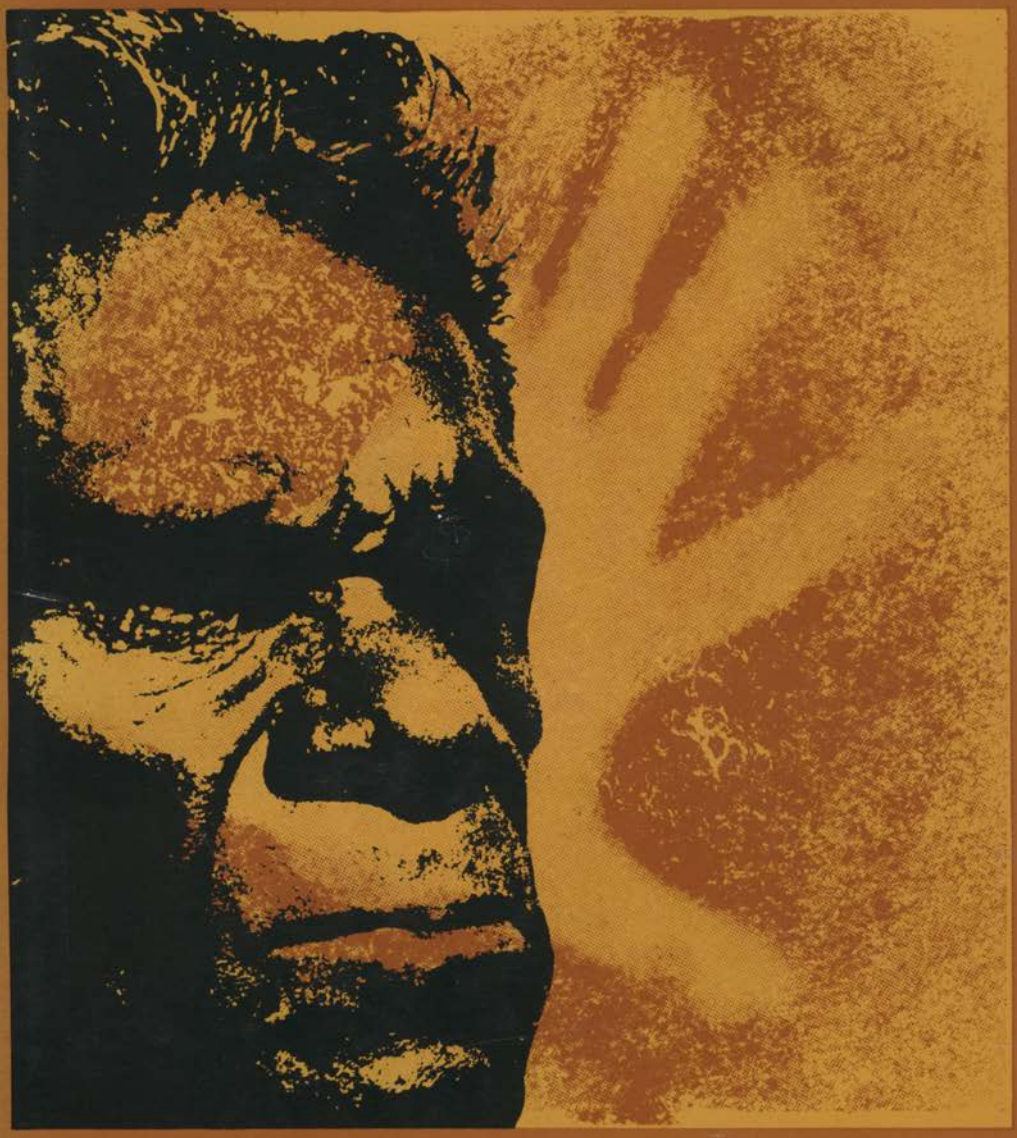
# LOOK FORWARD, NOT BACK

Aborigines in Metropolitan Brisbane, 1965-1966

Hazel M. Smith and Ellen H. Biddle



ABORIGINES IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

Aborigines who come to Brisbane from settlements and small country towns face all the problems of rapid urbanisation—housing, employment, education, morale. They have had some previous experience of white Australian society, but little of the social institutions that white Australians take for granted. In Brisbane, these social institutions and their agencies are available, yet Aborigines do not take advantage of them, partly because of their past lack of experience and partly because they do not always see such institutions as compatible with their life styles.

The authors of this book believe that Aborigines can and will determine their own futures. They argue that white Australia must encourage the Aborigines to use existing social institutions and, if these are unsuitable, create new ones that will help Aboriginal Australians to a satisfying life. In redressing thus the neglect and indifference of the past, Australia might approach a multi-racial society rich in diversity.

# LOOK FORWARD, NOT BACK

**Aborigines in Australian Society 12**

A series sponsored by
The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia

# LOOK FORWARD, NOT BACK

## ABORIGINES IN METROPOLITAN BRISBANE 1965-1966

*Hazel M. Smith*
*and Ellen H. Biddle*

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY PRESS CANBERRA 1975

*First published in Australia 1975*

*Printed in Australia for the*
*Australian National University Press, Canberra*



*Library of Congress Catalog Card no. 73-94360*

*National Library of Australia*
*Cataloguing-in-Publication entry*

---

*Smith, Hazel M., d. 1970.*
*Look forward, not back: Aborigines in metropolitan*
*Brisbane, 1965-1966/[by] Hazel M. Smith and Ellen H.*
*Biddle.—Canberra: Australian National University*
*Press, 1975.—(Aborigines in Australian society; 12).*
*Index.*
*Bibliography.*
*ISBN 0 7081 0697 8.*

*[1.] Aborigines, Australian—Brisbane—Social conditions.*
*[2.] Aborigines, Australian—Brisbane—Urban residence.*
*1. Biddle, Ellen H., joint author. II Title. (Series).*

*301.45199109431*

---

*North, South, and Central America:* International Scholarly Book Services, Inc., Portland, Oregon.
*Southeast Asia:* Angus & Robertson (S. E. Asia) Pty Ltd, Singapore
*Japan:* United Publishers Services Ltd, Tokyo.

*Away with bitterness, my own dark people*
*Come stand with me, look forward, not back,*
*For a new time has come for us.*

Kath Walker: 'Let Us Not Be Bitter'
in *My People*
Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1970

# LOOK FORWARD, NOT BACK

## NOTE ON THE SERIES

The Social Science Research Council of Australia (now The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia), which was founded in its present form in 1952, is the national organisation of social scientists. Some of its major functions are:

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

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

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

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

elucidating the problems arising from contacts between Aborigines and non-Aborigines and formulating policy implications from these;
drawing together existing knowledge in various parts of Australia

and undertaking such further original research as can be carried out over a period of three years.

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

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

W.D. BORRIE

## FOREWORD

My late colleague and friend Hazel Smith, who died in July 1970 in her fifty-fourth year, was a woman with an intense concern for social justice and deep compassion for the disadvantaged in the community. As head of the Department of Social Work in the University of Queensland she had many competing demands on her time, but she always managed to keep some of it for active participation in the fields of social welfare which were her special interest. Foremost among these were child welfare and the welfare of the Australian Aborigines. She worked actively with organisations in the community whose aim was to improve the lot of the Aborigine, and she counted some of the leaders of the Brisbane Aborigines among her personal friends. As an academic it was natural that she should turn her attention to studies which would add to the existing knowledge of Aboriginal people—their way of life, their needs and their aspirations.

She had taken part with John A. Keats (now Professor of Psychology at the University of Newcastle) and others in an inter-disciplinary study of Aborigines living at Dunwich, on Stradbroke Island (Keats et al., 1966), and, in 1965, was about to embark on a study by her own Department of social deprivation among urban children of Aboriginal descent. At that time C.D. Rowley, Director of the Aborigines Project for the Social Science Research Council of Australia, approached the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Queensland, Sir Fred Schonell, about the possibility of someone's undertaking a study of the general living conditions of Aborigines in Brisbane, which would complement similar studies in other parts of Australia. This request was passed on to Miss Smith, who offered to direct the project. Her offer was accepted, and by May 1965 the Council had approved a substantial grant towards the cost of the study. Additional money for what proved to be a major undertaking came from regular research funds of the University of Queensland

and a special grant from the Australian Universities Commission Research Fund.

Ellen H. Biddle, then a doctoral candidate in sociology at the University of Missouri, joined Miss Smith's staff early in 1965 and worked closely with her for the duration of the study. The Center for Research in Social Behavior at the University of Missouri, at which Dr Biddle is now a Research Associate, provided advisory, coding and computer services for the project. The study and this book, which records what came out of it, are thus, in a very real sense, the result of an Australian-American partnership, involving the two authors and their respective universities.

From the beginning both authors hoped that the report when published would give an up-to-date picture of the Aboriginal community in Brisbane and its needs. If, despite the delay in completion of the work which followed Miss Smith's untimely death, the book fulfils this aim to any extent, it will be due to the co-operation of many people, all of whom have given generously of their time and their knowledge. The book will also remain a tribute to the memory of Hazel Smith, for hers was the initiative behind the project, and she never doubted that research such as this should point the way to social change. 'The need for action is urgent', she wrote at the end of the manuscript. Had she lived to work on its final preparation for publication, there are some things she may well have wanted to change, but this last clear call to action would not have been among them. Rather, I think, she would have wanted to underline it.

ALMA E. HARTSHORN
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
MARCH 1974

## PREFACE

The findings of social surveys are factual and abound with carefully circumscribed figures and percentages or statistics covering many topics. This report of the social survey of the Aboriginal community in Brisbane in 1965 is no different. But for the reader who paradoxically wishes to know what he might conclude before he starts, a short summary is presented here.

The thesis of this book is that the Aborigines in Brisbane are better off in terms of housing and living conditions, educational level achieved and status of occupations than are Aborigines who continue to live in small country towns, rural areas and settlements, reserves and mission stations. Migrants into Brisbane are in a socially more felicitous environment for improvement of their status than Aborigines who live elsewhere in Queensland. On the other hand, when the reference group for comparison is the white Australian population of Brisbane, the Aborigines can be seen as a depressed minority racial group which has worse housing and living conditions, low levels of education, few occupational skills, low status jobs, low enrolment for voting, somewhat low union membership, low participation in clubs and organisations, disrupted marital patterns and many personal and social problems.

Most of the members of the Aboriginal community are migrants to Brisbane from small country towns and can in no way be considered tribal Aborigines who remain unacculturated to Australian ways of doing things. Brisbane Aborigines have learned the customs, habits, beliefs and values characteristic of working class Australians.

On the other hand, they have not had free and equal opportunity of access to the social institutions of the nation, whether political, educational, occupational, or residential. Equal access has been denied in some cases through discriminatory laws or customs, or in some cases through low expectations by white Australians for the achievement of Aborigines, or in other cases through poverty or inadequate socialisation. But what-

ever the reasons, the extent of unequal access is documented throughout this book.

Most of the Aborigines in Brisbane are of part-Aboriginal descent and a high number of marriages in the group are with non-Aborigines. At the same time that some new dark migrants are arriving, others are passing out of the population. The lack of a fixed or rigid boundary between the races hampers the development of the Aborigines as a social unit with a distinctive life style. On the other hand, prior acculturation encourages the continuation of cross-group marriages.

Two main principles for ameliorative action are recommended. The first of these is a compensatory principle in which institutions, public and private, help Aborigines to make up for the deprivations of the past by arranging flexible programs to ensure that Aborigines participate immediately in institutions for which they lack the usual necessary experiences and qualifications. These latter include apprenticeship programs, special schools to acquire equivalent educational experiences, housing and job referral services which involve them in areas where few Aborigines have lived or worked before, casework programs, special pre-school day care centres, and the like. One of the more effective ways of organising compensatory programs is the establishment of regional community development centres.

The second principle involves changing the established relationships between the races so that Aborigines are guaranteed equal and fair treatment both in laws and in their enforcement. Among many changes possible under this principle would be the repeal of the Queensland Aboriginal Acts and the closing of the settlement and reserve system. The subsequent migration of Aborigines should probably be to the cities where they can be assisted on arrival by the personnel of the recommended regional community development centres. Another change might be an amendment of the Election Law of Queensland so that all Aborigines, like whites, are *required* to enrol and vote. The establishment of a guaranteed family income to those persons below the poverty level would enable Aborigines to establish reasonable living conditions for their families.

But legislation which is fair and equal is not enough. As in all nations, there is a need to re-examine the weight of established customs and the rigid and often negative expectations of officials. For this reason, the appointment at Federal and State levels of Aboriginal ombudsmen with easy and immediate access to Premiers and parliamentarians would be

helpful. Enough money is needed to carry out all programs simultaneously, for piecemeal plans spread out over several years would not be adequate.

Racism in subtle and covert as well as overt forms is everywhere, not only in institutions, customs and expectations but also in research projects conducted by white investigators. Official Federal policy is that Aborigines are now free to choose for themselves what their future status will be. If non-Aboriginal Australians can make institutional changes while simultaneously compensating Aborigines for the past, the way ahead, while not easy or inexpensive, will at least be fair.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book on Brisbane Aborigines has been long in preparation. Those involved in its writing have had full schedules of teaching and research at their respective universities. The statistical memoranda of the project were completed in late 1967 by the junior author for her dissertation, which was examined in late 1968. Publication plans were made by the senior author in 1969 and a draft manuscript was written up in technical report form at that time. Tragically, Hazel Smith died in the summer of 1970.

Preceding her death, the Australian National University Press had decided to publish some of the reports of the Aborigines Project as books which would appeal to a general readership. Alma E. Hartshorn of Miss Smith's Department of Social Work at the University of Queensland kindly undertook a first editing of the draft manuscript, adding materials from the 1966 Census of Australia, updating references and clarifying tables and text where it seemed appropriate. She assumed this task with vigour, enthusiasm and insight. Her generous help is gratefully acknowledged.

The junior author has completed the preparation of this book. Although the phrases used may be unlike those which Hazel Smith might have employed herself, the spirit of egalitarianism, the need for social reform and the call for action expressed here are her sentiments and views as much as those of the junior author.

The assistance of the people of Aboriginal descent in Brisbane whose responses to requests for information made this study possible is appreciated. The authors are also indebted to the Queensland Aboriginal Advancement League, the One People of Australia League, the Queensland Council for Aboriginal Advancement, the Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs of Queensland, and the Aboriginal Scholarship Scheme of the National Union of Australian University Students.

We wish to acknowledge the support, help, and advice of the following persons—in Australia: Mr David Adams, Mr John Burless, Professor W.J. Campbell, Mrs Edna Chamberlain, Mr Maxwell Cornwell, Mr James Hamilton, Dr Daphne M. Keats, Professor John A. Keats, Mr Patrick Killoran, Mrs Frances Langford, Professor Edward Scott, Mrs Cecilia Smith, Mrs Kath Walker, Dr Betty Watts, Professor J.S. Western, and Mrs Joyce Wilding; in New Zealand: Mrs Phyllis Adams and Professor Raymond S. Adams; in the United States: Mrs Eleanor M. Goodge, Mrs Jane M. Habenstein, and Dr Daryl J. Hobbs.

To the thirty-three interviewers who collected data for the study we are thankful. We also appreciate the help of Mrs Thelma Anderson who typed the first revision of the manuscript in Australia. The encouragement of C.D. Rowley, Director of the Aborigines Project for what was then the Social Science Research Council of Australia, was helpful throughout the duration of the project, as were the personnel of the sponsoring agencies.

At the Center for Research in Social Behavior at the University of Missouri the book was edited and revised with the help and advice of Robert W. Habenstein, Professor of Sociology and Research Associate, and Bruce J. Biddle, Professor of Psychology and Sociology and Director of the Center. Their knowledge of social psychology, race relations, family and kinship behaviour, education and sociological theory were of value for interpreting findings and placing them into a context of social meaning. Sherry Watts Kilgore deserves thanks for typing the completed manuscript.

The quotations from the poems by Kath Walker are printed by kind permission of the author and of the Jacaranda Press.

The book is dedicated to the Aborigines of Brisbane for whom rapid integration is hoped.

HAZEL M. SMITH
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND, ST LUCIA
OCTOBER, 1969

ELLEN H. BIDDLE
CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL BEHAVIOR
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA
MAY, 1974

# CONTENTS

# TABLES

# 1 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This book concerns the lives of Aboriginal Australians who were living in Brisbane in 1965. What does it mean to be Aboriginal in modern, urban Australia? What problems are faced and what opportunities are open to persons of Aboriginal descent? To answer these questions a social survey was conducted of the living conditions, family structure, mobility, education and occupations of Brisbane's Aborigines. This book is built from the findings of that study.

At the time of the study considerable ferment existed in Australia concerning the status of Aborigines. Like many other Western countries Australia has had a long history of prejudice against coloured people, and laws discriminating against Aborigines had been on the books in Queensland since late in the nineteenth century. Early in 1965, however, the Queensland Legislative Assembly repealed earlier legislation[1] concerning Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders and passed the Aborigines' and Torres Strait Islanders' Affairs Act of 1965, proclaimed in May 1966. This action was followed in December, 1965 by an amendment[2] to the Elections Acts, 1915 to 1962 of Queensland which gave the privilege of enrolment to Aborigines who had earlier been disenfranchised. Simultaneously plans were also being made for a national referendum to change

[1] The Aboriginals Preservation and Protection Act, 1939 to 1946, and the Torres Strait Islanders Acts, 1939 to 1946, which will be referred to throughout this book as the Queensland Acts.

[2] The Elections Acts Amendment Act of 1965 which came into effect on 1 February, 1966.

the Constitution so that the Commonwealth could pass legislation specifically to help Aborigines as a group. Welfare officials, social scientists and concerned citizens, both Aboriginal and white, were debating the wisdom of substituting a policy of integration in which Aborigines would develop their own life styles, values and aspirations for the then current ideal of assimilation in which Aborigines were to become like white Australians in all aspects of living.

Throughout Australia, people had become aware that in one of the most civilised nations in the world a small coloured minority, representing about 1 per cent of the population, had benefited little from the social and physical riches of the country. The anomaly between the encouragement and direct financial help given to immigrants from Europe, and the situation of dependent and neglected Aborigines throughout the country, had become apparent. Broom and Jones (1973) reported that the total number of Aborigines in Australia is 'approximately equal to the average annual intake of immigration since the end of World War II, that is, roughly one twenty-fifth the size of post-war immigration' (p. 76). Aborigines were continuing to migrate to the cities, and some were beginning to speak out about self-direction and participation in decisions concerning their future. Facts concerning these issues were meagre.

It was in the midst of this movement towards change that the Aborigines Project of the Social Science Research Council of Australia commissioned several studies of Aborigines living in different kinds of social setting. Social scientists were asked to gather facts about how Aborigines were living. The impetus behind the collection of data was a concern with the current status of Aborigines so that Aborigines, government officials and others might make plans for betterment. Looking back, the Director of the Project, C.D. Rowley (1973), thinks now that the aim was 'political' in the sense that the time was soon to come for Australians to pay attention to the demands made by Aborigines and to negotiate with them a series of agreements about their future.

As the survey was beginning, questions were being raised concerning facts and possible policy statements. How many Aborigines lived in cities? Were they better off in cities or country towns? What was their level of education? Did they have work skills that matched available jobs? Were the settlements preparing them for living elsewhere, or had the settlements become self-perpetuating bureaucracies? What was the housing of Aborigines like? Did they live in small two-parent or larger extended families? What kinds of problems did they face? These questions were

basic ones for which no data existed, but without answers to which no one, including Aborigines, could formulate and carry out social programs for amelioration.

Most of this book consists of extended answers to these and related questions. It is difficult, however, to understand these answers without some terminology and a brief description of the methods by which the study was conducted. The bulk of this first chapter consists of two sections. The first concerns concepts and methods that are used by social scientists for the study of assimilation. The second comprises a brief description of the methods used in the study and a brief overview of characteristics of the population studied.

## THE STUDY OF ASSIMILATION

The study of race relations is of paramount concern throughout the world. Wherever persons of different races meet, patterned relationships between the groups are established over time, but the situations of contact vary from one place to another. The processes of interaction between races usually occur with other social changes, such as colonisation, urbanisation, migration, industrialisation, and economic exploitation or political conflict. Unravelling the single effect of any one of these is not a simple matter. In the case of Aborigines in Brisbane, the relationships between the races are confounded, because the Aborigines are migrants to the city and, for the most part, have come from small towns and rural areas, bringing with them the life styles developed by living with other Aborigines in segregated places on the outskirts of country towns.

Several concepts concerning assimilation are presented here and contrasted with one another. Unfortunately, little consensus exists in the social sciences on the exact usage of terms, and the process or state of affairs defined here under one concept may possibly be called something else by other authors. However, the words employed are less important than understanding the processes to which they refer.

1. *Assimilation.* Assimilation is the most generic word and describes the processes by which at least two groups become more alike (Taft, 1966). There is nothing specific about the areas in which people become alike. No distinctions are made, for example, between public likeness and private difference or different levels of participation in various activities. Assimilation has occurred when three criteria are met: a) the members of the groups become more alike; b) the members of all groups accept one

another as full participating members of the country; and c) members of all groups have free and equal opportunity for access to the same social institutions. There are not associated with the term any connotations concerning the dominance of one group over another by force of law, police power, or custom. In practice, during any long-term contact of groups, two-way exchanges will take place between them. But these exchanges may not be equal, for groups have differential control of resources and differ in many ways, such as size, flexibility of customs, evaluation of skin colours, and degree of modernisation. The main point about assimilation is that regardless of how the groups came to be in contact and regardless of the extent of sharing of resources, the result over time will be similarity, acceptance of one another and equal opportunity to participate in social institutions.[3]

2. *Acculturation.* Acculturation is a more specific term than assimilation and refers explicitly to changes of culture. When persons of differing cultural backgrounds remain in contact, they change customs, habits, and ways of living and behaving. The end state of acculturation exists when there is one culture merged from two or more (Banton, 1967). As commonly used, the word implies that the politically, economically or numerically weaker of the two groups or the one with the devalued skin colour changes its culture more than the other.

3. *Amalgamation.* Amalgamation, too, is more specific than assimilation and concerns the joining of two groups physically such that neither remains identifiable or distinct. When amalgamation has occurred, there is a physical loss of identity of all groups through intermarriage. *Absorption* is sometimes used as a synonym.

4. *Adaptation.* Adaptation describes a process intermediate between the initial contact of groups and the end states of assimilation or acculturation. The term suggests that people are doing what they can to get on in a new setting but have not yet fully learned the norms of the new group and that relationships are somewhat fragile or temporary and pragmatic.

5. *Integration.* Integration refers to the result of contact between members of groups who maintain their identity as groups that are different. Two of the criteria for assimilation apply to integration. First, both groups accept each other as full, participating members of the same society and, second, free and equal opportunity for access to institutions is available.

[3] The authors are not using this term in the earlier manner employed by Australian welfare officials which implied that Aborigines everywhere in Australia should change or even be forced to change to the life styles of white Australians.

Unlike assimilation, however, integration stresses the maintenance of differences between groups—in cultural, racial or religious ways. Another connotation of the word as it has been used is that the different groups have a choice about their eventual status in the society; that is, that they can choose to acculturate or amalgamate at will. *Pluralism* is often employed as a synonym for integration.

These concepts have been defined to indicate the variety of processes that are presently occurring in the contact of races in Brisbane and the kinds of outcome they suggest. Notice should be taken that acculturation and amalgamation are processes which are under some control of the less dominant group, in this case the Aborigines. Both assimilation and integration, however, depend upon the good will and reasonableness of members of the more dominant group who accept the less dominant group and provide free and equal access to institutions. The question of maintaining differences or becoming alike is, again, a matter of choice of the less dominant group but to a lesser extent than with amalgamation and acculturation. People may choose, for example, to become similar but be pushed back because the dominant group sees differences in the minority group which make them a people apart. This lack of acceptance of the minority group often occurs in the contact of races. A less dominant group, on the other hand, may choose to maintain a different identity only to have the dominant group insist upon similarity.

The authors have chosen to use 'integration' in Chapters 2 to 10 when speaking generally about the future status of Aborigines, since integration is now the official policy of Australia. As the term is employed, it means that Aborigines may choose their own life style, but it carries with it an implicit agreement from non-Aboriginal Australians that Aborigines will have fair and equal access of opportunity to participate in the social institutions of the nation. The substantive chapters of this book are concerned primarily with the issue of Aboriginal participation in institutions rather than with the ideological positions which the data may generate. In Chapter 11, on the other hand, the authors employ all the terms defined and relate the data to the various possible future statuses of urban Aborigines.

## MEASURES OF INTEGRATION

Several different measures have traditionally been used as indicators of integration. Three of these have often been used to evaluate the status of the less dominant group in a situation of contact of two different groups (Eisenstadt, 1954).

1. *Dispersion.* Dispersion indicates the degree to which the members of the less dominant group enter into the institutions of the community. Measures of dispersion show whether or not members of the minority group are found in the institutions of the nation in proportions somewhat similar to those of the dominant group. For instance, are they working at the same kinds of jobs, do they have similar levels of education, are they participating in political activities, are their incomes equal, do they join civic and voluntary organisations, are their homes adequate and dispersed throughout the community, and do they move more often? Chapters in this book report the level of participation by Aborigines in public institutions in Brisbane.

2. *Acquisition of new ways.* Another measure of integration is the degree to which the less dominant group has learned the different ways of living and behaving in the society. At issue here is whether the minority group merely expresses external conformity to superficial customs and habits or whether its members have internalised the values, attitudes and ways of behaving so that members are truly acculturated. At issue also is whether the minority group conforms in public spheres of activity but retains its own values and behaviours in private areas, such as family life, kinship relationships, and leisure activities. Acquisition of new ways by Aboriginal persons in Brisbane is also discussed in later chapters.

3. *Personal adjustment.* A third measure of integration often used is whether or not members of the minority group are personally adjusted in the new situation. These measures are usually negative indices of social problems or personally disrupted behaviour. A high incidence of personal and social problems is seen as evidence of difficulties in integrating or as a lack of integration. Reports are made of rates of juvenile or adult crimes, mental illness, illegitimacy of children, alcoholism, prostitution, divorce, suicide, and the like. Since it is difficult to obtain reliable data of this kind in a social survey, this book reports only the existence of one or more of these maladjustment measures within the homes and families of sample members.

4. *Satisfaction and morale.* A fourth measure of integration is sometimes used which does not measure the relationships between the groups in contact but which is, rather, a part of the assimilation process itself. This is the degree to which members of the minority group express satisfaction with the new situation. In this study, data from two questions concerning satisfaction and morale are reported.

## METHODS AND POPULATION

Social surveys are not conducted in a vacuum. Rather, they are products of human beings who build methodologies to help bring forth answers to questions of fact and to aid in the development of social policy. Methodology plays a central role in these endeavours, and it is difficult to understand the findings of survey researchers without knowing something of their methods, the population with which they deal, and the climate and context of opportunity within which they carry out their research. Attention is now turned to these concerns as they bear on the study of the Aborigines of Brisbane.

### THE SAMPLING METHOD

Perhaps the single biggest problem facing the investigators at the beginning of the study was that almost nothing was known about Brisbane Aborigines. The usual demographic data were not compiled about them from the 1961 Australian Census. The Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs of Queensland had little information concerning Brisbane Aborigines, although a short list of persons recently granted exemption certificates under the Queensland Aboriginal Acts was available. A member of ABSCHOL offered to share with study personnel a small list of Aboriginal families who had at least one child attending secondary school in Brisbane. (ABSCHOL is a university group granting scholarships to Aborigines for secondary education.) Likewise, the matron at the OPAL hostel was kind enough to permit interviewing of persons staying there. (OPAL House is a multiple-function hostel, sponsored by a voluntary organisation, the One People of Australia League, and subsidised by the Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs in Queensland.) Each of these implied in discussion that the numbers of Aborigines living in Brisbane were small.

The one hard piece of information available was that in the 1961 Australian Census 1059 persons in Brisbane listed themselves in a self-identifying question as full-blood or half-caste Aborigines. Unfortunately, this question was poorly worded and confusing so that many who were part-Aborigines, not fitting the exact wording of the question, reported themselves as white Australians (Jones, 1970).[4] At the beginning of the

[4] See Jones (1970) for the wording of both the 1961 and 1966 Census questions and for a discussion of the confusion surrounding responses to these questions.

study, however, the researchers were unaware that any great discrepancy might exist between the census figures and the actual population of Brisbane's Aborigines, and they were also unaware of the extent of increasing migration by Aborigines into the city. Study personnel talked with a few knowledgeable Aborigines about the research, the size of the population, the living conditions of families, and the methods of sampling persons and families. After these discussions, the first decision was made. If as expected there were only about 1000 Aborigines in the city and they were living in doubled up or extended families as Aborigines themselves had suggested, then a full census of Brisbane Aborigines could be made in a period of four or five months. It was estimated that somewhere between 200 and 300 families would have to be contacted in about 150 households. The hope was that a social survey covering basic information about the families, their living conditions and their social background and experiences might be done first. Then a follow up study in which family behaviour would be discussed at length and in depth with respondents sampled from the larger social survey might be accomplished in the remaining months of the project.

A second basic decision was also made. Since none of the usual methods of locating a sample from lists of persons known to government sources or voluntary organisations was possible, and Aborigines in Brisbane were not living in segregated ghetto areas, it was decided to locate persons using a network referral method, in which interviewers go from one household to another, having been referred from each located family to others in the neighbourhood or to their friends and relatives who lived farther away.

This technique is not novel and has been used by anthropologists such as Graves (1965) and Liebow (1966) and by social psychologists such as Taft (1966). The use of a network referral method does depend, however, on the degree to which persons in a group know one another or know about one another. The Aboriginal population in Brisbane was thought to exhibit what Bott (1957) has termed a 'connected' network, one in which a given person has friends, relatives and neighbours who interact independently with one another apart from their relationship to the original person. As it turned out, the network of Aborigines in Brisbane was highly connected. Although cumbersome and requiring a good deal of intensive book-keeping, the network referral method worked. Aborigines in Brisbane did pass interviewers on to relatives, friends and

neighbours, and a nearly full census was made.[5] The sample in the survey became 2103 persons, almost twice as many as reported in the 1961 Australian Census.

In the original discussion with the Director of the Aborigines Project, it was suggested that the definition of an Aborigine for inclusion into the Brisbane study be wholly self-identifying. (This was in contrast to the genetic definition used in the 1961 Australian Census in which Aborigines were asked to identify themselves in reference to the degree of their Aboriginal descent and, if they were half European, to indicate so.) The authors took this stricture seriously as they did the recommendation from Aboriginal friends that, primarily for political reasons having to do with the status of persons under the extant Queensland Acts, respondents not be asked the degree of their Aboriginal background. As a result, respondents were not asked anywhere in the questionnaire about degree of Aboriginal descent.[6]

Throughout the data-collection period of the study, and in the original project report, the authors continued to write as if the respondents to the survey had identified themselves as Aborigines, although some respondents had made interviewers quite aware that the definition of 'Aboriginal' in Brisbane was being made not by each respondent independently, as in the Census, but by known Aborigines who referred people to interviewers as other members of the Aboriginal community. In a sense, study personnel were forced by the network method into using a social definition of Aboriginal. The respondents for the survey, then, are persons identified as Aborigines by others who were themselves associated with the Aboriginal community in Brisbane.

The idea of self-identification was not completely ignored, however, since those referred did not have to accept what others said about their Aboriginal background. And, in fact, one of the findings of the study concerns the degree to which some potential and actual respondents felt discomfort in identifying themselves as Aborigines. Members of twelve

[5] It may be of some interest to know that for each household contacted, about five referrals were received to other households (or about two thousand referrals in all). As the study progressed, of course, referrals began to be duplicates of households already contacted. Altogether, about one thousand addresses were checked during the course of the study.

[6] Although 'Aboriginal' is used throughout this book, the word includes persons of Torres Strait Island descent. About 7 per cent of the adult sample was of Torres Strait Island background.

households, for example, turned interviewers away, saying there were no Aborigines living at the home.

In fact, identification with the Aboriginal community was a very real problem for some. Several people, married to white Australians, were referred by mothers and grandmothers who said the referred persons were not publicly identifying as Aborigines any longer but the referring relatives still considered them to be such. Some of these privately admitted they were Aborigines. Then there was a small group of persons quite willing to participate in the study who told interviewers they were not sure of their background but did not consider themselves primarily Aborigines but rather Polynesians or South Sea Islanders or Singhalese. They felt they were less Aboriginal in background than they were the alternate descent group with which they identified. Nevertheless, most of these persons decided to be in the study, for they had Aboriginal friends and still in part considered themselves Aboriginal.

An additional group also expressed ambivalence about being Aboriginal. These were persons who accepted others' identification of them as Aboriginal and gave an interview with no hesitation. But, when asked their status under the Queensland Acts near the end of the interview, they said they considered themselves not Aboriginal at all but South Sea Islanders, Polynesians, Maoris, Singhalese, United States Blacks, or some other ethnic group.[7] Although not fully identifying with the Aboriginal community, they were included in the study, for they accepted themselves as Aboriginal when asked to participate in the survey, they had been referred by identifying Aborigines, and they all had Aboriginal relatives and friends. The authors took their responses of membership in other groups as reflecting more their fears of the Queensland Acts than their rejection of membership in the Aboriginal community.[8] This is not to deny, however, that some of them may very well have been in part or even primarily of another ancestry.

These last two groups of partial identifiers represent about 7 per cent of the adult sample, and, although they did not differ from other sample

[7] The most extreme case of ambivalence was shown by a young sample member who first turned an interviewer away at the family home saying no Aborigines lived there. Then the person telephoned and made an appointment to see an interviewer. But when the interviewer asked the question about the respondent's status under the Queensland Acts, the respondent again did not identify as Aboriginal.

[8] In neither the Queensland Acts nor the Regulations of the Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs is mention made of inclusion under the laws governing Aborigines of the groups with which people identified.

members on most matters, data were analysed separately for them. But the ambivalence of these groups concerning their descent is as acute as it is distressing. If the discriminatory legislation in Queensland, especially the punitive sections dealing with removal to reserves and settlements, were repealed, perhaps the need of these people to withdraw from the Aboriginal community would be less, and they might accept their mixed background more comfortably.[9]

Although for years Queensland parliamentarians have tried to write legislation in terms of degrees of Aboriginal descent of those covered by the Acts, the system appears to have failed. With the exception of full-blood Aborigines and a few young people with one full-blood and one non-Aboriginal parent, most of the persons in this study have a background of mixed Aboriginal, European and other non-Aboriginal, and non-European descents. Many have little idea of the exact degree of their descent. And now, with cross-group marriages continuing, new sets of children are being born with various new mixtures of descent background. It seems that the situation in Brisbane has become a two-category system in which white Australians and Australians of Aboriginal descent appear in varying degrees. Aborigines in Brisbane give one another a social definition of being Aboriginal regardless of degree of descent. It is heartening to see that the 1971 Australian Census has moved to accommodate this system of concepts (Broom and Jones, 1973).

One further aspect of the sampling method has relevance for the data chapters. When a network referral system is used and study personnel are dependent upon the good will of a population to refer potential sample members, some biases are likely to occur in the sample. In this case, the sample obtained appears to be biased somewhat towards the more stable and successful families and households. This means that the data show a slightly more favourable picture of the Brisbane Aboriginal community than is actually the case.[10]

## UNITS FOR DATA ANALYSIS

Findings for the study will be reported in four categories—for individuals, adults, household units and family units. Individuals in the study included both Aborigines and their non-Aboriginal spouses who participated in the

[9] Even the new legislation passed at the time of the study had discriminatory sections, denying to Queensland Aborigines civil rights which other Australians take for granted.

[10] Those wishing further details concerning the methodology of the survey are referred to Smith, Biddle and Cornwell (1966).

study. The other three units are each defined below and are used in specific ways throughout this report.

One usually thinks of adults as independent of their parents and siblings, both economically and socially, and living in separate households. Because families in the sample population often doubled up, and young people continued to live with their parents, or with married siblings or other relatives, a specific definition of adult had to be made.

1. *Adult.* For purposes of this study, an adult was anybody who had terminated schooling, regardless of age, with the exception of a few who had come to Brisbane to attend Technical Colleges or the University of Queensland and who were considered adults.

This definition, then, included some young teenagers who had left school early. Since many of these young people were in the work force, some had married, and some had children, they were behaving as adults and were counted as such.

Household units and family units were distinguished from one another. Again, the housing pattern discovered for families in the study led to the definition of these specific terms. One family is found in the usual Australian home. But in the sample population, many households had been extended to include other persons and families besides the family which organised the household.

2. *Household Unit.* As in usual census practice, a household unit was defined as a group of people who stated that they lived with one another at the same address or dwelling place. This might have been a house, a flat, part of a house, a caravan, or a home as temporary as a shack. It might also have been part of a multiple dwelling such as a boarding house or hostel, the dwelling then being taken to include the rooms occupied by those who said that they lived together. The limits of the household unit were those given by the respondents themselves when they stated what constituted their home physically and who lived in it.

Some households, of course, had only one person, a couple, or a single family living there. Others were extended. The building blocks of the extended households were termed family units.

3. *Family Unit.* A family unit was considered to be those within household units who were related to one another by parenthood or by marriage; or who had no spouse and no children; or who had children in the household with spouses and/or children. In the differentiation of family units, then, the family of procreation (the family one forms as an adult) took precedence over the family of orientation (the family one is born into). In

addition, a child or set of siblings living in a household without at least one parent present was designated a separate family unit.

The following system was used for classifying persons into family units. Young children were placed first with their parents as family units. (All two-parent and one-parent families were so classified.) Next, children with no parent(s) in the household were placed in a separate family unit. Then, married couples were differentiated. (Some of these had no children in the household. Others did, but their children had already formed family units with their own spouses and/or children.) Then, anyone else was classified as being in a separate family unit, such as a divorced aunt, a friend, a widowed grandmother, a bachelor nephew, or a boarder.

A few examples may help in understanding the concept of family unit. In a household are found a middle-aged woman living with her married daughter who is the mother of three pre-school children. There are two family units within this household: the daughter, her husband and three children; and the middle-aged grandmother. In another household, the following are found: a middle-aged couple with four unmarried children, a maritally separated daughter with an infant son, and a nephew of the middle-aged wife. There are three family units in this household: the couple and their four unmarried children; the daughter and her infant; and the nephew.

The procedure employed disregards kin relationships within the household somewhat but has the advantage of lending itself to statistical treatment and to comparability with the white Australian population. Kin relationships within households, which relate the family units to one another, are discussed in Chapter 2.

Once a household had been located, interviewers elicited from the head of house or the spouse of the head of house information about himself/herself and others in the family unit, a few facts about others in the household, and the kind of housing the unit had. If the household unit were an extended one, then the heads of all other family units were interviewed. In addition, adults who did not head family units were asked a series of personal questions. The only adults who were not considered for interviewing were white Australians not married to an Aborigine and short-term visitors from outside Brisbane.

## SIZE OF THE SAMPLE

The sample in the survey consisted of 2103 persons (including 113 non-Aboriginal spouses), almost twice the number reported in the 1961 Aus-

tralian Census (1059) and more than the 1803 reported in the 1966 Australian Census (Broom and Jones, 1973:49). Considering that the sample did not comprise the total population of persons of Aboriginal descent in Brisbane, it would appear that not only did the Australian Census underenumerate Aborigines living in Brisbane, but also persons defined as Aboriginal by the Aborigines may not have so identified themselves in the Census. In all, information was gathered from 431 household units, which in turn contained 671 family units. Nine hundred and seventy-nine adults were interviewed.

Sample loss may be explained in three ways—by households not included, by individuals located within households who were not spoken with, and by names of persons referred but never located at the end of the study period. Sixty-five households in which Aborigines probably lived were not included in the study. At twelve of these, a household member turned an interviewer away saying there were no Aborigines in the home. Another fourteen households were located where Aborigines resided, but, after repeated visits, no one was ever found at home. Thirty-nine households refused to participate in the study, a member stating that they were too busy or they were not interested in surveys or that they did not speak with strangers. Thus, 89 per cent of the known Aboriginal households in Brisbane were included in the study.

One hundred and seventy-two people found living in a home on the first contact were not interviewed. Of these, thirty-two were non-Aborigines not married to an Aborigine; twenty-two left town; twenty-three moved leaving no forwarding address; and four were sick, retarded or senile. Ninety-one of them, however, were eligible for interviewing: fifty-five refused (most of them young adults living at home with their parents); thirty-three were not contacted before data collection ended in spite of several visits by interviewers; and three were missed by error. Demographic data given by other persons in the household are available for these 172 persons (age, sex, length of residence in Brisbane, and the like). Within households, then, the survey contacted 91 per cent of the adults who fitted criteria to be in the study and were available for interviewing.

At the end of the data collection period there were 249 referral cards left in the files, each giving the name of a person or of a small family unit which had never been located anywhere in Brisbane. There were no study data on them. Thirty-three were reported to have left town; another 136 had never been referred by address, and it is thought that some at least

were not residents of Brisbane; others were thought to be homeless. Six of the 249 referrals were to persons in gaol or in hospital. High residential mobility characterised another seventy-four for whom an address had been given at one time but who had moved and were not located elsewhere. For many of these, three, four or five addresses had been given. The inability of study personnel to interview these persons and small family units is partly a natural outcome of the network referral system, for respondents did not always know where others lived nor did they always know when they had left the city. But it is also characteristic of the high mobility of some members of the Aboriginal community in Brisbane.

It is also quite likely that some of the persons and family units not located were resident in the sixty-five household units where no interviewing was done. Some of the missing sample members may have been counted twice in this analysis of sample loss. Unlike Gale (1972) who used information available from agencies as well as a network system for personal interviewing, the authors of this survey obtained information only from persons contacted personally. Throughout the survey, study personnel were aware that some highly disturbed and upset persons were not only not being contacted by interviewers but also were not being referred. Estimates of the size of this group came from social workers, policemen, the matron at the hostel, Aboriginal friends and interviewers. These informed guesses ranged from 100 to 300. Some of them were, of course, included in the figure of 249 persons never located or were living in one of the households not contacted. Others, however, were not. The absence of data from them creates a more positive view of the Brisbane Aboriginal community than might have been obtained if they had been located for interviewing.

Nevertheless, 89 per cent of the known Aboriginal households were included in the study and 91 per cent of the adults within households eligible for interviewing were contacted. Although the sample may be biased somewhat towards the more stable persons and families, the sample is nearly a full census and large enough to present a fairly well balanced picture of the Aboriginal community in Brisbane.

## SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

A few characteristics of the sample are included here, for they set the tone for the data chapters which follow.

Forty-eight per cent of the sample were male and 52 per cent female. Comparable figures for the population of Brisbane as a whole were 49

per cent male and 51 per cent female. Few differences were found in numbers between males and females at various age levels, except that in the 16-25 group there were more females than males. This difference may be real in that more young women may have migrated to the city seeking work, companionship and the excitement of city life. The difference at this age level may, however, be misleading in that some young men were living away from their families and were seldom home for interviewers to locate for participation in the study.[11]

About 57 per cent of the persons in the study were under twenty years of age and 72 per cent were under thirty. Only 9 per cent were fifty or over. This age structure is in marked contrast with that of the total population of Brisbane, which is 30 per cent under twenty, 49 per cent under thirty, and 24 per cent fifty or over. These differences are primarily a result of migration into Brisbane by young Aborigines. When present age of Aboriginal migrants was considered in relation to length of residence in Brisbane, it was found that among the adults the largest group came between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine, and the second largest group came between the ages of ten and nineteen. This age pattern was continuing at the time of the study.

The sample population was made up primarily of young part-Aborigines who were migrants to the city rather than born in Brisbane. They had almost no experience with the earlier traditional cultures of Aborigines, and none seemed to have any difficulty with spoken English. There were more Aborigines living in Brisbane in 1965 than reported by the 1961 and 1966 Australian Censuses. They formed a very small proportion of the residents of Brisbane and were not living in segregated areas.

## THESIS

The thesis of this book is that the Aborigines resident in Brisbane were better off than those living in the kinds of area they migrated from but certainly not anywhere nearly as well off as the white population of Brisbane. The processes of integration have begun for this urban Aboriginal population. Chapters 2 to 10 report the data obtained in the social survey. The likely eventual status of the Aboriginal community in Brisbane is discussed in Chapter 11.

[11] It is well known in the United States that the Census Bureau 'loses' young Black males each time the census is conducted, 'finding' them again a decade later in an older age cohort.

Considerable interest attaches to the family patterns of Aborigines in urban settings and to the composition of the household groups in which they live. For no matter what the social structure of the setting into which a migrating group may move, the family as a unit has to cope with the social and personal needs of its individual members. This chapter reports aspects of Aboriginal family life in Brisbane.

When speaking generally, social scientists are apt to suggest that the family is the last arena of behaviour altered by migrating or assimilating groups. And perhaps this is so in terms of those who come from a viable cultural setting in which families are well integrated. Groups may very well resist change in the family sphere when they start out with a distinctive family life style, a set of child rearing practices which have worked for centuries, several family-oriented cultural traditions, family consumer and recreation patterns, family provision of a social identity for its members and methods of meeting the physical and emotional needs of children and adults.

But the Aborigines migrating to Brisbane did not come from settings in which their families were integrated well into the life of the community and in which the family was a secure institution of assistance, love and stability for its members. Rather, they have come to Brisbane after moving around in other places in Queensland, in some instances after established families have broken up or before they had ever established a family. In addition, the previous history of the Aborigines of Queensland is one filled with events of the disruption of the family by paternalistic, undemo-

cratic and misguided legislation in effect guaranteed to make any Aborigines' feelings of kinship loyalty difficult to sustain. Furthermore, the social conditions in which Aborigines lived in fringe areas of small towns presented families with a set of circumstances so harsh that even the most hard-working and loving adults could barely manage the daily activities of family life. These burdens must be seen against the general problem of a lack of self-esteem that exists in their awareness that they are outcasts in white Australian society.

When difficulties and problems pile up, as they have for Brisbane's Aborigines, it is not surprising to discover that family instability characterises the Aboriginal group. It is surprising that in spite of myriad problems of the most basic kind in the past, and new problems of coping with urban living, many of the study families were, indeed, getting along. Some families were intact, two-parent[1] working class families making their way in an environment neither always friendly, nor one for which they were equipped with adequate working skills and education.

## DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ABOUT FAMILY UNITS

The study covered 431 household units in which 671 family units lived. The household units fell into two categories: those living in regular dwelling places within the city of Brisbane, of which there were 351; and those in special living quarters, of which there were eighty. These latter included OPAL House, a Salvation Army home, a Missionary Revival Centre, nurses' quarters, accommodation provided with live-in jobs, and a private hotel with serviced rooms. With the exception of OPAL House, individuals and families living in special living quarters were sought out only when referrals were specifically made to persons residing in them. Household unit analyses are based only on the 351 regular dwelling places. The data on family units were drawn from both types of accommodation.

The first concern of study personnel was to categorise the types of family unit. Table 1 provides a simplified classification for the types found. Three findings appear in this table. The first is that about 45 per cent of the family units were couples only (two adults) and two-parent families, not unlike those found in the general Australian population. The

[1] In this book, 'two-parent family' refers to a nuclear family with both parents and their children living together. 'One-parent family' refers to a family which has only one parent and children residing together (i.e., one spouse is absent).

second is the large number of adults, almost 38 per cent, who were not children, spouses or parents of anyone in a household who was not himself/herself part of a larger family unit. The third finding is that almost 18 per cent of families were units with children living with only one parent or with no parent present.

**Table 1:** *Types of family unit*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Couple only | 52 | 7·8 |
| Two parents and children | 248 | 37·0 |
| Father and children | 14 | 2·1 |
| Mother and children | 75 | 11·2 |
| Children living with grandparent(s) (parents elsewhere) | 11 | 1·6 |
| Children living with friends or relatives other than parents or grandparents | 18 | 2·7 |
| Man only | 117 | 17·4 |
| Woman only | 135 | 20·1 |
| No information | 1 | 0·1 |
| Total | 671 | 100·0 |

Although there are no comparable breakdowns of family units within the houses of the Queensland or Australian population as a whole, this picture of family types is surely quite unlike the distribution of persons within usual households. Brisbane Aborigines live in family situations which differentiate them from the population into which they are integrating. One would not expect, however, to find a young migrating population arranged in typical households until they had become well established in the new area. Given social and economic life chances equal to the white population, over time one would predict a more usual distribution of family types.

The mean size of the family units was 3·1 persons. The majority, 369 or 55 per cent, were composed of one or two persons. One hundred and eighty family units, almost 27 per cent, ranged in size from three to five persons, and 120, almost 18 per cent, consisted of more than five. The largest family unit in the study was a two-parent family with twelve children. Although large, this average size is somewhat misleading, for many of the family units were one and two-person units. When the one-person units and the couples are excluded from the calculations, the mean

size of the family unit was 5·03. This figure gives a more accurate indication of the mean size of those units which were headed by one or two parents or grandparents and which have children in them. Aboriginal families in Brisbane are not small.

Another fact of interest is the distribution of family units within the homes. Table 2 shows the number of family units within the regular household units. The striking feature of this table is that almost 41 per cent of the households included more than one family unit and 17 per cent had more than two. One large household had eleven family units and one, which was used as if it were a small hostel, had twenty. It can reasonably be assumed that this pattern is in marked contrast to that of the white population, though unfortunately no comparative data are available.

**Table 2:** *Number of family units within household units*[1]

| Number of Family Units in the Household Units | Number of Household Units | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 208 | 59·2 |
| 2 | 83 | 23·6 |
| 3 | 42 | 12·0 |
| 4 | 9 | 2·6 |
| 5 or more | 9 | 2·6 |
| Total | 351 | 100·0 |

[1] These figures have been corrected to account for mobility in and out of the household units. There are, thus, some slight inconsistencies between this table and Table 3. All eighty household units in special living quarters consisted of one family unit only: of these, two were two-parent families, six couples only, ten mother and children only, eighteen men alone and forty-four women alone.

## EXTENDED FAMILIES

Although the term 'extended family' usually refers to a kinship system which includes far more persons than those who share housing with one another, the term will be used in this book to include any household which has more than one family unit living there. Households may be extended in different ways depending on the customs of people or the social and economic conditions of the families. The pattern of extension of families is always of concern when one is looking at families moving into or adjusting to a new environment.

Table 3 shows the composition of household units by the sex of the head of house, by the type of family unit to which the head of house belonged, and by the extension or non-extension of the household unit. Several findings appear in this table.

**Table 3:** *Composition of household units according to sex of head of house and type of family unit to which head of house belonged*[1]

| | Not extended (one family unit in household) | | Extended (more than one family unit in household) | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent |
| *Male Head of House* | | | | | | |
| Two-parent family | 125 | | 85 | | 210 | |
| Couple only | 22 | | 11 | | 33 | |
| Father and children | 3 | | 6 | | 9 | |
| Man unattached | 9 | | 3 | | 12 | |
| Total | 159 | 46·8 | 105 | 30·9 | 264 | 77·7 |
| *Female Head of House* | | | | | | |
| Mother and children | 20 | | 26 | | 46 | |
| Woman unattached | 14 | | 16 | | 30 | |
| Total | 34 | 10·0 | 42 | 12·3 | 76 | 22·3 |
| *Total Male and Female* | 193 | 56·8 | 147 | 43·2 | 340 | 100·0 |

[1] Excluded from this table are eight household units where the sex of the head of house was unavailable and three others whose full composition was not known.

The first of these is a repetition of a finding reported above, that over 40 per cent of the households were extended. This is not a surprising finding in view of the continuing migration of Aborigines to the city and was forecast by Rowley (1967a) in his study when he stated that a sizeable proportion of Aboriginal households in metropolitan areas would be extended by kin and friends. He made a second prediction that in the long run the proportion of extended families would decline as the urbanisation and socioeconomic status of Aborigines increased. This prediction can be tested in future studies but will be confounded by two factors: the numbers of individuals and families continuing to migrate into the city and the extent of instability of family structure (which will be discussed below).

A second feature of Table 3 is that only 125, about 37 per cent, of the 340 regular household units for which we have complete information on family structure were composed of two-parent families. Since two-parent families are presumably the most common type of family in Australia, this low figure is but another indication that Aboriginal families are living under different conditions. This finding is in sharp contrast to data from New South Wales. Reporting on non-urban Aborigines, Rowley (1967a) found almost twice as many (69 per cent) two-parent families. Studying an urban area, Beasley (1970) found in Sydney about 52 per cent of the Aboriginal households were composed of two-parent families only. Either two-parent families are less common among Brisbane's Aborigines than in New South Wales, or the larger sample of this study has generated a more accurate picture.

A third feature of importance to note in Table 3 is the fairly high proportion of households with a female head of house. About 22 per cent of the households were headed by women, some of whom were mothers with children. Of this 22 per cent, 10 per cent were households that are not extended and 12 per cent are extended. Although there are more male heads of house than female, for both extended and non-extended homes, the proportion of women heads of house carrying responsibility for an extended household is about 55 per cent, as compared with only about 40 per cent of male heads of house in the same category.[2] This finding matches that of other researchers who have studied urbanising minority groups, namely that a higher proportion of households with female heads is extended than those with male heads (Pauw, 1963; Rainwater, 1966). It seems apparent that women who head households include others into the family as one method of meeting household expenses. Moreover, as reported and discussed in Chapter 8, more of the women without spouses are in the work force than those who are wives. Extending the family, often with a wife's mother or a young single relative, provides for these spouseless women help with child care and household work.

In Table 4 the sex of the heads of house for all Queenslanders and for the study sample is compared. There were 5 per cent more female heads of house in the Aboriginal sample (22 per cent) than in the total population of the State (17 per cent). Much the same pattern was shown by Rowley (1967a), who found that about 21 per cent of the Aboriginal

[2] This difference between percentages is statistically significant $p<.05$. All but one of the significance tests used in this book were 't' tests of the significance of difference between two percentages (Davies, 1962).

households in non-urban New South Wales were headed by women. He estimated, however, that about 13 per cent of the total Australian households were headed by women, a figure less than that of the total for homes headed by women in Queensland. It is clear from both Tables 3 and 4 and from Rowley's data that Aboriginal households are more likely than those of the general population to revolve around a woman who must often assume the role of income earner as well as the more usual female roles of household manager and mother.

**Table 4:** *Sex of head of house: Queenslanders and Brisbane Aborigines*

| | Queenslanders[1] | | Brisbane Aborigines | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent |
| Male | 367,962 | 83·2 | 264 | 77·7 |
| Female | 74,186 | 16·8 | 76 | 22·3 |
| Total | 442,148 | 100·0 | 340 | 100·0 |

[1] Source: Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1966.

*Note:* Excluded from this table are the same eleven households units not included in Table 3.

GENERATIONS AND KINSHIP IN EXTENDED FAMILIES

Two further aspects to the description of the extended families are of interest. Both concern the composition of the family units making up the multi-family households. The first of these is the number of generations living together in the homes. Fifty-five households, or about 16 per cent, had only one generation; 223, or about 66 per cent, had two; sixty, or about 18 per cent, had three; and two homes had four generations living together. Combined, almost 19 per cent of the households included at least three generations, compared with about 12 per cent in the non-urban Aborigines of New South Wales (Rowley, 1967a). Unfortunately, this is another area in which comparative data for Brisbane or Australia as a whole are unavailable, but one can say with confidence that it is uncommon for three generations to live under the same roof, and unlikely that the proportion for the white population would approach the figure found among the Aborigines in Brisbane.

The second area of interest concerning extended families is the relationship between the people who are sharing housing and family life with one another. This social survey was not a kinship study and, therefore, the data on kin relationships not only were couched in everyday language but

also lacked the precision necessary to discover, for example, whether a niece of the wife was a daughter of the wife's brother or wife's sister, or whether a cousin was the child of a kin-related aunt or uncle or an even more distant kin brought into kin relations by the use of the term 'cousin'. For convenience, the kinship relationships among family units in the households are given in terms of the head of house family unit.

Within the 147 households with extended families there were 240 family units. These were categorised into family units made up of primary kin (mother, father, sister, brother, son, daughter and grandchildren); of secondary kin (uncle, aunt, niece, nephew, cousin and more distant kin); and non-kin (friends, and, in a few cases, persons who fit the concept of boarder more than friend). Within the kinship categories, a further analysis was made to determine whether the kin were related to the male or the female line of the family (in the case of grandparents, brothers and sisters, nieces and nephews, aunts and uncles, and cousins) or whether it was an adult son or daughter with his/her own family who lived with the parents.

Grouped in the above manner, 115 of the additional family units, or almost 48 per cent, were composed of primary kin. Fifty-seven of the family units, or about 24 per cent, were made up of secondary kin, almost all nieces, nephews and cousins (a few of these being rather distant kin). There were sixty-eight family units, or almost 28 per cent, composed of non-kin. When Aborigines shared housing in Brisbane, it was apparent that more of the additional family units were primary kin than secondary kin, that more were kin of varying degrees of relationship than non-kin, and that slightly more of the additional family units were friends and boarders than secondary kin.

For the 115 households extended by primary kin, four types of living arrangement appeared that could be described from the viewpoint of the family unit and the head of the house. The first of these was a parent, or parents, living in the homes of adult children. There were nineteen such family units, five living with a son's family and fourteen with a daughter's family. The second type of domestic situation was that of adult children (with their own families) living with their parents. There were forty-three family units with this arrangement. Of these, thirteen sons (and their families) lived with his parents but thirty daughters (and their families) lived with her parents. The third type of household composition was that of siblings (brothers and sisters) living with one another. There were forty-two family units of siblings sharing housing. Ten of these were

brothers who shared with a sibling but thirty-one were sisters.[3] Of these, twenty-seven (eight living with brothers and nineteen living with sisters) were young, single, and had never married. The fourth type of family arrangement was eleven sets of grandchildren living with one or both of their grandparents without their parent(s) being a part of the household. Of these, nine lived with a spouseless grandmother and two with both grandparents.[4]

When the family units of grandchildren were excluded from the figures, there were seventy-five family units (or about 73 per cent) in which the female kinship tie bound the extended families together and twenty-eight family units (or about 27 per cent) with the male line binding families together. This points to a matrilateral emphasis or to the fact that ties within the family of origin persist through the female members almost three times more often than through the male line, at least as measured by the sharing of housing.

This same matrilateral emphasis appears in the relationships between families extended with secondary kin. Of the fifty-seven family units of secondary kin, ten (or almost 18 per cent) lived with families related through the male line whereas forty-seven family units of secondary kin (or about 82 per cent) were related through the female line.

Apart from the matrilateral tendency, no distinct patterns of sharing were observed in the different types of extended families found among the study group. It might reasonably be supposed that new arrivals in the city would go to live in households with families who were stable and had lived longer in Brisbane. In other words, that a type of 'half-way house' would operate, where a network of older migrants would accept newcomers into their homes and help their transition to the new environment. Certainly some of the extended families in the sample followed this pattern, but in many instances it was new arrivals who offered accommodation to other new arrivals. This latter tendency appears to have resulted from a combination of three major factors: the need of the migrating Aborigines to obtain furnished rental accommodation, which is scarce and costly in Brisbane; the fact that most of the Aborigines were unskilled workers earning low wages; and the amount of marital instability. This

[3] In one family extended by having a sibling live in the household, the kin relationship is not clear, i.e. it is not known whether the sibling is related to the husband or the wife.

[4] Unfortunately, study personnel did not ask whether the grandchildren were children of a son or daughter.

sharing of the home helped the head of the household to meet his or her own expenses, especially the rent, and enabled the additional persons he or she took into the home to obtain relatively inexpensive housing. In some instances, however, a reverse pattern was seen, when families or individuals with problems moved in with relatives or friends, and the head of household found his resources stretched to provide for people who contributed little or nothing to general expenses. This pattern was prominent, particularly, in those cases where daughters and their children moved in with parent(s) after a marital separation.

But not only do Aborigines have a fairly high proportion of extended families in Brisbane, they also share housing with one another on a short-term basis, which may be why the common stereotype of large numbers of Aboriginal persons living in crowded conditions persists. Respondents were asked during the interview if friends or relatives had stayed with them for six weeks or longer during the past year. The pattern for friends seems not important, for only eighteen households (or about 5 per cent) reported long visits from friends. But seventy-three household units (or almost 21 per cent), had long visits from relatives. In some cases, these relatives returned to their homes but in other cases the stay was extended to a permanent move to Brisbane and the relatives moved then to their own household. No comparative data exist for Brisbane or the Australian population as a whole, but it appears that Aboriginal households are often extended by long visits from relatives.

Extended families, then, can be seen as adaptive structures helping the Aborigines to adjust to the economic difficulties and social problems they encountered in urban living. These extended families may well become fewer as Aborigines rise in socioeconomic status, although marital instability will most probably lead to the continuance of many of them.

## MARRIAGE PATTERNS

One of the more difficult areas in which to gather data using a survey method is that of marriage patterns. From the beginning, study personnel understood the reluctance of respondents to discuss the quality of their marriages. On the other hand, respondents were not unwilling to report what they considered factual information to the interviewers. Given below are some of the materials reported about marriage.

The age of the women at their first marriage was found to be almost the same as that in Queensland as a whole. In the Aboriginal sample the

mean age of wives at first marriage was 21·3. That for all Queensland women in 1965, the year during which most of the interviews were done, was only slightly higher, 21·5. (Information provided by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.) Aboriginal wives are not unlike their Queensland counterparts as far as the age of first marriage is concerned.

On the other hand, the age of the mother at the birth of the first child differs somewhat. The mean age of Aboriginal mothers at the first child's birth was 21·2, while that for all Queensland mothers in 1965 was 22·5. Women in the study group had their first child at a younger age than other women in Queensland. Since the mean figure for the Aboriginal mother's age at first birth is about the same as the mean age of the wife at first marriage, one can infer that more Aboriginal women had their first child before they were married.

The length of the present marriage was asked of all couples. Although forty respondents did not answer this question because the kind of marriage in which they were involved was not a legal one or was of a temporary or non-permanent nature, the data are suggestive. About 47 per cent of the marriages had lasted ten years or less and, totalled further, about 66 per cent had lasted fifteen years or less. The short duration of marriages is hardly unexpected, however, in view of the youth of the Aboriginal population. Although no systematic data exist on the number and length of additional marriages, there were enough to reduce in size the figure of number of years for length of present marriage.

No questions were asked about the legal status of the marriages, but almost 5 per cent of the respondents volunteered the information that their marriages were of a *de facto* nature, and it is quite likely that many more fell into this category. In some instances it became clear that a man or woman had over a period of time a series of marital relationships, generally of a *de facto* type. This may happen more often with the Aborigines that with white Australians. But since it is difficult to obtain accurate figures for both the incidence of *de facto* relationships and the extent of remarriage, it must remain a matter for speculation. The most interesting comparison would be with a sample of the white population in the same socioeconomic group, as the cost of divorce alone is a barrier to the legal termination of marriage among the less affluent in the community. The cost factor may have some bearing on the incidence of *de facto* marriages among the Aboriginal group studied, but there is no information on this point, or on the degree of importance which the Aborigines attached to

the legal sanction of marriage. In spite of the lack of comparative data for persons within the same socioeconomic class, one may say that *de facto* marriages and remarriages are common enough happenings among the Brisbane Aborigines to be a cause of concern in regard to their integration.

No qualitative data and no life style information about the marriages of Aborigines in Brisbane were obtained, but there is sufficient information about marital status to point out that spouselessness is a major feature of the families and may be a stumbling block to Aboriginal integration. Table 5 shows the marital status of heads of house for both the Brisbane Aborigines and for the total population of Queensland. It will be seen that the Aboriginal sample had a slightly smaller proportion of heads of house who were single, married, widowed or divorced but a higher proportion who were separated. Almost 19 per cent of the Aboriginal heads of house were spouseless. Although the differences seem small between Queensland and Aboriginal heads of house, the figures for those who are married probably represent a different situation for the two groups. Among the Aborigines, for example, many of the married heads of house were in a *de facto* marriage, several were living together very casually for a short period and many were remarried, some for the third or fourth time. The figures for Queenslanders, on the other hand, are more likely to represent persons married legally and for the first time, although there are no complete data for either group to support this assumption. But to add a little weight to the differences between the marital status figures for the Queensland population and those for the Aborigines, ten of the Aboriginal

**Table 5:** *Marital status of head of house: Queenslanders and Brisbane Aborigines*

| | Queenslanders[1] | | Brisbane Aborigines | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent |
| Single, never married | 34,782 | 7·9 | 22 | 6·5 |
| Married | 338,641 | 76·6 | 254 | 74·7 |
| Widowed | 51,551 | 11·6 | 33 | 9·7 |
| Divorced | 5,864 | 1·3 | 3 | 0·9 |
| Separated | 11,510 | 2·6 | 28 | 8·2 |
| Total | 442,148 | 100·0 | 340 | 100·0 |

[1] Source: Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1966.

*Note:* Excluded from the total in the sample are eleven Aboriginal households for which marital status of the head is not known. In addition, the figures here show more married heads of house than reported in Table 3, a difference which results from different coding procedures used for the two tables.

married units were in process of separating at the time of the interview, a further seven Aboriginal married units reported themselves as married but the spouse was not listed as living in the household, and five of the Aboriginal units categorised as single and never married had at least one child.

**Table 6:** *Marital status of head of family unit*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Married | 270 | 42·1 |
| De facto married | 30 | 4·7 |
| Married—no spouse resident at time of interview[1] | 22 | 3·4 |
| Widowed | 63 | 9·8 |
| Separated/divorced/deserted | 60 | 9·3 |
| Single parent with children | 25 | 3·9 |
| Single, never married | 158 | 24·6 |
| No information | 14 | 2·2 |
| Total | 642 | 100·0 |
| Inapplicable (sets of children) | 29 | |

[1] This category includes such situations as spouse in gaol for extended period; spouse in mental hospital for extended period; possibly deserted; whereabouts of spouse unknown; spouse living elsewhere and the duration of the separation was unknown.

A more meaningful figure concerning marriage patterns is the extent of spouselessness of the head of family unit, for many of those whose marriages had terminated were living as added persons in extended households. Table 6 shows the marital status of the heads of family unit. In simplified form, the marital status of head of family unit in the study fell into three categories: (1) those never married, about 25 per cent; (2) those married at time of interview, about 47 per cent; and (3) those spouseless, about 26 per cent. Information was unavailable for the remaining 2 per cent. When the family units consisting of single, never married persons were excluded from the figures, about 35 per cent of the heads of family units were in the spouseless group. Thus, a high proportion of marriages in the Aboriginal group are disrupted.

There are several problems about interpreting the full significance of this high percentage of spouselessness in the group. In the first instance, it is a complex category in itself, covering the widowed, the divorced, the separated, the deserted, single parents with children, and others who for a

variety of reasons had no spouse resident when interviewed, and who in some instances may properly have been classified as separated or divorced, had the full facts been known. Second, there are no Census data relating to the marital status of the heads of family unit, and it is difficult to find any measures of comparison with other sections of the community. Figures are, of course, available for divorce, which is not common in Queensland. In 1966 it was estimated that the rate for the total population of the State was 10·1 per cent of marriages, based on the average annual number for the preceding twenty years. (Figure obtained from the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.) However, many more marriages break up by separation, with or without legal action being taken, and for these no statistical evidence can be adduced.

The preceding discussion and figures for marital status included both men and women. But the instability of Aboriginal marriages is only a part of the picture. A more important concern is the number of women who head household and family units. Australia is a country where male dominance in the family is traditional and where children need a male identification and authority figure in the family. Earlier in this chapter it was pointed out that about 22 per cent of the heads of house were female and that proportionately more of the extended households had women in charge than men. If only the head of house family units in which children formed part of the family are considered, then 17 per cent of these head of house family units reported a woman to be fully in charge of the household. This proportion of households headed by women was about one in six of the households with children. These usually functioned in one of three ways: by the female head of house going out to work; by other persons being added to the household who brought money into it; or by dependence on social service payments, where entitlement to such services had been established. In addition, the mother may have had pressures upon her to remarry legally, or in a *de facto* manner, or to join with males in short-term relationships.

The proportion of family units with a woman at the head is, of course, larger than that of women who head households. When the twenty-nine family units made up of sets of children only are excluded from the calculations, 210 (or almost 33 per cent) were headed by women, a large proportion indeed. Since several of these family units were headed by single, never married women or middle-aged widows or grandmothers, it is instructive to look again only at the family units in which children were

involved. Seventy-five family units (or 22 per cent of the total number of two-parent and one-parent families) were headed by a woman, a high proportion. It can be seen from both sets of figures (female heads of house with children, and female heads of family units with children) that many of the Aboriginal children growing up in Brisbane have no father on whom to model sex roles and that many of the women have no husband to help rear children, to share companionship and to rely on for emotional and financial support. These disruptions in family patterns make it all the more difficult for the Aborigines to integrate in an urban setting.

It has been suggested in many of the popular works on Aborigines that female dominance or women autocratically controlling family life may be a characteristic of the Aboriginal home. Unfortunately, this study can shed no light on the issue of female autocracy, for survey methods cannot measure this quality of family living. If, however, one makes the assumption that household and family units headed by women are more likely to be dominated by women, then the children being reared in these households and families will be learning a pattern of family life quite unlike that of the typical white Australian child. Although the Aboriginal children will probably be better educated than their parent(s) and may enjoy an increase in socioeconomic status, the learning of unstable marriage patterns may well hamper their integration in the larger society.

The authors have tended to stress information about families and less attention has been given to the fact that 158 heads of family units (about 25 per cent) were single and had never married. There were, moreover, another 193 single persons in the sample who were not the heads of family units but, rather, lived at home with one or both parents. Of the total of 351 single persons, 217 were age twenty or younger and another 85 were between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years.

As noted earlier, the data on sex and age composition indicate that the ratio between the sexes was relatively balanced at all age groups except in the decade 16-25 years in which females outnumbered males somewhat. This situation is quite unlike that of the Aboriginal community in Adelaide as described by Gale (1972) where the men outnumber women in most age categories. In Adelaide, the imbalance in the sex ratio, compounded by women who marry non-Aborigines at a fairly high rate, places Aboriginal men in the position of having few Aboriginal women available as marital partners.

## CROSS-GROUP MARRIAGES

Another important factor in marriage patterns was the extent to which marriages took place across racial lines. Of the family units based on married couples, 113 in a total of 300 (almost 38 per cent) included one non-Aboriginal partner. A much higher proportion of these cross-group marriages were between non-Aboriginal men and Aboriginal women than the reverse. There were eighty-five of the former (or about 28 per cent of all marriages) and twenty-eight of the latter (or about 9 per cent)—a ratio of 3:1.

Other studies among groups of Aborigines in Queensland and New South Wales have shown a similar tendency for the cross-group marriages to involve white males more frequently than white females, but there is considerable variation in the proportion of such marriages in the total. Keats et al. (1966: 30) reported that 20 per cent of the marriages in Dunwich were cross-group, more white males making such a marriage than white females, with a ratio of 3:1. Rowley (1967a), however, found that only 7 per cent of his New South Wales non-urban sample were cross-group marriages, the ratio of white male to female being 5:1. In his second sample, located in an industrial area, 16 per cent of the marriages were cross-group, with the ratio of white male to female being 9:1. When recalculated, Beasley's (1970) data show that about 28 per cent of the Sydney Aborigines in her sample were married to non-Aboriginal spouses in a ratio of white male to female of about 4:1. Gale (1972) reports that in Adelaide 40 per cent of the Aboriginal married women had non-Aboriginal spouses and 11 per cent of the married men had a non-Aboriginal wife, a ratio of 4:1.

In the Brisbane sample, twenty-five (or 22 per cent) of the non-Aboriginal spouses were new migrants to Australia, three being of Asian descent and one of African. Analysis of the age distribution of the non-Aboriginal spouses revealed that white Australian-born spouses were younger than the mean for the total sample, but that white foreign-born spouses were older than the mean. Eight of 113 cross-group marriages were known to be *de facto*, a slightly higher percentage than those listed as *de facto* for the total group. As will be reported later in this book, the non-Aboriginal spouses in Brisbane had more education, had occupational skills of a higher level and had more prestigeful job rankings than the Aborigines in the sample.

The reasons for these marriage patterns are not known, and must

remain a matter for further study. For instance, does the relative youth of the white male spouses in the Brisbane sample suggest that colour prejudice is less than it was? Or is it that the very light coloured Aboriginal wives deny their background? Do foreign migrants, other than those who are themselves 'coloured', come with less colour prejudice than is usual among white Australians? Or is it that, not being integrated themselves, they have more difficulty in finding marriage partners than others, and are more likely on that account to marry someone who may be considered of lower status? The fact that they are older than the average may lend some support to this last suggestion. Then again, it would be interesting to know whether the incidence of *de facto* marriages is significantly higher in cross-group than in other types of marriage, but the evidence is lacking. As already observed, information on the extent of *de facto* marriage in the sample was volunteered, not asked, and it is impossible to know how near the figures quoted come to the total, though it is likely that they are an underestimate.

The one firm finding is the high proportion of white men among the non-Aboriginal spouses. This pattern differs from what has been noted about cross-group marriages in the United States and in England, where a higher proportion of white women are involved. Merton's (1941) paradigm for the United States suggests that the most likely pairing in cross-group marriages would be black middle class men marrying white working class or lower class women in an exchange of statuses, the man gaining a colour status and the woman a class status. So few of the sample males were of middle class status that this pairing is unlikely in Australia at the present time. The pairing, as found in the Brisbane Aboriginal data, of a working class white male with an Aboriginal female of the same class would, Merton suggests, more likely result in concubinage (or an enduring *de facto* relationship). On the other hand, the Aboriginal male married to an Australian female, both of working class status, were they in the United States, ought not to be a less likely pairing than the reverse one. This pairing, Merton suggests, would probably involve 'cultural aliens' or outcasts of the society, who repudiate the usual patterns of marriage as well as other cultural means and goals. Much of this remains speculative, however, for the history of Aborigines in Australia and the structure of society differ from the United States.

Banton (1960) points out that in England it is white women who are involved with male coloured immigrants, and that the majority of these women are working class, some of them psychologically disturbed. The

reasons for the Australian pattern remain obscure. The pattern may be a continuation of one established in early colonial times, when few white women were available (especially in the more isolated outback areas) and when many settlers formed unions with Aboriginal women. Gale's (1972) interpretation is that the pattern is usual in multi-racial societies where the darker race is a minority group, giving Maoris as an example (citing Harré, 1966). Comparative research is required. Certainly in such an effort, the status of the minority group in relation to the majority one (past and present) and the stage of development of the nation (agricultural, industrial, post-industrial) should be considered as well as the socioeconomic status of the participants.

Another factor to consider is the relationship between the Queensland Aboriginal Acts and norms developed among Aborigines concerning cross-group marriages.[5] In 1897, the Queensland parliamentarians recognised, even in the title of the Act, that they were dealing with a population which already included half-castes. The law states that Aboriginal females who were legally married to and residing with a non-Aboriginal husband were exempt from the provisions of the Act which allowed the State of Queensland to move people to reserves. By 1901, the law was amended to say that permission for cross-group marriages had to be granted by a functionary of the State. In this same 1901 amendment, legal procedures for determining the paternity of non-Aboriginal fathers of half-caste children were established and the law was so written that these fathers had to pay the State of Queensland support money (albeit a small amount) if the State were maintaining the child.

In 1934, amended legislation was passed which allowed exemption from living on reserves to 'persons' lawfully married to and residing with a non-Aboriginal spouse (the word 'female' was removed). In addition, the 1934 amendments exempted children of such unions from living on reserves if they lived with and were supported by a parent not subject to the Act (i.e., a non-Aboriginal parent).

The Queensland legislation was rewritten completely in 1939. This legislation was in effect at the time of this survey. The definition of an Aborigine was extended to include under 'half-blood' not only those who were half-castes by virtue of a cross-group marriage but also those who were born of parents both of whom had been born into a cross-group marriage or relationship. The Act seems to exclude from coverage those

[5] All Public Acts of the Parliament of Queensland concerned with Aborigines, beginning in 1884, were read to prepare this part of the Brisbane survey report.

who are only one-quarter caste or less, except that children of Aboriginal mothers who were living on a reserve are defined as Aborigines regardless of the degree of Aboriginal descent. As before, permission was needed for cross-group marriages, and persons lawfully married to and living with non-Aboriginal spouses, and the children of such unions, were exempt from living on reserves.

Although they are often unlettered, it seems unlikely that Aborigines, especially the women, were unaware of the advantages of marriage to a non-Aborigine in permitting themselves and their children to live elsewhere than on a reserve. When interviewed for this study, many women who had cross-group marriages stressed at the outset that their husbands were Australian or European. If they said nothing at the beginning of the interview, the information was given when respondents were asked their standing under the Queensland Aboriginal Acts. Then, they often pointed out that they were not covered by the Acts or that they were exempted from the Acts by virtue of being married to a non-Aboriginal husband. This point is made more salient by noting that many of these same women might have been exempt from the Act because they were less than one-quarter caste Aborigine, although only a few respondents gave this reason. It seems, then, that a norm may have developed among Aborigines, and especially women, that a cross-group marriage was one method of obtaining security and exemption from the often repressive Queensland Aboriginal Acts. It is also of some interest that none of the Australian women married to Aboriginal men gave their marriages as the reason for their spouses' exemption from the Queensland Acts.

This historical explanation does not, of course, explain why the pattern of some cross-group marriages in New South Wales and South Australia is similar to that in Queensland, unless one assumes that the norms were developed early in the history of contact between the races during or soon after the colonial period. It does not seem likely that the history of contact in regard to cross-group marriages varied greatly between these Australian States. It may be that rather than serving as an effective causal factor in the situation, the Queensland Acts merely recorded in legislation what governments and people were doing anyway. Aboriginal women were surely aware, from observation alone, that they and their children were better off, regardless of the laws, when they lived with non-Aboriginal spouses. Moreover, norms developed and shared are made stronger when reinforced by legislation affecting the covered group. But whether the legislation led to the development of norms concerning cross-group

marriage which have persisted or only reflected norms already established in behaviour, the fact remains that in Brisbane more Aboriginal women than men were participating in cross-group marriages.

Marriage between members of different racial or ethnic groups, the process termed 'amalgamation', is a direct, individual act of integration. The extent to which it occurs helps determine the rate of integration of the groups involved. The picture in Brisbane is complicated by the fact that after many years of cross-group liaisons and marriages, there is a large pool of mixed-blood persons who cannot be identified on sight as being of Aboriginal descent. Marriages of people in this group with members of the white community are likely to cause little comment, and even to pass unnoticed. Many of these non-identifiable, and often non-identifying persons were located for this survey by being referred by mothers and grandmothers. Had they not been identified by others first as Aboriginal, they might never have been included in the study.

For the very light coloured persons participating in interracial marriages, the term 'passing' has often been used. The phenomenon is not new in Australia. Brereton (1962), for example, estimated the degree of passing of part-Aborigines into the general population. The measures of integration he used were these:

1. The persons no longer socialised predominantly with other mixed-bloods but as much as or more with white Australians.
2. The persons lived in homes typical of white Australians and dispersed among them, and lived at the same standard of living.
3. For census purposes, they considered themselves white Australians.

Using the number of part-Aborigines in the Census in 1941 as a base, he concluded that 10 per cent in 1947 and 17 per cent in 1957 of the part-Aborigines had 'disappeared, presumed assimilated'.

Although passing is not new, perhaps the extent of passing in city areas, such as Brisbane, may be newly recognised. For the moment, one can do little more than wait for further research on this issue and note the data which have come from existing studies, which are few in number but remarkably consistent in their findings.

## PARENTHOOD

Little is known from this survey about parenthood among Brisbane Aborigines. However, a few statistical facts are available, and some observations about children and parents were reported informally by interviewers.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter the mean age for the birth of the first child to Aboriginal mothers in Brisbane was 21·2 years, one year younger than the age for all Queensland mothers, and about the same age as that for first marriage. Premarital pregnancy, and women who remain single for a period after the birth of their first child, seem to be not uncommon features of the family life of respondents. The fact that grandparents or other relatives or friends rear some of these children is attested to in the data on family units. In the sample are twenty-nine family units of children being reared by persons other than their parent(s). This figure is, of course, an underestimate, for many parents claimed as a child of both partners a child born before the marriage began. In addition, there are listed in the family unit data twenty-five mothers who are single, and have never married.

There are many ways of calculating the number of children in a family, including: the number under a given age, the number who are financially dependent, the number of living children of a woman regardless of her age, and the number living at home. In addition, the unit counted as a family makes a difference in the computations; for example, are couples included as families or are extended families treated as one unit or many? In the Brisbane survey, study personnel were concerned with the social aspects of children living in household and family units rather than a statistical number of completed families, the total number of children of wives, or the number of persons of a given age defined as adult or child.

For the first analysis, children were narrowly defined and counted as those persons who were either pre-schoolers or enrolled in school.[6] In the 351 regular household units there were 916 children. The average (mean) number of children per household unit was 2·61, a figure larger than the 2·34 derived from the 1961 Australian Census for all wives of all ages. Perhaps a more significant figure for the household unit analysis is the percentage which these children represent of the total number of persons in the household units. This study produced 1954 persons in household units for which there are complete data on age and school enrolment status. Children represent almost 47 per cent of those living in house-

[6] Included as school children were a few who had just moved into Brisbane and were not yet enrolled, a few who were mentally retarded and a few who were physically handicapped, all of them young school-age persons. Excluded from the category of children were four young adults who were enrolled at the university and at technical colleges.

holds, a quite high percentage of persons dependent on others for financial support. The Brisbane Aboriginal group is a young one, and nearly half are dependent on others.

For the second and more traditional analysis, the number of children found in one and two-parent family units was computed. For this calculation, the definition of child was extended to include those who were out of school but who lived at home and were neither married nor the parent of a child. There were 1120 children, so defined, living in 337 family units. The average (mean) number of children per family unit was 3·32, a figure higher than the Australian 1961 Census found for all Australians and closer to some of the figures found among Aborigines in Sydney (Beasley, 1970). The striking finding here is, again, that Aboriginal families with dependent children living at home are larger than the general Australian pattern and that in the future, when these children grow up and marry, there will be an increase in the Aboriginal population of the urban areas.

At this point it is perhaps appropriate to make a few comments about parent-child relationships among Brisbane Aborigines, although there are no systematic data on which to base these statements. Information was available, however, from interviewers who observed children while talking with their mothers. Some of the areas to be discussed are certainly ones on which future researchers would want to focus.

First of all, interviewers reported often that relationships between mothers and children were warm and close. Although remarks were made about a few harassed mothers complaining about children, ignoring them, or fussing at them, most of the comments were positive. In contrast to this general picture of warmth and closeness, however, reports of neglect of Aboriginal children appeared in newspapers while the study was being conducted. These were supported by reports from a few mothers that their children had been removed to juvenile homes for their deviant behaviour or for protection from parental lack of guidance. Interviewers also observed that the children had few toys, few arts and crafts materials, little paper, few pencils and crayons, and few books for diversion. They played among themselves, or alone, or tried to participate in the interview. They were friendly and sociable but not intellectually engaged in doing or learning.

One of the widely held stereotypes about Aboriginal family life is that parents are good to their children; but the remark is somewhat patronising and implies that the socially permissive atmosphere in which the children

are reared is closer to a *laissez-faire* one of which many Australians would not approve. Children in all cultures need to be loved and to learn self-discipline and self-control. One can surely raise questions about a tendency to rear children in an atmosphere where warmth is stressed, where doing things seems less important, and where challenge and responsibility are underplayed. The point seems especially important in Australia where the authority lines between adults and children are relatively well defined. Other Australian children are, of course, loved, but part of that love is demonstrated by teaching children self-control and self-discipline without which adult independence is difficult to attain.

In terms of quality of life, however, who is to say which pattern of child-rearing is more beneficial—the common Australian pattern which tends to stress adult independence, or the Aboriginal one which leads perhaps to more adult dependence but which fosters warm and affectionate relationships among people? Certainly, some young middle class adults in the United States are now repudiating stress on independence and aspiring to warmer and closer relationships between people (witness the proliferation there of communes). Research on comparative family patterns is necessary, as well as on factors leading to a beneficial life style.

And while Aboriginal families may not be stressing as much as other Australians the teaching of self-reliance and independence to children, they are, on the other hand, successfully binding their children to themselves and others with warm affection. There are two matters of relevance here. The first is that Aborigines participate in a kinship system which extends well beyond the primary family of parents, siblings and children and secondary relatives to include great-aunts, great-uncles, second, third and fourth cousins, great-nieces and great-nephews and more distant kin about whose relationships to themselves they may be unclear. Both affinal (by marriage) and consanguineal (by heredity) kin are included. Children participate with their parents in keeping up with kin, providing hospitality to them and sharing the family home with them. They learn early, by example, how to treat their kin as well as becoming acquainted with a permanent and large kin pool.[7] An extensive kin system functions for a disadvantaged group as a strong resource in times of hardship, and the Aborigines know this. The larger the group available for help and for provision of hospitality, the more likely they are to find someone to tide them over difficult times. The one disadvantage of the system which the

[7] This pattern is not uncommon among disadvantaged groups. For an excellent discussion of the functions and extension of kin see Stack (1972).

urban Aborigines will have to face as they integrate is that families who share scarce resources among many cannot rise as easily as others in the socioeconomic system of the cities. In the study, interviewers reported that some families were already worried that they could not provide hospitality for all their relatives.

The second matter is that the children learn to value social relationships with their families and kin, and are bound to them with pleasant memories. Parental and sibling bonds remain strong, perhaps even stronger than the marital bonds established later. When others might turn from their parents, children, and siblings, Aboriginal families, especially the mothers, daughters and sisters, do not. Other Australians might find the emotional expression of kinship bonds somewhat disconcerting, especially those which involve extensive kin visiting and dependency. But the worth of the Aboriginal kinship system in the cities cannot be overestimated.

The role of the father in Aboriginal families has not been extensively investigated. One salient factor is that fathers seem to be willing to be a parent to step-children. They also appear to share with their wives a willingness to extend hospitality and residence space with kin. In addition, they seem to spend a good deal of time with their male friends and relatives, a pattern not unlike that of other Australian men, except that kin-related friends may be more numerous among the Aborigines. Further research is called for.

## SUMMARY

The family unit of Brisbane Aborigines differed from those of the general population. Only 37 per cent of the households were made up of a single two-parent family, and over 40 per cent of the households were extended. Families were not small, the mean size of families with children being 5·03. Twenty-two per cent of the households were headed by women. Almost 19 per cent of the households had at least three generations living in them. When housing was shared, the added persons were more likely to be primary kin than secondary kin, more likely to be kin than non-kin, and slightly more likely to be friends or boarders than secondary kin. Families also seemed to be matrilateral in that far more of the added persons in the households were kin-related to the women in the family than to the men.

Disrupted marriages and spouselessness were features of Aboriginal

family life in Brisbane. Of the heads of family units in the sample, about 47 per cent were married, about 25 per cent were single, and about 26 per cent were without a spouse. Of families with children, 17 per cent of the heads of house were women, while 22 per cent of the heads of family units with children were women. Almost 38 per cent of the marriages involved a non-Aboriginal spouse, with a white male-female ratio of about 3:1. There were several *de facto* marriages. Many individuals had been married more than once.

In those families with children, the mean number of children was 2·61, counting only pre-schoolers and children in school, and 3·32 including those who were young, out of school, single, not married and not the parent of a child. Both of these figures are higher than the mean number of children in families in the total population.

Aboriginal families bind their young children to themselves and their kin with loving affection and perhaps stress the development of adult independence less than other Australians. In quality of life terms as well as the needs for mutual assistance, this pattern of child rearing has value.

The causes of marital instability and disruption were not explored in this survey. Remedial measures will be hard to devise, for the pattern is widespread and affects many families. The causes lie in the past of the group as well as in their present difficult circumstances. Integration will be slowed to the extent that families continue to be disrupted.

# 3 MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

One of the presumed characteristics of Aboriginal life in Australia is physical mobility. Aborigines are pictured in the popular literature as likely to wander from place to place. In this chapter are presented data on the length of residence of Aborigines in Brisbane, their reasons for migration to cities, their social experiences before coming to Brisbane, and mobility within Brisbane after their arrival. The findings reported here are essentially descriptive.

## LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE CITY

At the time of the study, 81 per cent of the Aboriginal adults had migrated to Brisbane.[1] Length of residence in the city varied, but 21 per cent of the total Aboriginal sample had been in Brisbane for one year or less, 18 per cent for two to five years, and 15 per cent for six to ten years. Thus, more than half of the sample (54 per cent) had been in Brisbane ten years or less. Among the rest there was a decrease in numbers as the length of residence increased, with only 9 per cent having lived in the city for twenty-one years or more. What is more, the numbers migrating to Brisbane at the time of the study were increasing. By comparison with the

[1] Birthplace information covers only the 979 who were interviewed, whereas information on length of residence in Brisbane was available for 1151 adults, some of it having been obtained from others. Because the data were treated differently for those interviewed and those for whom information was given by others, there is a slight discrepancy in the figures for non-migrants (19 per cent) and for those born in Brisbane (22 per cent).

Aborigines, the non-Aboriginal spouses had longer residence in Brisbane.[2] There is, unfortunately, no evidence on the length of residence of the total population of Brisbane. But even when movement into the city from depressed rural areas, the arrival of migrants from overseas, and the frequency with which people move in and out of capital cities for reasons of employment (transfer, promotion or better job prospects) are taken into account, it seems reasonable to assume that the 54 per cent of Aborigines who had migrated into Brisbane during the preceding ten years is an unusually high proportion. Since 81 per cent of the Aborigines had migrated into the city at one time or another, problems associated with being a newcomer occur more often among the Aborigines than among the population of Brisbane as a whole.

## REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Although this survey, regrettably, did not ask respondents their reasons for migrating to an urban area, other researchers have done so. Rowley (1967a) pointed out that the men of the non-urban population he studied in New South Wales made their living by seasonal and labouring work and that they were leaving the rural areas for the cities where they hoped to find both work and less racial prejudice. Wilson (1964) wrote that the mechanisation of farms has taken away the jobs of many seasonal workers who then migrate to the city. Beasley (1970) reported that finding employment was the most common reason given by Aborigines migrating to Sydney, followed by the seeking of opportunities for children and then by illness of the person or a relative.

From reports of study interviewers, it is known that Aboriginal migration into Brisbane has been voluntary and unorganised. Individuals and families have come and stayed primarily with relatives, but sometimes with friends, and then moved into their own homes. A few from missions have been assisted by Brisbane church groups of the same denomination. Others have been sponsored into urban living by the Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs or by OPAL. But the majority have come of their own volition and, presumably, because the opportunities for employment were few in small rural towns and looked better in Brisbane. Some came seeking essential medical services and stayed on. Others came for visits to relatives and decided to remain. Some women have found prostitution more profitable in the city. Some have come to be educated

[2] With a break at ten years $p < \cdot 01$ and with a break at five years $p < \cdot 05$.

themselves, and some families have come seeking better educational opportunities for their children. Some homeless men have found life less difficult in the city. Some have come for the excitement of living in a new place and where there are things to do. Some have come on their way elsewhere and have not moved on. Some, believing they were less visible in the city, have left reserves and settlements without permission.

But as with any migrating group, the reasons for movement are complex and people do not always know themselves why they chose to move. But once substantial numbers of families have established themselves in the city, relatives and friends who are made aware of the desirable conditions will also move. There is no reason to believe now that the migration of Aborigines into Brisbane will cease as long as there are jobs available, places to live, and friends and relatives to help.

## EXPERIENCE BEFORE MIGRATION

Since 81 per cent of the Aborigines in Brisbane are migrants, it is most important in a study of integration to know what kind of living experiences they had before migrating to the city. It might be presumed that the demands of urban living would present more difficulty for those who had lived a long time on settlements and for those coming from small towns and rural areas. Information was therefore analysed on the number of cities and towns lived in before coming to Brisbane, on the size of places of birth of individuals in the sample, and on the size of places from which families migrated, as well as the extent to which members of the group had experienced life on settlements or reserves. Together these give an indication of earlier social experiences.

Before the data are presented, however, it is necessary to discuss one feature of the analysis. One of the more difficult problems has to do with the interpretation of the figures obtained. Since no comparative standards have ever been set concerning the amount of mobility which is beneficial (new experiences) or detrimental (movements of material goods, occupational changes and disruption of social relations), study personnel could only guess at the social meaning of reported mobility (Shryock, 1964). Throughout the rest of the chapter, the data are presented in percentage figures and tables, but the extent to which the reported mobility is excessive, disrupting or detrimental to stability of life style must remain an open question. The authors have neverthless presented their own interpretations.

Caution is called for, since the proportion of the general population who might be involved in similar mobility is not known.

First, migrating family units were asked how many cities or towns they had lived in before moving to Brisbane. The information is given in Table 7. The findings are based on a relatively small proportion of the total sample. The question concerning prior residence places was asked only of family units comprising couples, two-parent families, or one-parent families, but not of the unattached men and women who formed nearly 38 per cent of the total sample, or of those family units in which one partner had migrated to Brisbane and the other had been born in Brisbane. Even so the data are instructive, for they concern couples or parents with children who are moving. From the table, one can see that about 74 per cent of these larger family units had lived in three places or less before migrating to Brisbane. On the other hand, about 26 per cent had lived in four or more cities or towns before coming to Brisbane. This is a sizable minority who were highly mobile.

**Table 7:** *Number of cities and towns lived in by migrant family units before coming to Brisbane*

| | Family Units | |
|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per cent |
| One | 81 | 34·0 |
| Two | 55 | 23·1 |
| Three | 39 | 16·4 |
| Four | 28 | 11·8 |
| Five or more | 35 | 14·7 |
| Total | 238 | 100·0 |

Second, it was found that 22 per cent of those interviewed were born in Brisbane, 15 per cent on settlements, 46 per cent close to Brisbane and along the coast or in the northern part of New South Wales, and 17 per cent in other more distant places. The size of the cities and towns in which persons were born varied widely, from towns of fifty or so people to cities such as Sydney with its two million population. Table 8 gives details of the size of birthplaces of the 514 who were born in Queensland or New South Wales, excluding those born in Brisbane or on settlements. From this table it will be seen that about 58 per cent of the migrants in the sample were born in places of fewer than 5000 population, or totalled further, about 70 per cent were born in places of fewer than 10,000

**Table 8:** *Sizes of birthplaces for migrants*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Under 2000 | 163 | 31·7 |
| 2000-4999 | 137 | 26·6 |
| 5000-9999 | 62 | 12·1 |
| 10,000-19,999 | 54 | 10·5 |
| 20,000-39,999 | 40 | 7·8 |
| 40,000-59,999 | 41 | 8·0 |
| 60,000 and over (all from Sydney) | 17 | 3·3 |
| Total | 514 | 100.0 |

population. The larger the size of the birthplace, the smaller is the number of sample persons born there. In general, then, the Aborigines in Brisbane were born in small towns.

Third, the data were analysed on places from which persons migrated to Brisbane. As was done with the number of towns previously lived in, the question about the place from which migrated was asked only of migrating families (couples, two-parent families and one-parent families) and not also of the many unattached men and women, so findings on this point are also based on a relatively small proportion of the total migrant group. They show that 12 per cent of the family units moved directly to Brisbane from settlements, 46 per cent from areas close to Brisbane and along the coast, including the north coast of New South Wales, and 42 per cent from more distant places.

One of the more interesting aspects of the data concerning migration places was that there were so very many. Over eighty-five different towns were coded and then checked for size and location. Of these, only nine were cited by five or more family units as the last town in which they had lived. On the other hand, there were thirty-six towns from which only one family unit had migrated. In spite of the diversity of migration place, the network of Aborigines in Brisbane was highly connected, which must mean that, after arrival in Brisbane, migrants rather quickly met up with relatives and friends and made new acquaintances. No doubt there were clusters of kin and friends in the networks of Aborigines in Brisbane but no analysis of these was done, for no questions were directed to this issue in the questionnaire and no questions were asked about how respondents came to know the persons to whom they sent interviewers in the referral process. These data also serve as a commentary on the inte-

gration process, for a minority group which felt more comfortable with the majority group would not quickly and extensively make themselves known to new members of the community. On the other hand, the number and strength of ties binding Aborigines in Brisbane to one another are positive indicators of group identification and should be helpful in organising for social action programs.

The size of the places from which migration took place is shown in Table 9. From this table it will be seen that about 56 per cent came from places with a population of fewer than 5000 and that about 70 per cent of the family units came from places with a population of fewer than 10,000.

**Table 9:** *Sizes of places from which family units migrated to Brisbane*

| Size of Place | No. | Family Units Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Under 2000 | 60 | 33·3 |
| 2000-4999 | 41 | 22·8 |
| 5000-9999 | 26 | 14·4 |
| 10,000-19,999 | 20 | 11·1 |
| 20,000-39,999 | 12 | 6·7 |
| 40,000-59,999 | 14 | 7·8 |
| 60,000 and over (all from Sydney) | 7 | 3·9 |
| Total | 180 | 100.0 |
| Inapplicable (from settlements or outside N.S.W. and Queensland) | 40 | |
| No information[1] | 18 | |

Some respondents moved a number of times, living for short periods of time at each place, and said they could not remember all of them and so cited none. Others gave interviewers the names of the places from which they had migrated, but the 1961 Census manual did not list the places by name and population size.

The information on place of birth and place from which Aborigines migrated indicates that the prior social experiences of Aborigines migrating to Brisbane had been for the most part in small towns and rural areas, in which respondents would have been highly noticeable, and in which employment was most likely to have been both seasonal and rural in nature. Moreover, Aborigines in such towns are usually segregated in their living places, which are for the most part sub-standard dwellings on the outskirts of the communities. In fact, the physical inadequacies of these

slum ghettoes on the edges of small towns are sufficiently well known throughout Australia that the people living in them are termed 'fringe-dwellers', a term which accurately connotes the marginal social position of these people.[3] These prior experiences of the majority of the migrating Aborigines in the sample can be considered nothing less than devastating both to physical health and to self-esteem.

Despite the all too obvious difficulties which such persons would have encountered in adapting to urban living, they could be expected to be better prepared than those who had known only the protected and segregated life of settlements. It is therefore of interest to examine the experience of settlement living of the migrant group in the sample. As already indicated, only 15 per cent of the individuals in the sample were born on settlements, and only 12 per cent of the family units who had migrated to Brisbane came directly from settlements.

Those who had left school were asked if they had ever lived on a reserve or settlement, and if so, at what time in their lives this experience occurred. Table 10 shows that almost 74 per cent of the sample had never lived on a settlement, and of the almost 26 per cent who had, more had lived there as children than as adults. Most of those with settlement experience (60 per cent) came from Cherbourg, the closest settlement to Brisbane and the second most heavily populated in the State; about 8 per cent came from Woorabinda, the second closest to Brisbane; slightly over 6 per cent from Palm Island, the third closest and most heavily populated of the settlements; and almost 7 per cent from the Torres Strait Islands. The remainder came from smaller settlements and reserves at longer distances from Brisbane.

It appears that settlement experience was a feature of the life history of about 26 per cent of the Aborigines in the Brisbane population. An analysis of the ages of those who had been born on or lived on settlements was done. When the age variable was set for those who were thirty or younger and those over thirty years old, it became apparent that older persons were more likely to have had prior experiences with settlement living,[4] not an unexpected finding since settlement living was more common before World War II. Long (1970) presented data which indicate that more of the persons in the sixteen to twenty-nine age group left Cherbourg settlement in the five years to June, 1965, than other age

[3] Rowley (1971) describes the social attitudes of these people, Chapter 8, and their living conditions, Chapter 14.

[4] $p < \cdot 01$.

**Table 10:** *Period of life spent on reserves or settlements (adult Aboriginal members of sample only)*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Never lived on reserve or settlement | 638 | 73·7 |
| Born on settlement but stayed only as an infant[1] | 5 | 0·6 |
| Spent part of childhood on settlement | 31 | 3·6 |
| Spent most of childhood on settlement | 77 | 8·9 |
| Spent part of childhood and part of adult life on settlement | 56 | 6·5 |
| Spent part of adult life on settlement (did not know about childhood) | 16 | 1·8 |
| Spent some time on settlement (did not know when) | 36 | 4·1 |
| No information | 7 | 0·8 |
| Total | 866 | 100·0 |
| Non-Aboriginal spouses | 113 | |

[1] Others were also born on reserves or settlements but were coded in other categories in this table.

groups and that among persons who had recently left Palm Island almost half were between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five. Evidently these young people leaving settlements are moving to smaller cities and towns than Brisbane.

In view of the segregated, paternalistic and undemocratic nature of settlement life, the fact that 74 per cent of the Aboriginal sample was spared this institutional experience is a positive factor in their continuing integration. As will be shown later, those sample members with prior settlement experience had lower levels of education, were found less often on the Queensland electoral rolls, and were found more as domestics or labourers in the job market than those who had not lived on settlements. As preparation for urban living, then, settlement experience may be considered somewhat less than a success.

## MOBILITY WITHIN BRISBANE

Since mobility is commonly believed to be characteristic of Aboriginal life, five measures of mobility within Brisbane were also made in the survey.

The first concerned changes in the composition of households during the data collection period. Since an attempt was made to interview within each household all persons who had completed schooling, return visits were often made to the homes of respondents. The mobility figures are based on those households to which a return visit was made to continue interviewing or to which study personnel were referred after the initial interviewing had been completed. These figures of mobility are underestimates of the total amount of movement between households, since many, but not all, of those who had moved out of one household were not located at the household to which they had moved.[5] In addition, second and third visits were more likely to be made to the households with extended families, since these were the households where the interviewer did not finish all interviews on the first contact. It is probable that some of the households recorded as comprised of two-parent families had other persons move in or out during the study period, but there is no information about these changes because interviewing was finished on the first contact and because no other referrals were made to the address.

From our records it is known that in about 78 per cent of the households no one moved in or out during the study period. But in about 20 per cent of the homes, at least one family unit moved in or moved out, or the whole household moved. (Information is missing for eight households.) Since this 20 per cent figure is an underestimate of the total amount of movement between households, it is not unreasonable to conclude that movement between households is quite high among Aborigines in Brisbane.

The second assessment of mobility obtained was the length of residence in the dwelling place of the head of house. For the 351 regular household units, it was found that 23 per cent had lived in the house for six months or less and another 12 per cent between six months and a year. This total of 35 per cent who had lived one year or less in the house contrasts with the finding for the New South Wales non-urban Aboriginal group, in which only 23 per cent of the household unit heads had residence as short as this (Rowley, 1967a). This difference is best explained by the fact that migrants from the non-urban group leave behind, by definition, more stable persons and households. In Brisbane, another 32 per cent had lived at the same residence from one to five years. Thus, 67 per cent of the Aboriginal heads of house had resided in their homes five years or less.

[5] These data for household mobility are for the movement of family units, although in some instances these were one-person units.

Only 29 per cent of the heads of house had lived at the same residence for over five years. No comparative data are available for the general population of Brisbane, but three-quarters of a sample of white Australians in Melbourne in 1962 had made no moves in the preceding five years (Davies and Encel, 1965: 39). The proportions are almost reversed for Brisbane's Aborigines, and one must conclude that the Aboriginal heads of house have far less stability in their residences than other Australians.[6]

The third measure of mobility among Aborigines in Brisbane was the length of residence in the household units of the heads of family units. On this measure, the heads of family units were even more mobile than heads of households, 35 per cent of them having lived at the residence six months or less and a further 12 per cent from six months to a year, a total of 47 per cent with a short residence of less than a year. Twenty-nine per cent had lived one to five years at the residence, and only 23 per cent for more than five years. Stability of residence was less characteristic of the family unit heads but this is somewhat expected, for many of these family units were single, unattached and migrating.

The fourth way in which mobility among Aborigines was assessed was to determine the number of other households in Brisbane in which family units had lived. Information was available for 485 family units (72 per cent of the total sample). Table 11 displays the results of this inquiry and shows that about 24 per cent of this group had lived in only one household, about 47 per cent had lived in two or three places, and about 29 per cent in four or more. As a measure of mobility within Brisbane, one may say that about 72 per cent of the family units on whom information was available were either not mobile or were moderately mobile but that about 29 per cent were highly mobile.

A fifth determination of mobility of Aborigines in Brisbane was the extent to which sample members made Brisbane a permanent home. One of the better known and long standing patterns of behaviour of Aborigines in Queensland is that of workers travelling from one place to another for seasonal work in various parts of the State. As it was thought that family units living in Brisbane might be involved in this cycle of work and movement, respondents were asked if they had made any fairly long visits away from Brisbane during the last three years. Those family

[6] There is a disclaimer here, however, for young families usually move more often than older ones. As reported earlier, the Aboriginal sample in Brisbane was a young one.

**Table 11:** *Number of households within Brisbane previously lived in by family units*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| None other than present | 119 | 24·5 |
| One other | 138 | 28·5 |
| Two others | 89 | 18·3 |
| Three others | 72 | 14·8 |
| Four others | 30 | 6·2 |
| Five others | 14 | 2·9 |
| Six others | 11 | 2·3 |
| Seven others or more | 12 | 2·5 |
| Total | 485 | 100·0 |
| Inapplicable (sets of children) | 29 | |
| No information | 157 | |

units who had lived in Brisbane for less than six months were excluded from this calculation. Surprisingly, it was found that only 25 family units, or about 6 per cent, had left town to work and then returned. Clearly the vast majority of the Aborigines in Brisbane remain throughout the year, making the city both their home and their place of work. There is no measure of comparison with the population as a whole, as the proportion of Brisbane residents who move in and out of the city for seasonal work is not known.

To summarise—on the available evidence, the majority of the sample is not highly mobile on any of the five measures employed. Nevertheless, on four of the five measures, a highly mobile minority was located. The mobility of these families must be considered a factor militating against easy integration, and especially so for those family units whose children's education is disrupted as they move from place to place.

## SUMMARY

The population of Aborigines in Brisbane is a migrant one. By 1965, 81 per cent of the adults had migrated to Brisbane. More than half the sample had been in Brisbane ten years or less. The numbers migrating into Brisbane were increasing at the time of the study.

Twenty-six per cent of the couples or parents with children had lived in four or more cities or towns before coming to Brisbane, a sizable minority of families who were highly mobile. About 70 per cent of the migrants were born in places of fewer than 10,000 population and about 70 per cent of the couples and families with children migrated from

small towns with a population of fewer than 10,000. They came from over eighty-five different places. Thus, the prior social experiences of most of the migrants were in small towns and rural areas in which respondents would have been highly visible and in which jobs were both seasonal and rural in nature.

Fifteen per cent of the individuals in the sample were born on settlements and only 12 per cent of the family units migrated to Brisbane directly from settlements. Of the adults in the sample, almost 74 per cent had lived on a settlement. More of those who had such experience had never lived on settlements as children rather than as adults. Compared with other sample members, those with settlement experience were over thirty years of age, had lower levels of education, were found less often on Queensland voting rolls, and worked more as domestics or labourers. Based on these findings, settlement living was not successful as preparation for urban living.

There was a substantial amount of mobility among a minority of Aborigines in Brisbane itself. Twenty per cent of the family units moved between households during the study period. Thirty-five per cent of the heads of house had lived at the family's household for one year or less. Forty-seven per cent of the heads of family units had lived a year or less at their residence. And 29 per cent of the family units had lived in four or more homes in Brisbane.

'Going walkabout' is not a feature of this sample of Brisbane's Aborigines. Only about 6 per cent of the family units had left the city to work and then returned during the three years before the survey. Those who left and did not return were, of course, not in the sample.

The findings in this chapter suggest a number of very real obstacles in the way of integration of some of the Aborigines in Brisbane. Mobility proved to be a less characteristic feature than is commonly supposed in stereotyped thinking, but it would appear to be a frequent enough pattern for a minority of the sample to add to the difficulties of integration for those who are involved and perhaps also for those who are not themselves highly mobile but who find themselves enmeshed in the problem of others who are.

# 4 SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Aborigines in Brisbane are not only migrants faced with the difficulties of being newcomers but they are also primarily rural or small town people moving into an urban area. In addition to the adjustment problems posed by these two factors, Aborigines are also faced with additional problems engendered by general racial prejudice and discrimination. It was expected, then, that many Aboriginal household and family units would have encountered difficulties in Brisbane.

The social problems reported in this chapter are of such a serious nature as to have become apparent to the interviewers when the questionnaire was discussed with respondents. Direct questioning was restricted to non-sensitive areas such as marital status (obtained by asking the relationship to the respondent of persons in the household), employment, housing and parental surrogates. Little attempt was made to seek information on the more subtle problems of adjustment, morale and integration. It cannot be doubted that difficulties exist in these latter areas, but social survey methods do not usually reveal them. The problems recorded, however, include several of which the interviewers became aware from remarks made voluntarily. As a result, many of the figures are likely to be underestimates of the number of units in which the particular problem occurred.

## HOUSEHOLD UNIT SOCIAL PROBLEMS

On the household unit level, 164 units, or 47 per cent, were recorded as having no serious social problems of which interviewers became aware

during the home visit for an interview. But 178 units, or 51 per cent, reported at least one serious problem with which their members had to cope.[1] Some households reported multiple problems: forty-five had two problems, twenty-seven had three and eight had more than three. These figures are alarmingly high. Many of these problems were of such a nature that they would have threatened the stability of the typical, middle class family.

One hundred and thirty-nine household units, or 40 per cent, had an individual or family unit with a marital problem. The figures included: unmarried mothers; those who were divorced, separated or deserted; widows and widowers; and those who were in process of separating at the time of the interview. Problems affecting young children, such as neglect by parents, misbehaviour on the part of children who were subsequently removed from the family, and separation from parents, were found in thirty-four household units, or 10 per cent. Difficulties associated with mental illness, retardation, or serious personality disorganisation affected twenty units, or 6 per cent. Seventy-five units, or 21 per cent, had someone living in the household unit who was seriously ill. And twenty-four units, or 7 per cent, had a male unemployed the day of the interview.[2] (The June 30, 1966 Census figure for the Brisbane area was 1·3 per cent of males unemployed.) In addition, there were household units in which the members had serious financial problems, which contained known alcoholics, which involved persons in gaol or just out of gaol, and one in which an eviction notice had just arrived.

## FAMILY UNIT SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Findings are also available concerning the social problems encountered by family units covered in the survey. In tabulating these problems, those of people living in special living quarters were included in the family unit information. Of the eighty household units in this latter group, thirty-four were at OPAL House, six were at a missionary centre and two at the Salvation Army hostel. These forty-two household units were composed of persons whose lives were disrupted. Many had multiple social problems. Some were unmarried mothers, some were unemployed, some were physically ill and handicapped. Some were prostitutes, alcoholics, elderly per-

[1] The base for the percentage figures was 351. There were nine household units for which we had so little information that we did not code them.

[2] Men receiving an age or invalid pension were not counted as unemployed.

sons with no homes, released prisoners, recent widows, deserted or maritally separated women, neglected out of school teenagers, mentally ill persons or others who were going through a difficult time. Many of them were an integral part of the Brisbane Aboriginal community, for they would live at the hostels for a period, then go elsewhere in Brisbane to live and sometimes return again to the hostel. The information about their problems has been coded into the family unit data as well as that of the other thirty-eight units residing in special living quarters who were not identifiably in trouble.

At the family unit level, no problems were recorded for 296 units, or 48 per cent; but for 322 units, or 52 per cent, a total of 379 social problems were recorded.[3] The major set of problems had to do with marital instability and widowhood; 170 family unit heads, or about 27 per cent, were spouseless. This problem has been discussed extensively in Chapter 2.

Problems concerning children were recorded for eighty-six family units, or almost 14 per cent. In twenty-nine units, or almost 5 per cent, parental surrogates were caring for children with neither parent present, and another forty-four units, or about 7 per cent, had children living elsewhere than with their parents, usually with relatives or in institutions. Serious neglect of children occurred in ten family units. The neglect involved in these cases was of two kinds—that observed by interviewers (children beaten, truly hungry or badly treated) or that in which parents reported the children were removed from the home to institutions or foster homes because of the parents' inability to care for them. Three family units consisted of very young adults who were fending for themselves because their families had problems. All three lived at OPAL House.

Twenty-nine family units, or almost 5 per cent, reported a member with psychological problems. Ten of these had a member with severe personality problems, another nine reported a member who was mentally ill at the time of the interview, and ten had a member who was mentally retarded.

A variety of other social problems occurred in eighty-four family units, or almost 14 per cent. In thirty units, a male was unemployed. Seventeen units had a member who was a prostitute; fourteen had problems with housing other than poor physical conditions; eight had severe financial difficulties at the time of interview; seven had a member in gaol; six had a member with a drinking problem; and two had a member with a gambling problem.

[3] Information is not available for 53 family units. The base for percentages is 618.

Categorisation of social problems in this way can give no indication of the extent of the difficulties which some of the families faced, but the following examples show how serious some of the problems were. In one large expanded family, the male head of the household was unemployed, and the interviewer reported that the family had not eaten for over twenty-four hours. In another case, the interviewer reported the use of candles by the family because the electricity had been cut off for lack of payment of the bill. One large family had a debt of over $200 for food at the local shops, although there were five wage-earners in the family, the indebtedness being incurred, according to the mother, because the young adults in the family spent heavily and contributed very little of their earnings to the running of the household. Another family had three daughters who were prostitutes. Several mothers reported that they had children living elsewhere, and were deeply concerned about ways in which to bring them back into the family. One young mother, who had been arrested, reported that she had been beaten in gaol. The members of one large household had received an eviction order and were desperately upset, as they had no alternative housing. In one family a seven year old girl was being kept home from school to help her pregnant mother. In another instance, a young unmarried mother said she was the main wage earner for an extended family in which her parents refused to work. In another home, a youth complained bitterly that he had been unable to qualify for an invalid pension, though he reported frequent, severe attacks of asthma, which made it impossible for him to work. Finally, one couple had so badly mistreated a child that both were gaoled and the children were placed in institutions and foster homes.

No comparable data were available for the non-urban Aborigines of New South Wales, and none for the Brisbane population as a whole, but the fact that 51 per cent of the household units and 52 per cent of the family units were seen as having problems would surely indicate that there were generally more Aboriginal than non-Aboriginal families in some sort of trouble. It must be remembered also at this point that the more seriously troubled persons in the Aboriginal group in Brisbane were not included in the sample.

## PERCEIVED SOURCES OF HELP WITH SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Towards the end of the interview, an open-ended question was asked about where or to whom respondents would go if they had problems,

worries, or difficulties. Table 12 shows the diversity of possible sources of help reported by the 523 family units a member of which answered this question. Few respondents said that they did not know where to go. Personally known sources of help—relatives, friends, neighbours, and landlords, and persons cited by name rather than occupation (known personally or by reputation)[4] such as elected officials, doctors, lawyers, and social workers—would be sought by about 44 per cent of the family units. Private or voluntary associations would be employed by about 24 per cent. Government agencies would be approached by about 9 per cent. About 16 per cent reported that they would solve their own problems and 4 per cent of the respondents gave the sophisticated response that the source of help sought would depend on the type of problem.

It is both of interest and relevance to note that the majority of those naming a source of help would seek assistance from people whom they know personally or whom they know by name rather than by occupational position. When placed in conjunction with the small number who would employ government agencies, it would appear that professionally trained persons will be more likely to be approached for help if they can make themselves known to Aborigines. This can be accomplished by going out into the community and making friends before a crisis occurs, a process not unduly difficult in view of the highly connected networks of kin and friends in the Aboriginal group. It is also important to note that only 18 per cent listed OPAL or the Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs, which may be taken as a measure of their reluctance to rely on the agencies which carry out the Queensland Acts. Again, few listed the Commonwealth Department of Social Services or the State Department of Children's Services, both of which have staff trained to help people with problems. In view of the pervasive nature of personal and social problems in the Aboriginal group, community outreach programs are called for.

## SUMMARY

These data on social problems stand by themselves as indicators of the difficulties faced by the Aboriginal group in Brisbane. When over 50 per cent of both the household and family units have at least one member

[4] The officials and professional people counted in these figures were cited by name by the respondents who either knew the people personally, perhaps because they had already been helped by them, or who had been so impressed with their reputations as helping agents that they had remembered their names.

**Table 12:** *Nominated sources of help for family units with social problems*

| Sources of Help | Sub-total | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Would not know where to go | | 17 | 3·2 |
| Nowhere, would solve own problems | | 82 | 15·7 |
| Depends on problem where one would go | | 21 | 4·0 |
| *Sources known personally or by reputation* | | 232 | 44·4 |
| Relatives | 165 | | |
| Friends and neighbours | 29 | | |
| Professional people (doctors, lawyers, social workers) cited by name | 20 | | |
| Elected officials cited by name | 15 | | |
| Landlords | 3 | | |
| *Voluntary associations* | | 123 | 23·5 |
| OPAL (mostly to the hostel)[1] | 60 | | |
| Church groups or clergymen[2] | 55 | | |
| Other voluntary organisations | 8 | | |
| *Government agencies* | | 48 | 9·2 |
| Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs | 34 | | |
| Police | 7 | | |
| Commonwealth Department of Social Services | 6 | | |
| State Department of Children's Services | 1 | | |
| Total | | 523 | 100.0 |
| No information | 119 | | |
| Inapplicable (sets of children) | 29 | | |

[1] OPAL has been categorised here as a voluntary association. But many of the responses here were to the matron of the hostel by name or to her by name and to the name of the hostel. Since part of the budget for the hostel came from the Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs, these responses might also have been listed in the category of government agencies. This was not done, for many of the Aborigines did not know of the government's support of the hostel.

[2] Most of these responses were to 'my church' or the name of the church was given. A few responses coded here were to a clergyman by name but not enough to make a separate category.

with a personal or social problem, and the figures are underestimates of the total number, it is apparent that there are no simple and quick remedies. While most of the problems presented in this chapter are listed as personal difficulties, as indeed they are for the individuals involved,

the extent of the problems indicates that their genesis lies not in the idiosyncracies of a few families or a series of ill fortunes in the life history of a few individuals, but rather in the larger social system in which this minority racial group is embedded. For those who have already been deleteriously affected, individual therapy and retraining are needed. But for those who are now coping and for the young urbanites coming to maturity the problem has to be seen in the context of providing the fullest opportunities for participation in all Australian institutions.

# 5 LIVING CONDITIONS

There is probably no modern society in which housing does not constitute a major social problem, and the effects of poor housing fall particularly heavily on minority groups which are economically and socially deprived. In this chapter housing for Brisbane's Aborigines is described, with specific reference to the physical condition of the dwelling, whether it is owned or rented, crowding, geographical location, cost, furnishings and household amenities. Data on reading material available for household members have likewise been included.

The housing of Aborigines in Brisbane is not confined to one area. Sample households were located in almost all areas of the city, though in four areas there was some concentration. There are two suburbs near the centre of the city, where rental property, such as boarding houses and multiple dwellings, is common. Both are old established suburbs, containing a number of sub-standard houses. OPAL House is located in one of these areas. Many of the troubled persons and families referred for the study live in these two districts. The other two areas are near the city limits. One consists of a group of shacks northeast of the city and near the coast, in an area in which many white families also live. The other, likewise made up of a group of shacks, is southeast of the city.

Although there is no physical segregation in the housing of Aborigines, there seems to be some social segregation in Brisbane. In one of the inner suburbs, South Brisbane, there are two pubs distinguished by their Aboriginal customers, one patronised mostly by labourers and poorer members of the Aboriginal community, the other by the more affluent. Aboriginal

families from all over the city congregate in this area, especially at the weekend. Newcomers to Brisbane often settle first in South Brisbane, sometimes after contact with the matron at the OPAL hostel, which is located in a central section of this suburb.[1] There are strong suggestions of the ghetto in this area, and unless there is a corresponding increase in movement of Aborigines from this area to other parts of the city their concentration will be likely to increase.

## PHYSICAL CONDITION OF HOUSING

No one particular pattern of housing emerged. Aboriginal homes were mostly scattered throughout Brisbane, ranged from shacks to comfortable cottages, were sometimes owned or being purchased, and were sometimes rented from private owners and sometimes from the Housing Commission. Table 13 shows the type of dwelling place for 351 regular household units. It will be noted that over 30 per cent of the household units lived in Housing Commission homes while 44 per cent were in houses privately owned. Sixty-seven of the household units (about 19 per cent) were in multiple dwellings or boarding houses. Fifty of the flats or rooms in this type of accommodation housed a single family, but seventeen had from two to ten family units in the household. A total of fifty-two family units lived in these seventeen multiple dwellings, which indicates that privacy was at a minimum for these units. Five per cent of the homes were shacks. Comparable figures for the dwellings of the overall population of Brisbane were 84 per cent in private houses, 1 per cent in shacks and 15 per cent in all other dwelling places.[2] In other words, Aborigines were occupying disproportionately fewer private homes, more of the shacks, and more of the non-private housing.

Table 13 also lists the average (mean) number of persons per type of dwelling. The highest average number of persons by dwelling was 6·6 for the Housing Commission homes followed closely by private houses with 6·4. The eighteen homes classified as shacks averaged 5·6 persons, a high number involved in totally inadequate housing. Those who lived in a part of a house had an average of 4·6 persons and those in private flats 3·4. Single rooms had an average of 1·6 persons. Thus, it appears that crowding of dwellings used by Aborigines cuts across all types of residence.

[1] Since the time of the study, OPAL has opened a second hostel in another suburb.
[2] *Census Bulletin* No. 3.2, 1966: 6, 9.

**Table 13:** *Types of dwelling occupied by household units and mean number of persons per dwelling*

| | No. | Per cent | Mean Number of Persons |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Single Houses* | | | |
| House (Housing Commission) | 107 | 30·5 | 6·6 |
| House (other than Housing Commission) | 155 | 44·2 | 6·4 |
| *Multiple Dwellings* | | | |
| Self-contained flat (Housing Commission) | 1 | 0·3 | — |
| Self-contained flat (other than Housing Commission) | 28 | 8·0 | 3·4 |
| Part of a house | 17 | 4·8 | 4·6 |
| Single room | 21 | 6·0 | 1·6 |
| *Other Housing* | | | |
| Caravan | 1 | 0·3 | — |
| Shack | 18 | 5·0 | 5·6 |
| No information | 3 | 0·9 | — |
| Total | 351 | 100·0 | — |

In home ownership there was considerable variation from the overall Brisbane pattern. Two hundred and sixty-seven Aboriginal units, or 76 per cent, were in rented accommodation; seventy, or 20 per cent, were buying their homes by instalments or already owned their homes outright; and nine, or 3 per cent, were caretakers of the property and had free housing. These figures are almost the reverse of those for the general population in the city, where 79 per cent of householders (excluding home unit owners) own their homes or are buying them on instalments.[3] It should also be noted that 23 per cent of the homes owned or being purchased by Aborigines were judged to be inadequate in structure, several of which were shacks.

Respondents were also asked how they had obtained housing. Answers given indicated that housing had been found by responding to advertisements in the newspapers, with the assistance of non-Aboriginal members of OPAL, and by filing applications for Housing Commission homes. In addition, the network of Aborigines was used. Several of the dwellings were occupied successively during the study period by different Aboriginal families, their landlords being known not to discriminate against Abori-

[3] Ibid.: 14.

gines in the renting of these furnished houses. As mentioned earlier, housing is not segregated in Brisbane, but several respondents reported being turned away because of their colour from furnished homes for rent.

Bochner's (1972) study of discrimination against Aborigines in rental housing in Sydney, although small in scale, lends credence to the Aboriginal view that there is discrimination against them. He found that persons offering housing for rent are less likely to respond to an advertisement which identifies a young couple as Aboriginal than to one which does not. This is an important piece of work, for few behavioural studies of discrimination against Aborigines have been completed. It would appear that respondents' anecdotal complaints of discrimination in housing are justified.

A furnished dwelling available for rental at a reasonable price in Brisbane is a rare commodity. Many of the complaints about housing came from families who were having difficulty in finding such accommodation, so that it is of interest to note that 31 per cent of the household units were located in such housing. The proportion living in furnished rental dwellings is of further interest in that it occurs in a society which places a high value on home ownership, and in which it is unusual for any but transient or single people to demand such accommodation. Only 62 per cent of the sample in fact owned their own furniture.

The cost of the housing was not exorbitant. Household unit rents ranged from one dollar per week for a single room to $23.40 per week repayments on a mortgage or housing loan. The average paid per week was only $9.10. Though on the one hand this might be taken to imply that an undue proportion of income was not going into housing, when it is considered in conjunction with the high number of Aboriginal families living in shacks and multiple family dwellings it suggests that the relatively low figure reflects a tendency for the Aboriginal population to occupy more sub-standard homes. This assumption was confirmed when the physical adequacy of the homes was evaluated. Criteria used to measure inadequacy included: the presence of dirt floors, blankets used to partition rooms, shack construction, badly cracked walls, and lack of water or electricity or toilet facilities. By these standards, sixty-six household units, or almost 19 per cent, were in grossly inadequate accommodation while 277, or about 80 per cent, were adequately housed.

Table 14 shows the types of water supply found. In examining these figures, it must be remembered that some of the areas of housing in the sample were not connected to the town water supply. It will be seen that

**Table 14:** *Types of water supply in the regular household units*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Mains water, hot and cold | 169 | 48·2 |
| Mains water, cold only | 113 | 32·2 |
| Tank water | 24 | 6·8 |
| No water in the home[1] | 20 | 5·7 |
| No information | 25 | 7·1 |
| Total | 351 | 100·0 |

[1] In these households the water was in a garage, or in a tank not connected to the house, or in a well, or in the back yard.

almost half the homes had both hot and cold water, but twenty had no water at all connected to the inside of the house. In the population in general some homes dependent on tank water would have storage gas or electric hot water systems connected to the tank, but a far more common pattern would be for hot water to be obtained through a storage system heater on the slow combustion principle or from an old style fuel stove, while others would have instantaneous sink and bath heaters. In the total population there would be some homes without internal hot water, but it would be the rare home which did not have at least cold water piped into the house. It has been impossible to obtain completely accurate comparative figures for the total population, but figures obtained from the Brisbane City Council and from the two gas companies which together service the Brisbane area provided evidence that in mid-1965, at least 69 per cent of all dwellings in the city area had some form of hot water service, a marked contrast with the 48 per cent of Aboriginal dwellings.

Toilet facilities did not appear to vary greatly from the general Brisbane pattern, although again accurate comparative figures were difficult to obtain. Table 15 gives details of toilet facilities found in the regular households. The City of Brisbane was only partly sewered at the time of the study, but the Redcliffe Peninsula, included in the study, was fully sewered. The Sewerage Department of the Brisbane City Council could not give estimates by dwellings, but only by premises (including those on small and large allotments, both public and private). These showed that in 1965 approximately 56 per cent of premises were sewered, 22 per cent had septic tanks, and 22 per cent had earth closets. These figures would vary from those for private homes, as the inclusion of business premises would raise the percentage of buildings sewered or provided with septic tanks. It would seem reasonable to assume, however, that

**Table 15:** *Types of toilet facilities in the regular household units*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| City sewer | 135 | 38·5 |
| Septic tank | 69 | 19·6 |
| Earth closet | 121 | 34·5 |
| None | 1 | ·3 |
| No information | 25 | 7·1 |
| Total | 351 | 100·0 |

toilet facilities for the sample population conform roughly to those for the community as a whole, with perhaps slightly fewer septic tanks and more earth closets. Despite the number of shacks included in the dwelling places, only one home was without any toilet facility.

## FURNISHING AND EQUIPMENT

Respondents were asked whether they had certain furnishings and appliances in their homes and the following information was elicited: 89 per cent had a stove; 75 a refrigerator; 69 a television; 64 a radio; 50 a washing machine; 15 a vacuum cleaner; 5 a telephone; 2 a piano.

Numerous contacts were made with market research organisations to try to obtain some Australian norms for purposes of comparison, but unfortunately the majority were unable to help, as information from their clients was confidential. An official of the Australian Field Research Bureau in Melbourne stated that he estimated that stoves would be in 99 per cent of all households, refrigerators in 90 per cent, and both washing machines and vacuum cleaners in 79 to 80 per cent. A survey of the mass media made in 1966 by Western and Hughes (1971: 20, 22) showed that radio was in 92 per cent of Australian homes and television in 88 per cent, which is substantially higher than with the Aboriginal group, though it may be noted that these two items are still to be found in a majority of the Aboriginal homes, and on the list of furnishings and appliances already quoted come next in order after stoves and refrigerators. This surely gives an indication of the importance they assume in the lives of the Aborigines as compared with some of the other pieces of equipment. It was difficult to obtain a basis of comparison for telephones, but in one of the suburban districts telephones are installed in 29 per cent of the dwellings, while two other outer districts in the sample area have respectively 29 per cent and 42 per cent.

There seems to be sufficient evidence for the assumption that fewer of the Aboriginal population have telephones, television and radio sets, and the more usual household amenities, than are to be found in the average Australian household, but a comparison with the conditions of non-urban Aborigines in New South Wales, which were similar to those from which Brisbane's Aborigines had largely come, showed that the Brisbane sample householders were better off. Far more of the Brisbane group had adequate furnishings, and although fewer owned their homes, far fewer lived in shacks (Rowley, 1967a).

## READING MATERIAL

In addition to gathering information about buildings, furniture and amenities, interviewers asked questions about the availability of reading material in the home. In 160 household units, or 46 per cent, no books were found except, in a few instances, children's school books. Another sixty-seven units, or 19 per cent, had fewer than twelve books, and ninety-two units, or 26 per cent, had twelve or more. The pattern for magazine buying was not much different: 136 units, or 39 per cent, had no magazines; eighty-nine, or 25 per cent, had only a few,[4] and ninety-four, or 27 per cent, had more than a few.[5] The Western and Hughes study found that 50 per cent of their Australia-wide sample subscribed to or regularly read at least one magazine or periodical (1971: 20).

Newspaper buying was another matter. Only twenty household units, or 6 per cent, reported that no newspapers came to the home, and only nine units, or 3 per cent, reported occasional newspaper buying. Two hundred and fifty-six units, or 73 per cent, received a daily newspaper; 274, or 79 per cent, received a Sunday newspaper; and 239, or 68 per cent, received both the daily and the Sunday papers. This is only slightly lower than the figures obtained in the Western and Hughes study, which showed that 84 per cent of Australians took at least one newspaper per day (1971: 20).

The extent of literacy was not determined for this study, but it is clear that Aborigines are participating in Australian life through the media of

[4] A 'few' was operationally defined as from one magazine up to seven or a subscription to one a week or six a month. It was also used to include such responses as 'occasionally', 'sometimes', 'once in a while', 'share with friends' and 'exchange at work'.

[5] There is no information about books and magazines for thirty-two household units, or 9 per cent.

radio, television and the newspaper, but not through the more permanent media of books and magazines. There are no comparable data on reading material for the population of Brisbane as a whole, but far fewer of the Brisbane Aborigines were without books than were the non-urban Aborigines of New South Wales. Almost 67 per cent of the latter group (compared with 46 per cent in Brisbane) were without books. These findings are important, since participation in a literate culture is part of the process of becoming integrated, for both adults and children.

## CROWDING

Crowding for Aborigines was not excessively high by any commonsense standard but was certainly so in comparison with the less crowded living conditions of non-Aborigines. Within the 351 dwelling places, the mean number of persons per household was 5·6, the median was between 6 and 7, and the mode was 6.[6] The mean number of rooms for these persons was 4·6. In contrast, the mean number of persons per dwelling for Brisbane as a whole in 1966 was 3·5, the median 3 and the mode 2.[7] The mean number of rooms for these persons was 5·4.[8] In the Aboriginal population, then, about two more people lived in one room fewer per dwelling. On the other hand, compared with the non-urban Aborigines in New South Wales, the Aborigines in Brisbane have slightly larger dwellings (mean number of rooms 4·6, compared with 3·9) and a slightly smaller number of persons per dwelling (mean number 5·6 compared with 6·9). Aborigines in Brisbane are thus less crowded in their housing than the non-urban Aborigines in New South Wales, but considerably more crowded than the general population of Brisbane. Aborigines have less privacy in their homes and the potentiality for more interaction with other persons than do other people in Brisbane, another factor leading to the propensity for encouraging and enjoying social relationships rather than developing isolated individual skills.

Three other measures of crowding were also used. The first of these was a standard of one person per room. With this index 165 housing units, or 47 per cent, were considered crowded. Another measure of

[6] The mean number of persons per household unit was determined on figures corrected for those who moved in and out of the house during the interviewing period.

[7] *Census Bulletin* No. 3.2, 1966: 11.

[8] Ibid.: 6, 9.

crowding was the number of sleeping places per person in the household (double beds counting as two sleeping places). It was found that ninety household units, or 26 per cent, had fewer beds than the number of persons in the household. The final measure of crowding was the number of seating places for the persons residing in the home, the index of adequacy used being one and a half seating places per person.[9] By this index 128, or 36 per cent, were inadequate. The comparable figures for non-urban Aborigines in New South Wales were: 85 per cent of dwellings with more than one person per room, 51 per cent with fewer sleeping places than there were persons in the household, and 40 per cent without enough chairs for members of the household. By these standards, Brisbane Aborigines are better off. There are no comparable data for the population of Brisbane as a whole.

Reasons for the crowding and mobility among Aborigines in Brisbane are not difficult to find. The large size of some of the families was one contributing factor, but apart from this there was also the difficulty of finding rental housing in Brisbane, which was accentuated by some discrimination by landlords against renting to Aborigines. As a result, people moved in with others, usually maternal kin, until they found a home of their own, either privately or through the Housing Commission. This sharing of housing among relatives and friends provided mutual benefits, new arrivals having somewhere to stay and heads of household receiving rent in return. Rowley's data (1967a) show that urbanising Aborigines in New South Wales shared housing with kin more often than did the non-urban group. An additional factor was that troubled persons and those with marital difficulties who were separated moved about from one household to another.

## SUMMARY

Housing is not segregated in Brisbane. Aboriginal homes were found throughout the city. There were, however, reports of discrimination in obtaining rental housing. Disproportionately more of the Aboriginal dwellings were non-private and of shack construction, and disproportionately fewer were private homes, when compared with other persons in Brisbane. Seventy-six per cent of the homes were rented and 20 per cent were owned or were being bought by instalments.

[9] Excluded in the analysis of sleeping places were children under two years of age, and in that of seating places children under a year old.

Nineteen per cent of the homes were grossly inadequate for family living while 80 per cent were physically adequate. Fewer homes than those of other people in Brisbane had hot water services, but toilet facilities were of comparable standard.

Aborigines have fewer telephones, television sets and radios than other Australians. They also appear to own fewer furnishings for their homes, with only 62 per cent reporting that they owned all their furniture. Sample members also seem to have fewer of the usual household amenities, such as refrigerators, washing machines and vacuum cleaners.

Sixty-five per cent of the households had fewer than twelve books and 64 per cent had no magazines or only a few. Newspaper buying was another matter—73 per cent of the households received a daily newspaper and 79 per cent a Sunday paper. Sixty-eight per cent received both daily and Sunday papers.

There was crowding in the homes but not as much in the Brisbane Aboriginal homes as there was in the homes of non-urban Aborigines. Compared with other people in Brisbane, however, two more people lived in one room fewer per dwelling. In the Brisbane Aboriginal homes, the mean number of persons per dwelling was 5·6. The mean number of rooms for these persons was 4·6. Crowding was related to the large size of some families, to the difficulty of locating rental housing, to some discrimination by landlords in renting to Aborigines, and to the sharing of homes with relatives and friends who had no homes of their own.

# 6 EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

The formal education a person attains is one of the most important factors in determining his life history, particularly so for members of minority groups in an industrialised society. Without literacy and some comprehension of the workings of social institutions, people have difficulty coping with such fundamental aspects of living as jobs, child-rearing, product consumption, health maintenance, home management, and civic participation. The findings of this study highlight what was probably well known, that is, that the educational standard of the Aborigines falls well below that of the rest of the country.

## LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED

Several questions in the study asked about the education of young people still at school and about the level of education reached by those who had already left. Table 16 shows the amount of education obtained for the population who had finished their schooling. Almost 22 per cent of the sample had never proceeded beyond the fourth grade and almost 88 per cent had never gone to secondary school. (Under the old Queensland educational system grade 8 was the year in which students sat for the Scholarship examination to qualify for entry to secondary school.) The mean number of school years completed for the persons who had left school was 6·1. These figures are shockingly low. A group with such minimal training could hardly be expected to cope with the complexities of urban living and to rear children capable of participation in the insti-

**Table 16:** *Levels of education attained by adults*[1]

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| No schooling at any time | 25 | 2·8 |
| 4 grades or less | 172 | 19·1 |
| 5th grade | 95 | 10·5 |
| 6th grade | 149 | 16·5 |
| 7th grade | 199 | 22·1 |
| 8th grade | 152 | 16·8 |
| Sub-junior | 27 | 3·0 |
| Junior | 55 | 6·1 |
| Sub-senior | 18 | 2·0 |
| Senior | 3 | 0·3 |
| Technical college | 2 | 0·2 |
| University level at time of interview | 2 | 0·2 |
| University graduate or diplomate | 2 | 0·2 |
| Bible college | 2 | 0·2 |
| Total | 903 | 100·0 |
| No information[2] | 76 | |

[1] See definition of 'adult' in Chapter 1.

[2] Some of the wives who were interviewed did not know about their spouses' schooling.

tutions of an industrial society. It would appear to the authors that two of the initial steps in the improvement of the status of Aborigines would be to offer outreach programs of education and training to the adults who have completed their years of formal schooling and to make strenuous compensatory efforts to help the present school-age youngsters to learn and to stay in school longer.

The age at which the sample population left school is also quite low, as can be seen in Table 17. Almost 25 per cent of the sample left before reaching what would then have been the legal school leaving age of fourteen. About 49 per cent left school at the legal age of fourteen, 15 per cent remained in school until they were fifteen but, by age sixteen, all but 9 per cent had terminated their schooling. The mean age for leaving school was 13·6 for both men and women.

An important question to consider is whether the younger people in the sample have obtained more education than the older ones. Table 18 shows the level of education reached by out of school Aborigines according to age decades. A negative correlation exists between age and amount of education. At every decade, as age increased, the level of completed education decreased, the 13-19 year old age group had the most education

**Table 17:** *Ages at which formal schooling ceased*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Inapplicable (no schooling) | 25 | 3·0 |
| 10 or under | 13 | 1·6 |
| 11 | 12 | 1·4 |
| 12 | 41 | 5·0 |
| 13 | 135 | 16·4 |
| 14 | 401 | 48·7 |
| 15 | 125 | 15·1 |
| 16 | 50 | 6·1 |
| 17 and over | 22 | 2·7 |
| Total | 824 | 100·0 |
| No information[1] | 95 | |

[1] The wives interviewed did not always know the age at which their spouses left school.

*Note* Excluded from these figures are sixty people not asked the question in a short-form questionnaire.

and the seventy and over decade the least. Fortunately, younger Aborigines have been remaining in school for longer periods and progressing further than other age groups.

This negative correlation between age and amount of education received is not unusual. Broom (1970) presents data from the 1966 Australian Census which show that a negative correlation between these variables is also found among non-Aboriginal males for the country as a whole.

Broom's report is of interest because he presents data comparing Aboriginal males, who have 50 per cent or more Aboriginal ancestry, with white males for the total population of Australia. He summarises the data by pointing out that Aborigines are 'statistically absent' from tertiary education and that at the Junior Certificate Level[1] 'no [age] cohort of Aborigines has progressed as far as the least educated, oldest [seventy years or older] cohort of whites' (Broom, 1970: 155). In addition, he presents tabulations which show that, for aged twenty or over, all white male age cohorts have a higher proportion of persons who have secondary schooling (but who have not reached Junior Certificate Level) than do Aboriginal males of the same ages. For those under twenty (most of whom are still in school), Broom reports 44 per cent of the white males

[1] The Junior Certificate, usually taken after the third year in high school, has recently been abolished.

**Table 18:** *Amount of education of adults according to age*

| Present Age | Total Number | Amount of Education Completed: None[1] | 4 grades[1] or Less | Grades 5-8[1] | Sub-Junior (9) and Junior (10)[1] | Sub-Senior (11) and Senior (12)[1] | Advanced[1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13-19 | 181 | 1 (0·6) | 11 (6·1) | 131 (72·3) | 29 (16·0) | 8 (4·4) | 1 (0·6) |
| 20-29 | 255 | — | 33 (12·9) | 183 (71·8) | 29 (11·4) | 6 (2·3) | 4 (1·6) |
| 30-39 | 189 | 1 (0·5) | 38 (20·1) | 129 (68·3) | 13 (6·9) | 5 (2·6) | 3 (1·6) |
| 40-49 | 133 | 7 (5·3) | 38 (28·6) | 86 (64·7) | 1 (0·7) | 1 (0·7) | — |
| 50-59 | 84 | 2 (2·4) | 32 (38·1) | 46 (54·7) | 4 (4·8) | — | — |
| 60-69 | 40 | 9 (22·5) | 18 (45·0) | 12 (30·0) | 1 (2·5) | — | — |
| 70 & over | 12 | 5 (41·7) | 2 (16·6) | 5 (41·7) | — | — | — |
| Total | 894 | 25 (2·8) | 172 (19·3) | 592 (66·2) | 77 (8·6) | 20 (2·2) | 8 (0·9) |

[1] Percentages are in parentheses.

*Note*: Of the 979 who had left school, no information was obtained on the level of education reached by 76 persons, and precise age was not known for 9. These have been excluded from the above table.

have attained secondary school level whereas only 20 per cent of the Aboriginal males have reached this level. Although more Aboriginal males are now going on for secondary schooling than any preceding Aboriginal age cohort, they still fall far behind their white contemporaries in the general population.

Since the sample group for this study was made up primarily of part-Aborigines, many of them quarter-caste, and almost all of them born or reared in Queensland, it is instructive to compare the study group with Queensland youngsters, at least on the age level of children in school. First, in 1963 when the school leaving age was still fourteen, 80 per cent of the fifteen year olds in Queensland were still at school.[2] In 1965 the proportion of Aboriginal fifteen year olds in Brisbane still in school was only 37 per cent, as is shown in Table 19.

**Table 19:** *Ages and grade levels of teenagers in school*

| Age | Number in School by Grade Level | | | | Number Out of School | Total Number | Per cent in School |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 8 or under | 9 | 10 | 11[1] | | | |
| 13 | 41 | 3 | — | — | 1 | 45 | 97·8 |
| 14 | 13 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 42 | 71·4 |
| 15 | 4 | 4 | 7 | — | 26 | 41 | 36·6 |
| 16 | — | — | — | — | 35 | 35 | 0·0 |
| 17 | — | 1 | 1 | — | 41 | 43 | 4·7 |
| 18 | — | — | 1 | — | 36 | 37 | 2·7 |
| 19 | — | — | — | — | 30 | 30 | 0·0 |
| Total | 58 | 21 | 12 | 1 | 181 | 273 | |
| No information | | | | | | 48 | |

[1] There were no Aboriginal teenagers at the Senior or 12th grade level in 1965.

Second, 87 per cent of the children who were in grade 8 in 1963 in Queensland went on to secondary school in 1964.[3] In the latter year (1964), almost 91 per cent of Queensland children proceeded from grade 8 to 9 for the 1965 school year.[4] Since there are no longitudinal data in this study, no exact comparison can be made with these figures, but an approximation to them is possible. Table 19 shows that in 1965 there were

[2] See Annual Reports of the Minister of Education, Queensland, 1963: 8 and 1964: 14-15.

[3] Ibid., 1963 and 1964.

[4] Ibid., 1964 and 1965.

twenty-eight Aboriginal children in school aged fourteen or fifteen who were in grades 9, 10 or 11. There were, in addition, seven other teenagers of the same ages who had left school but had first completed some secondary schooling. Thus, 42 per cent of the fourteen and fifteen year olds in the Aboriginal sample had some secondary schooling. While not exactly comparable, this proportion of Aboriginal fourteen and fifteen years olds with secondary schooling is less than half the almost 91 per cent of Queensland children who progressed from grade 8 to 9 for the 1965 school year at slightly younger ages.[5]

Although Table 18 shows that the out of school teenagers have more schooling than other age cohorts in the Aboriginal sample, the differences between the two youngest age cohorts are not large. To give a more accurate report of the secondary schooling obtained by the 13-19 year old age cohort, data on both those still in school and those who had completed their schooling were added.[6] When the data are combined for the two groups, 26 per cent of the 13-19 year old age group had some secondary schooling. This represents an almost 11 per cent increase in the numbers of persons with such schooling over the 20-29 year old age group, the second most educated one. The young Aborigines were obtaining more education than any other Brisbane Aboriginal age group but certainly, as indicated earlier in this chapter, far less than that of their white Australian age peers.

## RETARDATION IN SCHOOL

Up to this point, the discussion has centred on the level of education reached by sample members and the proportion of persons found at the secondary level. Data were also obtained in the study on progressive retardation of children in school. When the children who were five years of age and those who were attending Opportunity Schools were excluded from the figures, there were 487 Aboriginal children at school in 1965. Of these it was found that 158 (32 per cent) were in a grade below that expected for their age, 235 (48 per cent) were in the expected grade, and 94 (19 per cent) in a higher grade. The interesting and alarming

[5] Allowance in the calculations was made for late school entrance of Aboriginal children.

[6] The figures used are these: ninety-two teenagers in school, thirty-four of whom were in grades 9-11; 181 youngsters out of school, thirty-eight of whom had some secondary schooling; and forty-eight teenagers for whom data were incomplete on age and grade level.

feature, however, is that as the children grow older they become more retarded at school, as was apparent when a comparison was made between children nine years old and younger and those over nine. This age break was used for the calculations because the Aboriginal children began to fall seriously behind in grade level at age nine, which is the average age for children attending 4th grade.[7] Forty-three children, or 18 per cent, in the nine and under age group were retarded in grade level, as compared with 115, or 45 per cent in the ten and over age group. The difference is statistically significant.[8] These findings are comparable with what has been found in New South Wales and South Australia. Rowley (1967a: 5) states:

> On the basis of statistics of the 'age-grade distribution' of all pupils in New South Wales schools as in August, 1965, we found that in the 393 cases where data was available, 21·4 [per cent] of the children were placed in classes below what would be the average for age: those above the class expected were negligible in number. On the basis of similar information for South Australia, figures were 31 per cent for those below expected achievements, and 1·5 per cent for those above. Such a situation goes with homes which lack facilities for early intellectual stimulus relevant to a literate culture; and there is often little parental interest in their possession.

This striking retardation in grade level and the early leaving age are not simply explained. Some of the retardation comes, of course, from late entry to school by Aboriginal children and the loss of schooling or the disruption of schooling when families move. The remainder comes, however, from many sources, some of which are:

*The lack of effective learning ability of the children.* Malnourishment, non-stimulation of the intellect, and lack of encouragement of curiosity and independence of thought in pre-school years take their toll as children mature.

*Lack of parental models from which to learn.* Parents with little education present a negative model to their children, fail to teach children the

[7] In the 1 August, 1972, Age-Grade Tables, prepared by the Research and Curriculum Branch of the Queensland Department of Education, it appears that those children who repeat grades do so mainly at the first and second grades. The Department of Education study, unfortunately, presented no data on the age at which grades were repeated. Their tables no not, moreover, show progressive retardation. Therefore, no direct comparison can be made with the data from this survey.

[8] $p < \cdot 01$.

necessary cognitive skills for school success, and sometimes by lack of information dull the intellect.

*Consciousness on the part of children of being strangers.* As puberty approaches, the children become painfully aware of the negative evaluations of their skin colour by their age peers.

*Homes whose life style does not reinforce the school's middle class culture.* Lacking for children are good homework patterns, privacy to study, other people doing independent work at home (especially those involving paper, pencils and books), motivation and encouragement to achieve, relevance of school studies to daily living and possible future life styles, and healthy eating and sleeping habits.

*Early social maturity.* Wisdom about the social facts of life, knowledge of adult concerns with little protection of childhood as a special status to be cherished, and eagerness to try out adult ways are precipitating factors in pulling children away from school concerns.

*The inability of schools to teach Aboriginal children.* If parental education is low and the information level of the homes is also low, then schools must work out ways to teach the children. They have failed so far to do this for Aborigines in Australia.

*Peer group influences.* Young teenagers are influenced greatly by other young people and often do what others are doing. Since a large proportion of Aboriginal teenagers leaves school early, the norms and behaviour of the peer group favour the decision to leave school.

Somewhat ignored in the discussion above is the burgeoning research on psychological and cognitive effects of lower social class status and cultural disadvantage on the learning of young children. Three promising areas of research have applicability to the Aborigines in Brisbane. The first of these explores the methods used by mothers to create interactions with children which put behaviour into a meaningful context in terms of preceding and subsequent follow-up behaviours (Hess et al., 1969; Brophy, 1970). The amount of stimulation of a child appears to be less important, for example, than the manner in which the stimulation is structured for the child. The ability of the mothers to give feedback to children when they comment is highly important in developing cognitive skills.

The second area of research is concerned with linguistic patterns which are effective in teaching children verbal skills (McNeill, 1970, reviews the literature). Relevant for Aborigines is the work in Black English in the United States (Loban, 1966; Loflin, 1967) and the extensive research of the Van Leer Foundation Project (Department of Education, Queensland,

1972) on Aboriginal English and on the teaching of standard English to young children. Of special importance is Cazden's (1965) report in which it is pointed out that expanding a child's language is less effective in developing a child's linguistic abilities than modelling. In expansion, the mother/teacher takes the child's comments and expands the phrase which the child used—the child says, 'Dog bites' and the mother/teacher replies, 'Yes, the dog bites.' In modelling, the mother/teacher replies to the child by carrying the thought forward—to the child's remark about the dog the mother/teacher would reply, 'Yes, the dog is angry' or, 'Yes, the dog is cutting teeth.' Cazden's work needs replication but, if valid, would affect the kinds of verbal interactions which should be encouraged in programs of compensatory pre-school and early school education.

The third area being studied extensively grew out of the work of Piaget (1954; 1969) on the progressive steps in the cognitive development of children and the ages at which these stages occur. This book is not the place to review these materials except to note that Australian social scientists, followed the early de Lemos research (1969), have become intrigued with the degree to which Aboriginal children with varying degrees of Aboriginal ancestry and different amounts of contact with white Australians follow patterns of cognitive development at specified age levels similar to other children in Australia and other parts of the world.[9] Concerns have been expressed that some Aboriginal children learn developmental tasks at a later age than others, cannot then deal with the curricular materials at school, fall behind, and leave school at an early age.

In addition, when the beliefs and expectations of teachers, school administrators, fellow students, and other significant white Australians are that Aborigines are poor social outcasts, no matter how well the views are hidden nor how hard people try not to be chauvinistic, Aboriginal children learn early in life that few whites really expect much from them. This view is reinforced, unfortunately, by the Aboriginal adults who accept, however inadvertently, this negative evaluation of themselves. In an effort to protect their children from disappointment, parents ostracise or tease the children who do well, fearing that achievement of the children may put them into situations where they can be pushed back by non-

[9] See Dasen et al. (1973). For further information about cognitive development of Aboriginal children see the work of G. N. Seagrim at the Australian National University and that of G. E. Kearney at the University of Queensland. Of interest also is Kearney et al. (1973).

Aborigines. But there is also fear on the part of parents that children who do well are placing themselves above others in the Aboriginal group and that they may be treated harshly by other Aborigines. Unfortunately, self-hatred as a group phenomenon among Aborigines is not unknown. This restraint on the Aboriginal teenager by his own group, combined with the largely unconscious but firm prejudice of white Australians, are also factors leading to retardation in school and early school leaving.

The determinants of the endemic and pervasive school failure of Aboriginal children lie within the children themselves, the socialisation practices of their parents, their life styles, and their treatment in school bureaucracies. One main area for programmatic research in Australia should be studies of the many reasons why Aborigines fail in school conducted simultaneously with studies of the many reasons why schools fail in their attempts to teach them.

## PARENTAL VIEWS AND EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Parental respondents, usually the mothers, were asked to evaluate on a five-point scale how the child was doing at school and to indicate if there were any specific difficulties in the school situation. The results are shown in Tables 20 and 21 respectively. These two tables should be considered in conjunction with each other, as they relate to the same question approached from two different angles, and it might be thought that the findings would correspond closely. Instead, they are considerably at variance, since 86 per cent of the parents thought that their children were of average or above level at school and only 14 per cent that their performance was in the 'below average' or 'poor' categories, though nearly 30 per cent reported that they had difficulties of various kinds. The latter is a more realistic figure, especially when it is compared with the expected

**Table 20:** *Evaluation by parents of children's progress at school*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Quite good | 203 | 42·1 |
| Above average | 97 | 20·1 |
| Average | 113 | 23·5 |
| Below average | 45 | 9·3 |
| Poor | 24 | 5·0 |
| Total | 482 | 100·0 |
| No information | 51 | |

**Table 21:** *Parents' assessments of difficulties in school*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| No difficulties | 346 | 70·7 |
| Trouble with a specific subject | 52 | 10·6 |
| Child slow and backward in school | 18 | 3·7 |
| Illness of child | 16 | 3·3 |
| Child not interested, day dreams, or lacks concentration in school | 13 | 2·7 |
| Child behind grade level | 12 | 2·5 |
| Combination of reasons or any other reason[1] | 32 | 6·5 |
| Total | 489 | 100·0 |
| No information | 44 | |

[1] This category includes such responses as mother thinks child should do better; teacher regards child as lazy; child will not do homework; child missed a lot of school—no reason given; child moved about too much; child is disobedient and difficult; child does not mix well and gets into trouble; child stutters; child is picked on; and child's teacher has been changed.

grade for age factor commented on previously. Doubtless it is easier to admit that your child has some difficulties at school than to label his performance as below average or poor, or even average. One reason for the positive responses of mothers to these two questions is that many of the youngsters are in the lower grades and have not run into any difficulties yet.

The other questions asked of the parents concerned their aspirations for the child (see Table 22) and what they thought he might in fact achieve (see Table 23). Responses to these questions revealed that aspirations for the children were quite high, but that the parents had little hope that they would ever reach the desired goal. It can be seen that 40 per cent had aspirations for their children to go on to university education, and only a slightly higher proportion to sub-Senior and Senior level. The figure of 18 per cent who aspired only to Junior level or less reflects the lack of education of parents who can think of Junior as the highest educational goal. Only one parent listed technical college as an aspiration.

The actual expectations, however, are in striking contrast, since only 6 per cent expected the children to reach university level, and 45 per cent sub-Senior or Senior. No parent thought a child would go to a technical college, a finding which links with the rarity of tradesmen in the employed group in the sample, as will be evident from the discussion in the following chapter. Based on these data, the aspirations and even the reality

**Table 22:** *Educational aspirations for pre-school and school-age children*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Minimum school leaving age | 7 | 2·9 |
| Sub-Junior and Junior | 37 | 15·2 |
| Sub-Senior and Senior | 101 | 41·4 |
| Technical college | 1 | 0·4 |
| University | 98 | 40·1 |
| Total | 244 | 100·0 |
| Inapplicable (family units where there are no mothers of pre-school or school-age children) | 296 | |
| No information (not interviewed or mothers unable to respond) | 131 | |

expectations of mothers will not be deterrents to the continuation of children in school. Other determinants will be more important.

The mothers, on the other hand, often spoke as if they had little information about the relationships between the educational system and the occupational structure. They aspired for children to enter skilled trades but did not know that technical colleges prepared youngsters for them. Or they listed teaching jobs as hopes for their children without understanding that there were special colleges for educating teachers.

In addition, some mothers had almost no information about the grade levels of the school system itself. Some interviewers reported asking the questions in five or six different ways only to have the mother reply she did not know or the question was too hard. Finally, some mothers were

**Table 23:** *Educational attainment actually expected for pre-school and school-age children*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Minimum school leaving age | 16 | 8·1 |
| Sub-Junior and Junior | 81 | 40·7 |
| Sub-Senior and Senior | 89 | 44·7 |
| Technical college | 0 | — |
| University | 13 | 6·5 |
| Total | 199 | 100·0 |
| Inapplicable (family units where there are no mothers of pre-school or school-age children) | 296 | |
| No information (not interviewed or mothers unable to respond) | 176 | |

unable to distinguish aspiration from reality statements. The children of these uninformed mothers will have little help at home in making decisions about educational steps. For these persons in particular the new Queensland system of grade levels and the later school leaving age will be helpful, for the parents will probably send their children to school, however organised, until the legal leaving age. One obvious action step in the educational area would be special meetings of school officials with Aboriginal parents in which the structure of the educational system and the kinds of schools available leading to work careers would be explained, at length and in detail.

## LEVELS OF EDUCATION OF SUB-GROUPS IN THE SAMPLE

Some significant differences appeared in levels of education achieved by varying sub-groups in the sample. It was found that neither sex nor head of house status was significantly related to the amount of education received. Non-Aboriginal spouses reached a higher level of education than Aborigines in the sample.[10] Aborigines who had no experience of living on a settlement or reserve attained a higher level of education.[11] In fact, the lowest levels of education were found among those who had lived a significant portion of their lives on settlements and reserves.

Persons with longer lengths of urban residence had achieved higher levels of education.[12] The calculations for length of residence in Brisbane were done by dichotomising education at eight grades or less, and again at four grades or less. No difference was apparent in the first instance, but there was a significant difference in the second, with a higher proportion of those with shorter lengths of residence having little education. So few Aborigines in the sample had secondary schooling that length of urban residence was not an important factor in distinguishing those with and without such schooling. At lower levels of education, however, the length of time they had lived in Brisbane did make a difference. Two factors seem to account for this finding. The first is that those with longer length of urban residence have been educated in a system which holds people in school longer. The second is that some of the newer migrants

[10] $p < .01$. Mean number of years of education for non-Aboriginal spouses was 7·8 compared to 6·1 for Aborigines in the sample.

[11] The non-Aboriginal spouses were excluded from the figures in respect to experience on settlements and reserves. $p < .01$.

[12] $p < .01$.

to Brisbane have entered with lower levels of education, especially persons from settlements and reserves and older adults from the small towns.

Two other variables considered, higher level of occupational skill[13] and higher prestige job,[14] were positively and significantly related to the level of education achieved. The positive relationships between these three variables are some of the most important findings of this survey. If the Brisbane Aborigines were a consciously and deliberately repressed minority group, no positive relationships between these variables would have been found. Persons with occupational skills and higher educational levels would have been kept out of jobs with higher prestige.[15]

If mothers share with their children their hopes for the children's education and if the positive relationships between education, skills and higher prestige jobs continue, then it might be expected that there will be a steady rise in the socioeconomic status of the Aboriginal people in Brisbane—with two disclaimers. First, if the migration of Aborigines to Brisbane continues, and there seem to be no reasons why the migration would cease, both the skill and educational level of the new migrants will be extremely important. If large numbers enter with few occupational skills and little schooling, they may not be able to find jobs suited to their skills. This situation would be more likely if there were a downturn in the economy. Second, job discrimination is more likely to take place as Aborigines try to move from unskilled and semi-skilled work to more skilled levels. Degree of integration would then depend not on the efforts and abilities of Aborigines, but rather on the extent to which white Australians are willing to permit Aborigines into more highly valued occupations. Since few Aborigines have pushed far up the occupational scale, future trends cannot easily be predicted.

## SUMMARY

The levels of education attained by the sample group in Brisbane were markedly low, an average (mean) of 6·1 years. The age at which people left school was also low, an average (mean) of 13·6 years. Twenty-five per cent of the sample left school before the legal leaving age of fourteen.

[13] $p < \cdot 01$.

[14] $p < \cdot 01$.

[15] See Chapter 7 for further discussion of these findings.

The young people aged 13-19 years old had more education than any other older age decade, yet they fell far behind white Australians of the same ages. Progressive retardation in school also occurred, and 45 per cent of the youngsters aged ten years and over were at least one grade level behind the usual one for their ages.

Mothers thought their children were doing well in school, although 30 per cent reported difficulties which children were meeting in their studies. Mothers' aspirations for their children's education were high, with 40 per cent hoping for university level and 41 per cent for the Senior levels (grades 11 and 12). Yet the mothers were more realistic when asked what levels they really thought the children would reach. Six per cent reported university level, 45 per cent Senior levels and 41 per cent Junior levels (grades 9 and 10).

Neither sex nor head of house status was significantly related to level of education attained. Non-Aboriginal spouses had higher levels of education as did persons with no prior experiences on settlements. Longer length of urban residence was significantly related to level of education when the education variable was broken at four grades or less but, for higher levels of education, length of urban residence has not yet become a significant factor.

Fortunately for the integration of Aborigines in Brisbane, higher levels of education and higher levels of skill obtained were significantly related to having higher prestige jobs. Were the Aborigines a fully repressed minority group, the attainment of work skills and higher education would not be rewarded with obtaining higher ranking jobs in the occupational structure. This is the most positive aspect arising from the data on education, the rest of which show a dismal picture indeed.

# 7 SKILLS, OCCUPATIONS AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

The economic base on which a migrating racial minority can build an urban life style is an important consideration in a study of the group. Although education may determine occupational level—thus economic life success in the long run—survival of a group in the short run depends on the ability of its members to obtain jobs. In this chapter, occupational skills, the ranking of jobs held, and occupational aspirations of mothers for their children's future work are discussed.

## OCCUPATIONAL SKILLS

Questions about occupational skills were asked at two points in the questionnaire, in the section on education and in that on occupation, and information from both sections was used in collating the findings for this part of the study. Sample members were divided into those with skills, those with semi-skills and those with no skills. Coding of the materials on skills was done in a somewhat different manner from that usually employed in categorising work skills because skill levels were considerably lower than those found in other populations, because it was difficult to distinguish equivalency of skills learned on reserves and settlements and those learned elsewhere, and because the wives of male sample members often knew little about the training or work skills of their spouses. Since the main interest of the authors was to determine the extent to which the employed members of the sample had obtained work which approximated their skill levels, the criteria for determining skill level were made relevant to the sample studied.

Persons listed as having skills were those whose training was obtained in a formal school setting, in an apprenticeship program, in a special training setting or in a learning situation on a reserve or settlement. These were skills which could not usually be self-taught or learned while working on a job. Those categorised as having semi-skills had usually learned them on the job, rather than in some more formal way. The use of this system for determining skill levels led, of course, to the inclusion in the category of skills of such diverse occupational attainments as nursing, teaching, social work, plumbing, typing, shorthand and carpentry. Included in those with semi-skills were persons with skills that were also unequal in their difficulty of execution such as factory operatives, drivers, shop assistants, builders' labourers and non-apprenticed cooks. When the coding was done, a liberal interpretation was adopted on whether a person's training constituted a skill or semi-skill. Even so, the figures show that the majority of people who had left school had no occupational skills.

Table 24 shows the distribution of skills according to sex. It will be seen that for the total sample, almost 68 per cent had no occupational skills at all, 24 per cent had 'semi-skills', and only 8 per cent skills. Proportionately more men than women had skills and semi-skills.[1] The Aborigines in Brisbane, then, have few occupational skills to bring to their jobs. Men, perhaps because they have a greater opportunity to learn skills while working, have obtained more skills than women.

**Table 24:** *Levels of occupational skills achieved according to sex*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | |
| No skills | 268 | 27·6 |
| Semi-skills | 130 | 13·4 |
| Skills | 34 | 3·5 |
| *Women* | | |
| No skills | 390 | 40·1 |
| Semi-skills | 104 | 10·7 |
| Skills | 46 | 4·7 |
| Total | 972 | 100·0 |
| No information | 7 | |

[1] $p < \cdot 01$.

Several variables were examined to determine their possible connection to the level of skill reached by sample members. First, a positive and significant relationship was obtained between those who had higher education and higher prestige jobs and those with higher levels of skill.[2] The importance of this finding cannot be underestimated and was discussed in Chapter 6. At least for the Brisbane Aborigines, the level of education attained, the skills learned and developed, and higher ranking jobs were all positively related to one another—an important impetus to continued integration.

Non-Aboriginal spouses were found to have significantly more skills than the Aboriginal group,[3] as did heads of house when compared with those who were not heads of house,[4] and people under thirty years of age when compared with older ones.[5] Length of residence in Brisbane and prior experience living on reserves and settlements, on the other hand, proved unrelated to the level of skill, findings which need further discussion.

Irrespective of whether the sample was dichotomised at five, ten, twenty or twenty-five years, Aborigines who had lived longer in Brisbane were no more likely to have skills or semi-skills than the newer migrants. In Chapter 6, it was reported that length of urban residence and level of education achieved were significantly related only when level of education was dichotomised at four grades or less. The finding there was explained partially by noting that newer migrants to the city had low education, found particularly among persons who had migrated to Brisbane from settlements and reserves, rather than that higher levels of education were an effect of longer length of residence. It appears, then, that the greater opportunities to become educated and to gain skills in Brisbane have not yet become sufficiently operative to make a difference in these two areas in the lives of urban Aborigines.

No difference appeared in levels of skill reached between those who had never lived on a settlement or reserve and those who had this experience. (Non-Aboriginal spouses were excluded from this analysis.) When it is recalled that the level of education attained by those who had not lived on settlements was significantly higher than that of those who had (see Chapter 6), the findings here may at first seem somewhat sur-

[2] Both $p < .01$.
[3] $p < .01$.
[4] $p < .01$.
[5] $p < .05$.

prising. They can be explained, however, by knowing that until fairly recently the level of education on reserves and settlements was quite low (for older adults a four-grade system was commonly reported). Training in occupational skills, on the other hand, was provided on settlements and reserves, and some of the Aboriginal adults had gained skills in these programs.

## RANKING OF OCCUPATIONS

The occupations of respondents were analysed by an eight-point scale of Australian occupations ranked by both level of skill and prestige (Broom et al., 1966). The researchers who developed this eight-category scale began by listing the 348 occupational categories used in the 1961 Census of Australia in 100 categories, which were then grouped to make sixteen categories with about the same level of skill. As a final step, an eight-category scale was developed from the sixteen-category one, using prestige ratings as the major criterion for this grouping.

The distribution of occupations of the Aboriginal sample on this scale is shown in Table 25. None of the sample members was in the highest category of upper professionals and managers (doctors, lawyers, bankers, company directors and the like). Slightly over 3 per cent were in the second and third highest categories of lower professionals, graziers, wheat and sheep farmers, other farmers and self-employed shop proprietors. Only 4 per cent were in the fourth highest category of white-collar clerical and related work. Slightly over 5 per cent were craftsmen and foremen or were members of the armed services. (None was in the police force.) Altogether, only 13 per cent of the working sample members were in jobs in the first five rankings, and several of these persons were male non-Aboriginal spouses. In contrast, Broom (1971) presents 1966 Census data for non-Aboriginal workers for all of Australia. In the top five categories of job ranking, slightly over 58 per cent of the males and slightly over 53 per cent of the females were found, over four times as high a proportion of non-Aborigines as Aborigines in the same five categories.[6]

Twenty-seven per cent of Brisbane Aborigines were working at semi-skilled jobs such as factory operatives and process workers, shop assistants

[6] Aboriginal workers in the first five categories for all of Australia were 5·9 per cent males and 6·5 per cent females. These data are for those having 50 per cent or more Aboriginal ancestry.

**Table 25:** *Types of occupation reported*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Upper professional and managerial | 0 | 0 |
| Lower professional, graziers, and wheat and sheep farmers (includes social workers, teachers, nurses, ministers, artists and entertainers) | 13 | 2·5 |
| Other farmers and self-employed shop proprietors | 5 | 0·9 |
| Clerical and related workers (includes telephonists, draftsmen, and messengers) | 21 | 4·0 |
| Craftsmen and foremen, members of armed services, and police | 28 | 5·3 |
| Operatives and process workers, shop assistants and salesmen, and drivers | 142 | 26·9 |
| Personal, domestic and other service workers | 90 | 17·1 |
| Miners, labourers, and farm and rural workers | 228 | 43·3 |
| Total[1] | 527 | 100·0 |
| No information | 5 | |

[1] Of the 979 out of school people, 532 were working (type of job is missing for five), 321 were wives or teenage girls who were not working but who lived in a family where the husband or father was working, 111 were not employed for a variety of reasons (illness, out of work, old age, just arrived in Brisbane and the like) and fifteen were being trained at the time of interview.

and salesmen, and drivers, many of them having progressed to the more skilled category by learning the skill on the job. The 1966 Census data, reported by Broom, indicate a slightly smaller proportion of non-Aboriginal workers in this category, about 21 per cent of the males and about 23 per cent of the females.[7]

In the two lowest-ranked occupational categories, personal, domestic and other service work and unskilled labour, were found 60 per cent of the employed members of the sample. In comparison, Broom reports only 20 per cent of both non-Aboriginal males and females in these two categories of work.[8] Three times as many sample Aborigines were doing unskilled, less rewarding, low-paid work as were non-Aborigines. These

[7] Aboriginal data for the country as a whole were about 15 per cent for males and 6·5 per cent for females, smaller proportions than in the Brisbane sample.

[8] Aboriginal data for the country as a whole were 74 per cent of the males and 78 per cent of the females in those two categories.

unskilled occupations are marginal to the economy, and those who practise them are the first put off if there is an economic recession.

The proportion of female workers in the study group stood at about 31 per cent. In Broom's report from the 1966 Census, he indicated that almost 30 per cent of the non-Aboriginal work force and about 25 per cent of the Aboriginal work force were women.[9] The slightly higher proportion of Aboriginal female workers in Brisbane, compared with Aborigines in the country as a whole, may be effects of the need for money in the city, especially for women who head households, and of an increase in both the total opportunities to work and the matching of skill levels of workers to jobs available so that women enter the job market. (See Chapter 8 for a further discussion of women in the work force.)

Aborigines in Brisbane, then, worked in far less high-ranking jobs than did other Australians, but their position, when compared with that of other people of their own race throughout Australia, appears slightly better. A large majority of the respondents in this study were employed as factory operatives, drivers, domestic servants, and unskilled labourers.

## OCCUPATIONAL RANKING OF SUB-GROUPS IN THE SAMPLE

Relationships between the variables used for analysis of levels of education and skill were calculated for occupational rankings. From these it emerged, first, that there were no differences between men and women in their job rankings. This finding is not simply explained, since men had significantly more skills than women, and occupational rankings were based partly on skill level (see Table 24). Two factors seem to be at work. In the first place, proportionately more men than women gained semi-skills on their jobs, thus boosting the figures on skills to significant proportions.[10] On the other hand, among women, proportionately more with skills and, thus, with presumably higher job rankings were in the work force.[11] Consequently, there was no difference in the relationship between job ranking and sex.

[9] Latest figures, in 1972, indicate that women comprise approximately 40 per cent of the Australian work force (information from the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics).

[10] When the calculations are made of semi-skills and no skills against sex, men have more semi-skills than women. $p < \cdot 01$.

[11] Whereas 28 per cent of the women in the sample had skills, 40 per cent of the women in the work force had skills. About 38 per cent of the men in the sample had skills; 40 per cent of the men in the work force had skills.

In addition, no significant difference appeared in job ranking between those who were heads of house and those who were not. Again, this finding needs some discussion, for head of house and level of skill reached were positively and significantly related. Since more men were heads of house and were working than women, and men were gaining semi-skills on their jobs, there is a positive and significant relationship between head of house and level of skill. But for job ranking and head of house no relationship appears. The explanation for the finding is twofold. First, as noted above, more of the women who worked had skills, and several of these had high-ranking jobs. Many of these women are not heads of house. Second, an important segment of the work force was made up of young, never married males who have skills, some of whom have high-ranking jobs. Many of these young men were also not heads of house.

Three variables were unequivocally and positively related to higher prestige jobs. Those with higher levels of skill,[12] those with higher levels of education,[13] and non-Aboriginal spouses[14] all had higher prestige jobs. No matter how the categories on these variables were modified, the differences remained significant. That the non-Aboriginal spouses have higher-ranking jobs is no surprise. The lack of discrimination in their being hired and moved up in positions probably accounts for their apparent success. The findings on the other two variables, as mentioned earlier, are important ones. As long as they remain related, integration into the occupational structure by urban Aborigines is more likely.

Broom (1971) does not present data on occupational skills for all of Australia but concentrates on levels of education and rankings of occupations. He points out that many Aborigines who have reached higher levels of education are employed in jobs far below that expected for persons with their level of knowledge.[15] This finding holds for both men and women. Lack of education, on the other hand, is very much related to holding the lowest ranked jobs. In terms of life chances, then, obtaining an education provides no guarantee of finding a high-ranking job, but not getting an education seems a good way to be held to low-ranking jobs for life. Broom was understandably concerned at the dis-

[12] $p < \cdot 01$.

[13] $p < \cdot 01$.

[14] $p < \cdot 01$ breaking the occupational variable at operatives and below and $p < \cdot 05$ for domestics and labourers against all others.

[15] The data are from the 1966 Census. The Aboriginal data are for persons having 50 per cent or more Aboriginal ancestry.

crepancies found, for children reared in families where higher education was not associated with a higher-ranking job would be aware of parental disillusionment and not seek the education needed to help themselves.

Three other variables were less clearly related to job ranking. These were settlement experience, length of residence in Brisbane, and age. When the non-Aboriginal spouses were excluded from the analysis, significantly more domestics and labourers than those in all other occupational categories had lived on a settlement or reserve,[16] but there was no significant difference in respect to settlement living when the occupational variable was divided at operatives and below against all other occupations. In other words, though few people had achieved jobs above the operative level, those who held these jobs were just as likely to have lived on settlements as those who had no such experience. When it came to the lower ranking jobs, however, prior settlement living did make a difference, since more persons with settlement experience were domestics and labourers, whereas more of those with no settlement experience were found in the middle level jobs of operatives and drivers.

Much the same pattern held for the relationship between length of residence in Brisbane and occupational ranking. It was found that significantly more people in the skilled jobs of operatives, drivers and above were in the group with longer residence,[17] and significantly more domestics and labourers were among those who had lived for shorter periods in the city. For the few people in jobs requiring higher skill than the operative category, however, the residence factor made no apparent difference.

Age was another variable considered, and four separate comparisons were made, two breaking the job ranking at different places and two the age variable. The two lowest categories of employment (domestics and labourers) were compared with all other categories, and then the three lowest (operatives, domestics and labourers) formed the basis for comparison. In both instances it was found that those under forty had significantly higher-ranking jobs than those forty and over.[18] When a similar comparison was made for those under and over thirty, however, the differences were less marked. Although the younger people held more of the high-ranking jobs, the differences were not statistically significant.

[16] $p < \cdot 02$.

[17] For five years, $p < \cdot 01$; while for ten years, $p < \cdot 02$.

[18] Domestics and labourers, $p < \cdot 05$; operatives and below, $p < \cdot 01$.

One might note here that there was a significant relationship between age and level of skill, breaking the sample into those under and over age thirty. That the higher-ranking jobs were related to age only when the latter variable was broken at forty suggests that the age decade 30-40 is a crucial one in employment. If Aborigines are to advance on their jobs, they will presumably have done so by the end of this decade. The data can be interpreted to indicate that some in this decade have been promoted in their jobs by gaining experience, rather than starting out with skills in a higher-ranking occupation.

## OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

As with education, questions were asked to assess the mothers' aspirations for their children's future occupations. The aspirations were coded on the same eight-point scale as was used for the analysis of occupations of the adult population. Table 26 shows the results of this inquiry for the boys. These show a marked contrast with the occupations held by the adult

**Table 26:** *Mothers' aspirations for boys' occupations*

| Occupation | Mothers | |
|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per cent |
| Upper professional and managerial | 48 | 30·0 |
| Lower professional, graziers, and wheat and sheep farmers | 10 | 6·2 |
| Other farmers and self-employed shop proprietors | 0 | 0 |
| Clerical and related workers | 14 | 8·8 |
| Craftsmen and foremen, members of armed services, and police | 71 | 44·4 |
| Operatives and process workers, shop assistants and salesmen, and drivers | 2 | 1·3 |
| Personal, domestic and other service workers | 1 | 0·6 |
| Miners, labourers, and farm and rural workers | 5 | 3·1 |
| Pleasant job, good job, well paid job | 9 | 5·6 |
| Total | 160 | 100·0 |
| Inapplicable (family units where there are no mothers of pre-school or school-age boys) | 361 | |
| No information (not interviewed or mothers unable to respond) | 150 | |

**Table 27:** *Mothers' expectations for boys' actual future occupations*

| Occupation | Mothers | |
|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per cent |
| Upper professional and managerial | 16 | 13·6 |
| Lower professional, graziers, and wheat and sheep farmers | 5 | 4·2 |
| Other farmers and self-employed shop proprietors | 0 | 0 |
| Clerical and related workers | 9 | 7·6 |
| Craftsmen and foremen, members of armed services, and police | 56 | 47·5 |
| Operatives and process workers, shop assistants and salesmen, and drivers | 10 | 8·5 |
| Personal, domestic and other service workers | 1 | 0·8 |
| Miners, labourers, and farm and rural workers | 18 | 15·3 |
| Pleasant job, good job, well paid job | 3 | 2·5 |
| Total | 118 | 100·0 |
| Inapplicable (family units where there are no mothers of pre-school or school-age boys) | 361 | |
| No information (not interviewed or mothers unable to respond) | 192 | |

working group, for very few mothers had aspirations for the lower-ranking occupations. The two most often named job categories were the upper professional and the skilled trades (mostly carpenters), both of which require considerably higher educational levels than those which had been reached by the parents and by the young male teenagers in the sample. Almost 6 per cent of the mothers did not name a particular occupational category, but simply wanted their boys to have good, pleasant, or well paid jobs.

When it came to expectations of actual job achievement (Table 27), some differences were evident between aspirations and expectations, but the contrasts are by no means as striking as those noted in the educational analysis (see Tables 22 and 23 in the previous chapter). Fewer mothers thought their boys would enter the higher professional ranks, about the same number thought they would be lower professionals, clerical workers, craftsmen and foremen, and more thought their boys would be factory workers, shop assistants, drivers and labourers. It will be noted that the mothers' beliefs about the actual future occupations of their boys were

higher than the jobs held at the time of the study by male spouses and by the young male adults who had left school.

Table 28 shows the aspirations held by mothers for their daughters. It covers a more limited range of responses than those given for the boys, the majority wanting their girls to become nurses, teachers, secretaries, dressmakers, air hostesses, shop assistants and cooks. Again the aspirations for the children were for higher occupations than those held by adult women and by young girls recently out of school. As with the boys, mothers distinguished between what they aspired to for their daughters and what they thought the girls would really do (Table 29), but the differences are not as marked as with the boys.

**Table 28:** *Mothers' aspirations for girls' occupations*

| Occupation | Mothers | |
|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per cent |
| Upper professional and managerial | 3 | 1·7 |
| Lower professional | 64 | 37·0 |
| Self-employed shop proprietors | 0 | 0 |
| Clerical and related workers | 56 | 32·4 |
| Craftsmen and foremen, members of armed forces, and police | 16 | 9·2 |
| Operatives and process workers, shop assistants and salesmen, and drivers | 9 | 5·2 |
| Personal, domestic and other service workers | 15 | 8·7 |
| Miners and labourers | 0 | 0 |
| Pleasant job, good job, well paid job | 5 | 2·9 |
| Homemaker training helpful in marriage | 5 | 2·9 |
| Total | 173 | 100·0 |
| Inapplicable (family units where there are no mothers of pre-school or school-age girls) | 344 | |
| No information (not interviewed or mothers unable to respond) | 154 | |

This study, then, has described the aspirations of mothers for their children's education and jobs and then obtained a measure of what mothers thought would actually happen to their children in these life aspects when they were grown. The survey did not explore, however, the reasoning which lay behind the mothers' views. It is not unreasonable to ask why the mothers' reality beliefs about education and occupation re-

**Table 29:** *Mothers' expectations for girls' actual future occupations*

| Occupation | Mothers | |
|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per cent |
| Upper professional and managerial | 1 | 0·8 |
| Lower professional | 35 | 29·9 |
| Self-employed shop proprietors | 1 | 0·8 |
| Clerical and related workers | 40 | 34·2 |
| Craftsmen and foremen, members of armed services, and police | 7 | 6·0 |
| Operatives and process workers, shop assistants and salesmen, and drivers | 10 | 8·6 |
| Personal, domestic and other service workers | 18 | 15·4 |
| Miners and labourers | 0 | 0 |
| Pleasant job, good job, well paid job | 0 | 0 |
| Stay home and be a housewife | 5 | 4·3 |
| Total | 117 | 100·0 |
| Inapplicable (family units where there are no mothers of pre-school or school-age girls) | 344 | |
| No information (not interviewed or mothers unable to respond) | 210 | |

mained as high as they did. Surely, elements of fantasy and wish-fulfilment are involved, especially for the actual occupations of daughters where the discrepancy with the aspirations was the smallest of the three comparisons.

One of the comments often made by interviewers concerning the questions on aspirations for both education and occupation was that the mothers in many cases were unable to respond at all or spoke as if they knew nothing about either the school system, training programs, or the occupational structure. (Note the large 'no information' entries in the tables. Most of these came from mothers unable to respond to the questions.) As mentioned earlier, few mothers understood that technical college training would lead to jobs in skilled trades, and no mother listed a teachers' college as a necessary step to enter the teaching profession. Both the aspirations and the reality expectations indicated that mothers' dreams and actual beliefs would not serve to discourage children from continuing in school and proceeding to skilled occupations. More powerful determinants will be involved, many of which were discussed in Chapter 6. In addition to factors leading to school retardation and early school

leaving, there are other situational determinants which affect the low education and low income syndrome.

If young Aboriginal teenagers, for example, are highly motivated to enter the job market and earn their own money, in effect, to be adults, then the lures into relatively low-paying work can be strong indeed. Families that have for years been deprived of quickly available consumer goods, such as TV sets, radios, and clothing, can hardly be expected to teach their children to delay gratification of their present needs for long-term rewards, the obtaining of which is not necessarily guaranteed. The young people's desires for material goods which can be satisfied by early entry to the work force, is probably aided, inadvertently, by Aboriginal parents, who have low incomes and large households and who may be unwilling or incapable of paying the expenses of secondary school for their children. (Federal grants to secondary school students may alleviate part of this problem.) Parents, too, may be unable to sacrifice the short-term reward of contributions to the family budget by teenagers for the longer-awaited benefits of their children's education and skill training. This relative deprivation of the Aboriginal group in contrast to other Australians may be a strong factor pushing young Aborigines into early work at low skill levels. The extent of this impetus from Aborigines of all ages should be studied.

## SUMMARY

Few of the Aborigines in Brisbane had occupational skills. Sixty-eight per cent of the adults had no occupational skills, 24 per cent had semi-skills, and only 8 per cent skills. More men than women had skills. Non-Aboriginal spouses, heads of house and those under thirty had more skills. Length of urban residence and settlement experience did not make a difference in the acquisition of skills. As noted earlier, high education, high-ranking jobs and skills were all positively and significantly related.

Occupations were ranked on an eight-category scale, based partly on level of skill and partly on the prestige of the jobs. Only 13 per cent of the working sample were in the top five categories. Twenty-seven per cent were semi-skilled operative and process workers, drivers, shop assistants and salesmen. But 60 per cent of the workers were in the two unskilled labouring jobs of domestic and service workers and labourers. These are marginal jobs and are a weak economic base for the welfare of the Aborigines in Brisbane.

Thirty-one per cent of those working were women. Non-Aboriginal spouses had higher-ranked jobs as did persons under forty years old. Those who had lived on settlements were most often employed in the two lowest-ranked jobs but for higher-ranked jobs settlement experience made no difference. Shorter residence in Brisbane characterised persons in the two lowest-ranked occupations but, again, made no difference for the higher-ranked jobs. Not related to ranking of occupations were sex of the worker and head of house status.

Mothers aspired for high-ranking jobs for their sons, especially the upper professions and skilled trades. When talking about the actual jobs the boys would obtain, mothers were more realistic but did not change their responses as much as they had for education. When asked their aspirations for the occupations of girls, mothers gave a more limited range of responses and listed traditional female jobs. Mothers' beliefs about what their girls would really be doing were slightly more realistic than their aspirations.

The low occupation, low education syndrome among Aborigines is not going to be remedied quickly. Any programs designed to help young people stay in school longer or to train them for jobs above the labouring level should have an appreciable impact and be of great importance to the future urban Aboriginal population.

# 8 ECONOMIC STATUS

A number of factors have been discussed in earlier chapters which point to the fact that the economic status of the Aborigines was in the main low and compared unfavourably with that of the population as a whole. Thus we have seen that the majority of those in employment were in unskilled jobs, which would mean that in general they were among the lowest-paid workers. We have also seen that the living conditions of the Aborigines were in general worse than those of the white community, many living in sub-standard dwellings and in overcrowded conditions. Furnishings and equipment were also below the general standard of the community, at least in areas where comparative data could be obtained.

## UNEMPLOYMENT AND CONDITIONS OF WORK

Additional information on the economic standing of the group came from several other questions which related to work experience, sources of income and the way in which money was being used. It was found that 7·5 per cent of the men in the sample who were eligible for work were unemployed, and hardly any of these were receiving unemployment benefit. This is a strikingly high figure for unemployment at a time when the percentage for the community as a whole was very low. The 1966 Census figure for Brisbane was 1·3 per cent of males unemployed, a figure which can be taken as a fairly accurate comparison, as the date of the Census was not far removed from the interviewing period for the study, and no great fluctuation in employment levels occurred at that time.

Other questions on employment revealed that about 69 per cent of those working did so for 35-42 hours per week, about 21 per cent for forty-three hours or more, and 10 per cent for thirty-four hours or less. Almost 45 per cent had been in their present job six months or less, 12·5 per cent for six months to a year, and nearly another 13 per cent for one or two years. In other words, 70 per cent had held their present jobs for no more than two years. At the other end of the scale only 18 per cent had been in their present jobs for over five years. Among the working group about 34 per cent were receiving the basic wage only,[1] about 32 per cent more than the basic wage, and about 30 per cent less, this last group consisting mostly of part-time workers and those being paid according to an award for juniors.

## WOMEN IN THE WORK FORCE

Low income families often raise the earnings of the family by adding a second job in either of two ways: the male head of house takes another job; or the wife of the head of house goes to work. The first of these is a common phenomenon in the United States, but only six men in the Aboriginal sample used this solution to the problem of inadequate income. Taking on a second job would appear not to be a pattern among Aborigines.

In regard to women working, two calculations were made. When all women out of school were included in the figures, it was found that about 30 per cent of the women in the sample worked. When women who were not the wives of the head of a family unit nor themselves the heads of such units were excluded from the computations, then about 27 per cent of the women were found to be employed. But among this group of wives and of women who headed family units, only about 13 per cent of the wives worked whereas about 49 per cent of the spouseless women who headed family units worked, a statistically significant difference.[2] Aboriginal married women, in Brisbane at least, do not take a job to help earn income for the family. In this respect, the Aboriginal wife is participating in what was once a traditional Australian family pattern. On the other hand, women without spouses who head family units are

[1] At the time of the study the Commonwealth basic wage was $29.00 per week and the Queensland basic wage was $31.40.

[2] $p < \cdot 01$.

evidently forced by economic factors to work to support themselves or their families, a participation in the work force which they may not desire.

Broom (1971) reports that 25 per cent of all Aboriginal women in the country as a whole were in the work force in 1966 but, in contrast, 37 per cent of the non-Aboriginal women were employed. (These figures were corrected to exclude students.) In addition, more non-Aboriginal women work at every age level, including even the 15-19 year old group where the non-Aboriginal rate of participation in the work force is more than double that of the Aborigines. Even the young Aboriginal girls, who have often left school at an earlier age than non-Aboriginal girls, are not working.

These figures raise the important question of why more Aboriginal women are not working. In Brisbane, the educational level of the women is equal to that of men, but fewer women have occupational skills, although those who do have such skills are participating disproportionately more in the work force. Broom suggests that family obligations, poor health, and disillusionment should be investigated as potential causes of women not working, and he pointed out, as reported earlier, that on a national level Aboriginal women with higher levels of education were not employed at job levels appropriate to their presumed knowledge.

The authors would like to suggest that another possible cause may be the dominance relationships between Aboriginal husbands and wives. In addition, it may very well be that women are more handicapped than men in getting around in the city and coping with bureaucracies where they might be employed. If this were so, outreach adult education programs could easily be organised where adult women brought up on settlements or in small towns might be taught the specific details of transportation in the city, the addresses of job employment centres, the kinds of job available and what would be expected of them by way of work, dress, hours and the like. Relatives or friends might be encouraged to apply at the same places so that some of the more reticent women might move into the work force. Such a program, directed as it would be to the women themselves, assumes that the causes of the low work force participation rate lie within the families and the women themselves rather than in an economic structure which has not always welcomed Aboriginal workers. Certainly, some of the problems lie within Aboriginal families, but just as certainly there are firms which do not hire Aborigines. Along with a program to encourage women to take jobs, a concomitant operation would have to be an outreach program that located businesses willing to hire

Aborigines and encouraged employers to upgrade Aboriginal employees as they gained experience and skills on the job.

Additional data were obtained in the survey on income sources for women. As reported in Chapter 2, there were seventy-five women with children who headed family units. Since these women seemed those most likely to receive a widow's pension, an analysis was done to determine the marital status of those who received this pension. Of those thought eligible, 60 per cent did not receive a pension and 40 per cent did. However, one-third of those who were actually widows received no pension whereas almost 74 per cent of those separated, divorced or deserted did not receive one, a difference that is statistically significant.[3] Since the numbers involved in the analysis were small and the question concerned with sources of income other than jobs came late in the interview and may not have been asked rigorously by the interviewers, these data are presented with some hesitation.

Another reason for reluctance to report the finding is that the marital status of women was a difficult matter to determine. Often women reported themselves legally as widowed or divorced or separated but were living temporarily or on a longer-term basis in a *de facto* marriage with a spouse, and we coded these women as married. In other homes, women reported themselves as married when, in fact, no spouse lived in the home then or for some preceding period of time. And in other cases, some of the mothers with children had never been married at any time. In addition, when one considers that the procedure for establishing eligibility for the pension in 1965 was a complicated one in that the woman must have shown that she had taken court action for maintenance, and in the case of a *de facto* marriage had to prove that it had been of at least three years' duration, the entitlement to the pension became an issue. For these reasons, the hesitation of the authors to report the findings is perhaps understandable. Nevertheless, the fact that even one widow or deserted wife or separated or divorced person who might have been eligible for a pension and had not gained entitlement to it, for whatever reason, was a matter of urgent concern in 1965, especially when the women involved in this analysis all had children.

More recently, the supporting mother's benefit, which provides income to some of the mothers not meeting the criteria for a widow's pension, has been added. This benefit has probably helped many of the spouseless

[3] $p < .01$.

Aboriginal women with children, although it does have as a criterion of eligibility that the women take some reasonable action towards obtaining maintenance from the fathers of their children. Meeting this criterion in the closely connected network of Aborigines in Brisbane may be difficult for women who are concerned about their reputation and who may wish to establish another marriage. The effects of the new benefit should be watched by those interested in helping Aboriginal families.

## OTHER ECONOMIC FACTORS

Several other questions sought information about the economic position of family units. One of these concerned savings, and the responses showed that 68 per cent of the group had no savings at all. Of those who did, only slightly more than 6 per cent had over $100. About 50 per cent of the families said that they had no bank account; 44 per cent had an adult's account, and 5 per cent a child's account. Brisbane Aborigines were more likely to have bank accounts than the non-urban Aborigines of New South Wales, where 75 per cent of the men and 83 per cent of the women had no bank account (Rowley, 1967a).

Another area of interest is insurance. Seventy-five per cent of the male heads of family units had no life insurance policy, and 74 per cent carried no insurance on their possessions. Unfortunately, insurance sources were not able to provide comparable data for the general population, but it is commonly stated that 'insurance is a middle class concept'. This may only be another way of saying that the poorer members of the community do not usually carry insurance, which for many is a luxury not to be afforded on a limited budget. Given the other indications of poverty in the study group, it is hardly surprising that the proportion insured is no higher than it was found to be. One may even speculate on whether the fact that one in four was in the insured group indicates a move in the direction of integration and acceptance of standards of the community in which they live. But no firm conclusions can be drawn in this area.

The other question concerned the use of hire purchase, and revealed that 47 per cent of the family units were buying goods by hire purchase, most of the items bought by instalment being large household appliances (stoves, refrigerators, washing machines), television sets, furniture, and motor cars. This last finding is another which suffers from the lack of comparative data. With a large number of family units involved in the use of credit, it is to be hoped that families are not overextending them-

selves financially. Aborigines should be made aware of consumer protection services.

When the general economic status of the group studied is reviewed, it is apparent that there are many different indications of a high incidence of poverty. Had the less stable persons who could not be brought into the study in fact been included, there may have been more. Since it is known that poverty is associated with other problems, it may well be that many of the difficulties which Aborigines in Brisbane encounter are shared with non-Aborigines who have a similar economic status. If so, some of the remedial measures needed should be aimed at a much wider group, and not addressed solely to Aborigines. Nevertheless, it remains a matter of concern that such a high proportion of the Aboriginal community in Brisbane is poor.

## SUMMARY

Members of the Aboriginal community in Brisbane were poor. Of the males 7·5 per cent were not employed, considerably more than for other people in Brisbane. The majority of the workers had had their present jobs less than two years, with only 18 per cent having had their jobs over five years. Sixty-four per cent of the workers received the basic wage or less, but those earning less were primarily part-time workers and those receiving junior award wages.

Few male heads of household solved the problem of poverty for their families by taking a second job. Nor did many wives work, only 13 per cent. Fewer of the Aboriginal women in the sample worked than non-Aboriginal women in the general population. More spouseless women worked than married women.

The authors report somewhat hesitantly that of the seventy-five women with children in the sample who headed family units, 60 per cent did not receive a widow's pension. One-third of the widows, but 74 per cent of the separated, divorced or deserted wives, did not receive this pension.

Savings accounts were few among sample members. And of the few who had them, the amounts saved were small, only 6 per cent of the family units reporting they had saved more than $100. Few in the sample had insured either their lives or their property.

Aborigines were able, however, to establish credit and 47 per cent of the family units listed goods which they were buying on hire purchase.

# 9 PARTICIPATION IN THE LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

Three areas of the study highlighted the extent to which the Aborigines in the sample were involved in the general life of the community as distinct from the more specific activities of being educated or earning a living. These were political participation, union membership, and membership in clubs and other voluntary organisations.

## POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

To measure the participation of the Brisbane Aborigines in the political life of the community, a check was made to determine how many of the sample were enrolled to vote in Queensland. Before the findings are reported, two matters should be discussed: the election laws pertaining to Brisbane's Aborigines, and the procedures of this study for checking enrolment. First, the Queensland election laws:

1. The general Queensland election ruling at the beginning of the study in April, 1965, was compulsory enrolment to vote for all persons twenty-one years old or more. (The Federal law was the same.)
2. But persons of predominantly Aboriginal descent were *excluded* from the electoral roll.
3. Persons of half-blood or less, on the other hand, were not only eligible to enrol but *required* to do so, thus being treated under the law in the same manner as other Queensland citizens.

4. If persons in Category 3 were, however, under the control of the Protector of Aboriginals, then they were *excluded* from the right to enrol and vote, being treated as if they were in Category 2.[1]

Under these four categories, one group of persons was not clearly excluded from or included in the enrolment process, those holding exemption certificates from coverage by the Queensland Acts. Most of these were half-blood or less and were covered under Category 3. There were, nevertheless, a few persons who held exemption certificates but who were more than half-caste in descent. After discussion with Aborigines in Brisbane, study personnel concluded, with these Aboriginal advisers, that this group of persons, who equated their exemption certificates with the granting of full citizenship rights, probably were included in Category 3 and were required to enrol and vote. This interpretation seems a corollary to Category 4.

On 17 December, 1965, the Queensland Legislative Assembly passed the Elections Acts Amendment of 1965. The new legislation gave the *privilege* of enrolling and voting to those Aborigines in Queensland who had been excluded earlier, namely to those of predominantly Aboriginal descent and those under the control of the Queensland Acts. The new legislation did *not* require persons in these two categories to enrol but allowed them to do so if they wished. The new legislation went into effect on 1 February, 1966. Educational programs were carried out, primarily on settlements and missions, by the State Electoral Office in which newly enfranchised Aborigines were told of the 1965 law and their rights under it.

Although the law seems clear on who was excluded from voting earlier and who was required to enrol and vote, with the exception discussed above, the situation in Brisbane for the Aborigines themselves was far from clear. First, many of the sample members were not sure of the degree of their Aboriginal descent. Second, many of the sample members did not know or did not want revealed what their legal status under the Queensland Acts was. Third, because exemptions could be revoked, because some persons left settlements without permission, and because persons who might be in trouble could be legally placed under the control of the Acts even though they had never been under their jurisdiction

[1] The authors are indebted to the Principal Electoral Officer of the State Electoral Office in Brisbane for the interpretation of the laws governing enrolment and voting and for the assistance given in making the voting roll check.

before, sample members were unlikely to ask either the Electoral Office or the Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs what their legal status was under the Acts or under the electoral laws. And fourth, the levels of education and information were low among sample members, and many probably did not know of their legal rights and responsibilities. There was, then, confusion on the part of many sample members about their status in regard to the electoral laws affecting them.

In summary of the law, all white Queenslanders were required to enrol. Aboriginal Queenslanders, however, were subject to discriminatory voting laws about which there was confusion, and various factors mitigated against their enrolment as an act of citizenship.

Study personnel thought this situation, while far from ideal in its practical political outcomes, provided an opportunity to measure objectively the extent to which sample members were integrated into the political life of Brisbane. It was also seen as a method of ascertaining the social experiences which may have been determinants of enrolment behaviour. Since most sample members were half-caste or less, since most were either exempt from the Queensland Acts or had never been under their jurisdiction, and since knowledgeable Aborigines and study personnel thought those exempted from the Queensland Acts were included in Category 3, it was assumed that almost all the sample members were required to enrol and vote.

Second, procedures for checking enrolment. The check on the Queensland electoral roll was made in April and May, 1966 and coincided with the end of the data-collection period.[2] The rolls used were the permanent roll (closed on 31 December, 1965) and the supplementary roll (closed on 19 April, 1966). When checking names against the rolls, the recorders indicated whether the sample member was listed on the permanent roll or the supplementary roll. This information was used to determine that few sample members enrolled between 1 February, 1966, when the new enfranchisement went into effect, and the closing of the supplementary roll on 19 April, 1966. But since the time period was short, this lack of new enrolments does not imply that the small number of the sample who were affected and who gained new rights were not interested in them. Some may simply not have had time to learn of their enfranchisement and

[2] At no time during the check of the voting rolls did anyone other than study personnel use or see the names of sample members. The confidentiality of respondents was strictly maintained.

social factors other than the new law were more salient in affecting the enrolment behaviour of others.

Given compulsory voting in Australia, a distressing number of respondents were not enrolled. Of the 625 Aborigines twenty-one years of age or older, only 367 (59 per cent) were enrolled, whereas 258 (41 per cent) were not. Needless to say, this proportion is far above that of other Australians, the vast majority of whom enrol and vote.

Interestingly enough, the data of non-Aboriginal spouses show the same pattern. Of the eighty-nine eligible, only 54 (61 per cent) were enrolled, while thirty-five (39 per cent) were not. Thus, non-Aboriginal spouses were as likely to be non-enrolled as were Aborigines. This suggests that non-enrolment is associated with factors other than Aboriginal descent.

There were some difficulties associated with the check on electoral status. In addition to the 714 sample members for whom there was complete information on name and address, there were 74 twenty-one years of age or older, eligible to enrol, whose information was so scant that no check was made. These were, for instance, people who were additional family units included in expanded households whose full name was not given on the original head of house questionnaire, and who were not interviewed; those who moved from one house to another during the study period and whose new address was not known; recent migrants to Brisbane; those who used names which differed from their legal ones (recently married women or women in *de facto* unions or those known by two names); and those whose name was a common one and whose address had changed. In most of these cases, the information about the persons in the study files had been reported by someone other than the sample member. It may well be that some were enrolled to vote but so little was known about them that study personnel felt they should be listed as persons for whom there is 'no information'.

Study personnel had entertained two hypotheses concerning non-enrolment. The first suggests that enrolment was a function of socio-economic status, and that respondents would be more likely to enrol when their status rose. This hypothesis was not supported. Results showed that higher levels of education, size of income, and higher prestige jobs were not significantly related to inclusion on the voting roll. (Nor were sex of person, union membership for male sample members, or respondents' feeling of going up in the world.) This does not mean that the hypothesis is totally disproven. As has been shown in earlier chapters, most of the

respondents were poor. In addition, a number of Aborigines were presumably missed by the network sampling procedure, and many of them may have had even lower incomes and lower ranking jobs than those studied (if employed at all). Thus, had a wider spread of statuses been obtained, the hypothesis might have been supported. But whatever the interpretation, the fact is that no relationship was found between socio-economic status and enrolment.

The other hypothesis suggested that enrolment was a function of personal stability and social integration. This hypothesis was supported in the data. Those who were married when compared with the spouseless were more often found to be enrolled,[3] as were the heads of house contrasted with those who were not.[4] More often enrolled were those who had lived longer in Brisbane,[5] those who had held their present jobs for three years or more,[6] those who had never lived on settlements,[7] those with higher occupational skills,[8] those who belonged to clubs and organisations,[9] those who were thirty years of age and over,[10] and those who felt satisfied with the way things were going for them.[11] Finally, persons who only partially identified themselves as Aborigines were enrolled more than those who fully identified, although the relationship only approaches statistical significance.[12] Taken together, these factors may be seen as indicators of personal, occupational and residential stability, and personal adjustment. In general, then, disrupted and disorganised persons were less likely to be on the voting rolls than more stable ones.

One might reasonably ask, at this point, if some of those listed as not enrolled were in the process of changing their enrolment from elsewhere in Queensland, since the sample population is a migrant one and since changes in enrolment take some time. There are several responses to this question. First, of course, there probably were some whose enrolment was being changed at the time of the check, but surely not enough to account for the high numbers not enrolled. Second, length of residence was significantly related to enrolment, and those who had lived longer in Brisbane were more likely to be on the voting rolls. Third, some of those who

[3] $p < .06$. [4] $p < .01$. [5] $p < .01$.
[6] $p < .02$. [7] $p < .01$. [8] $p < .01$.
[9] $p < .05$. [10] $p < .01$. [11] $p < .05$.
[12] $p < .10$. In this study, persons were considered 'partial identifiers' if they were referred to study personnel by others as Aborigines and gave an interview but described themselves by some ethnic or racial term other than Aboriginal (for example, Maori, Polynesian, South Sea Islander).

were changing place of enrolment were probably included in the 'no information' group of Aboriginal sample members. And, fourth, statistically significant and consistent relationships were found in the data concerning the social attributes of those on and off the rolls. These would not have appeared if the data were confounded seriously by a substantial number of persons changing enrolments from one place to another.

The finding that non-Aboriginal spouses were no different in their enrolment status from Aboriginal sample members merits comment. Although these non-Aboriginal spouses had higher levels of education and skill and higher-ranking jobs, they were not enrolled more to vote nor were they more often members of clubs and organisations. The patterns of discrimination against Aborigines in education, skill training and job promotion did not, of course, affect them. Nevertheless, on two issues of participation in general community life they are no different from Aborigines. These findings seem to support Merton's contention that some participants in cross-group marriages at the working class level are persons who reject the usual means and goals of society (see Chapter 2).

Should these findings concerning enrolment to vote be repeated elsewhere, it would appear that participation by repressed minorities is based less on amount of education and higher socioeconomic status, and more on the lack of disruption of persons' lives. Stated another way, the opportunity and requirement to enrol probably existed for most sample members, but only some exercised the privilege or followed the requirements of the law. For those not enrolled, it might be hypothesised that some probably had the type of childhood experiences which hinder the development of stable adult lives. Others were currently experiencing social crises which complicated their lives (such as housing evictions, unemployment, forced migration, illness, marital problems, low income). But whatever the sequence of their experiences, those with disrupted or less stable personal, occupational and residential histories were those not on the voting rolls. These findings are important, for they point out that offering opportunities to members of minority groups is a necessary step to integration but is not a sufficient one, for the legacies of the past and the crises of the present continue. It is difficult for people to participate in citizenship activities or to express positive community sentiments within a framework of personally unstable life styles. It is particularly difficult when the laws governing their participation as citizens are discriminatory and confusing.

## UNION MEMBERSHIP

Another item of information relevant to the question of participation in activities of the community is membership in trade unions. It was found that only about 75 per cent of the males in employment belonged to unions and, of these, only about 26 per cent attended union meetings. These figures are not high in a State where membership in a trade union is compulsory, as in Queensland at the time of the study. The findings cast doubt on the extent to which the requirement for union membership was being enforced at the time, and one can only speculate on whether union officials may have directed less effort towards bringing Aborigines into membership of their organisations than they exerted with people of other races. The high proportion of the Aboriginal workers in the unskilled labourer group, and the fact that so many had been only a short time in the jobs they held at the time of the interviews, can hardly have facilitated the task of enrolling them in the appropriate unions. These figures and interpretations should be used cautiously, however, for one area about which the interviewed wives appeared unsure of their knowledge was that of their husband's union membership and attendance at union meetings.

## MEMBERSHIP IN CLUBS AND OTHER VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

Respondents were also asked if they belonged to any clubs or other voluntary organisations. Wives responded to this question for their husbands, and mothers for their children. All the organisations and clubs listed (see Table 31) are open in their membership and not for Aborigines alone. According to some of the people interviewed, one of the distressing features in the Brisbane situation for Aborigines in 1965 was the lack of clubs set up specifically for themselves.[13] At one time there was a club which organised dances and social activities for young people, but it had ceased to exist at the time of the study. Several young people said they wished this club would start up again. OPAL sponsored activities for young people from time to time, but these were not seen as clubs or organisations to which people belonged, nor were the activities as well attended as the sponsors would have liked. There were two other Abori-

[13] This situation has changed since the study was done. By the end of 1971 there were five organisations in Brisbane open only to Aborigines.

ginal advancement groups in Brisbane besides OPAL, but these were made up primarily of white Australians and had few Aboriginal members.

Table 30 shows the distribution of membership and participation in clubs and organisations for all respondents except 419 pre-school children and the 172 people not interviewed. Seventy-seven per cent of the sample had no affiliation with such organisations. The types of organisation to which the remaining 23 per cent belonged are listed in Table 31. The men who belonged to clubs were mostly members of the Buffaloes, sports teams or sporting clubs; the women belonged mainly to church groups; and the school children and young teenagers were affiliated with organisations like the Scouts, the Guides, or marching girls. It is interesting that so few belonged to the three Aboriginal advancement groups and only a few to clubs connected with the schools, although this latter situation is no different from that of other Australians, most of whom have very little to do with school groups. The majority of those who belonged to clubs or organisations were members of only one and, where this was not so, the information on the club or organisation refers to the one in which the person participated most.

**Table 30:** *Membership in clubs and other voluntary organisations*

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| No membership | 1078 | 76·9 |
| Belong but do not attend meetings, or attend occasionally | 33 | 2·3 |
| Yes, belong and attend once a month or more | 291 | 20.8 |
| Total | 1402 | 100·0 |
| No information[1] | 110 | |

[1] The figure includes eighty-six persons who were not asked the question at the end of the study when a shortened version of the questionnaire was used.

Membership in clubs was compared with the same variables used for education, level of skill and type of occupation, and, in addition, with marital and school status. By this measure of integration or participation in a pattern of urban living, it emerged that belonging to clubs and organisations was characteristic of three groups: school children; young single persons with more skills, more education, and higher-ranking jobs, who lived at home; and young heads of house with longer residence in the city, more skills, more education, and higher-ranking jobs. It is

**Table 31:** *Types of clubs and organisations*[1]

| | No. | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Club/lodge | 41 | 12·5 |
| School groups (tuck shop and parents and citizens groups) | 6 | 1·8 |
| Church clubs | 45 | 13·7 |
| Military organisations | 6 | 1·8 |
| Guides, Scouts, and other youth groups | 63 | 19·1 |
| Aboriginal advancement groups | 14 | 4·3 |
| Sports teams and clubs | 118 | 35·9 |
| Other groups | 36 | 10·9 |
| Total | 329 | 100·0 |

[1] The discrepancy of figures between Tables 30 and 31 (N = 324 and N = 329) is due to the fact that on five occasions interviewers neglected to ask the frequency of attendance at meetings.

interesting to note that two of the socioeconomic variables, level of education and ranking of occupation, differentiated persons who belonged to clubs and organisations, although they did not differentiate persons on the voting roll. The variable of sex approached significance with proportionately more men than women belonging to clubs and organisations.[14]

Two variables concerned with descent showed no difference between persons who belonged to clubs and organisations and those who did not. Non-Aboriginal spouses and persons who only partially identified as Aboriginal were no different in this respect from fully identifying Aborigines. Non-Aboriginal spouses did not appear significantly more on the voting rolls either, whereas those partially identifying did.[15] It was suggested earlier that some of the non-Aboriginal spouses probably led disrupted lives, similar in this respect to Aborigines.

It is not possible to indicate whether the patterns of club and organisation membership are very much different from those of the total Australian population, since there seems to be no comparable information available. It is thought, however, that the population of Queensland is not very 'club minded', unlike that of New South Wales, where poker machines are legal and where there has been a proliferation of working men's clubs in recent years.

[14] $p < \cdot 10$.

[15] Albeit at $p < \cdot 10$.

## SUMMARY

The proportion of persons of Aboriginal descent in Brisbane not enrolled to vote was high, 41 per cent, although the exact number required to enrol was never quite clear. Non-Aboriginal spouses were not enrolled any more than Aborigines.

The social characteristics of those who were enrolled and those who were not were analysed. Higher levels of education, size of income and higher prestige jobs were not significantly related to inclusion on the voting rolls. Sex of respondent, union membership of males and the respondent's feeling of going up in the world also showed no differences.

Several variables were, however, significantly related to voting roll status—those who were married, those who were heads of house, those who had lived longer in Brisbane, those who had held their present job for three years or more, those who had never lived on settlements, those with higher occupational skills, those thirty years or older and those who felt satisfied with the way things were going. These are all indicators of personal, occupational and residential stability and personal adjustment.

Membership in trade unions was compulsory in Queensland at the time of the study. Only 75 per cent of the employed males belonged to unions and, of these, only 26 per cent attended union meetings.

Seventy-seven per cent of the sample, including school children, had no affiliation with any clubs or voluntary organisations in Brisbane. Three groups seemed to join clubs and organisations: school children; young, single persons with more skills and education and higher prestige jobs; and young heads of house with longer residence in the city, more skills and education and higher ranking jobs.

# 10 SATISFACTIONS AND MORALE

By its nature the survey was limited largely to the collection of factual material, but at the end of the interviews respondents were asked the extent to which they felt satisfied with the way life was going for them, and whether or not they would regard themselves as 'going up in the world'. The respondents to these questions were for the most part women who headed family units and young people who had left school.

## SATISFACTIONS AND DISSATISFACTIONS

To the question 'Do you feel satisfied, dissatisfied or in-between with the way things are going for you?', slightly over 67 per cent replied that they were satisfied, almost 15 per cent that they were dissatisfied and almost 18 per cent gave the more neutral answer. Since this was a question to which it was easy to give a positive response, it is of interest to note that about one-third of the group gave negative or neutral responses. The reasons for the replies were also asked—in fact, this follow-up question was the more important of the two. The results were quite varied, and were analysed according to the aspect of living about which positive or negative feelings were expressed, the first three reasons given by each respondent having been coded. The results appear in Table 32, from which it will be seen that slightly over 65 per cent of the total number of responses were positive and almost 35 per cent were negative.

When the table is looked at in more detail, it becomes apparent that 22 per cent of the responses to this question express general satisfaction

**Table 32:** *Reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction*

| Aspect of Living | Positive Responses no. | per cent | Negative Responses no. | per cent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| General good feelings/worries | 244 | 22·2 | 44 | 4·0 |
| Employment | 89 | 8·1 | 40 | 3·6 |
| Housing | 53 | 4·8 | 65 | 5·9 |
| Finance | 39 | 3·6 | 61 | 5·6 |
| Family situation | 58 | 5·3 | 37 | 3·4 |
| Tolerance/discrimination | 44 | 4·0 | 45 | 4·1 |
| Social relations | 52 | 4·7 | 8 | 0·7 |
| Achievement/success/improving self/coping or not | 51 | 4·7 | 9 | 0·8 |
| Amenities of living | 28 | 2·5 | 12 | 1·1 |
| Education | 9 | 0·8 | 19 | 1·7 |
| Freedom (from settlement living and control of Acts) | 22 | 2·0 | 4 | 0·4 |
| Health | 8 | 0·7 | 15 | 1·4 |
| Recreation | 4 | 0·4 | 9 | 0·8 |
| Other reasons | 18 | 1·6 | 12 | 1·1 |
| Total | 719 | 65·4 | 380 | 34·6 |

Total number of responses = 1099

with the way things are going and an absence of worries or complaints, and only 4 per cent express negative feelings in this general sense. Twelve per cent of the responses were related to employment, clearly an important factor in determining satisfaction in living. On the positive side people were thankful even to have a job or liked their conditions of work, but on the negative side they expressed concern about the difficulties of getting a well paid job, or one which was above labouring level. Housing was a continuing worry, with rather more of the responses negative. People disliked their crowded living conditions, or the shacks and other inferior housing in which they lived. On the positive side, respondents were glad to be in Housing Commission homes, or to have a house instead of the shack or settlement house which had been their previous dwelling.

Respondents expressed a good deal of concern about finance. Positive responses of having enough money to go around were common, but once again more of the responses were negative, indicating respondents were having trouble making ends meet or were worried in general about money. Family conditions accounted for about 9 per cent of the responses, those positive being glad to have a family that was getting along with one another, and those negative distressed about their spouseless condition, the difficulties they faced in their marriages, or the separation of children

from the family. Slightly over 8 per cent of responses were about tolerance and discrimination, with the responses about evenly divided between those who felt no discrimination and those who were dissatisfied because they considered that there was prejudice and discrimination in Brisbane, especially in regard to housing and employment. About 5 per cent of the responses had to do with social relations, such as getting along with or making friends, and most of these were positive.

Almost 5 per cent of the responses related to achievement, and by far the majority of them were positive, the respondents feeling that they were getting ahead in life, were coping with their problems, and had reason to be satisfied with their improved condition. Almost 4 per cent of the responses dealt with the amenities of living, more reporting pleasure in having furniture, TV sets, washing machines and the like while fewer were concerned that they needed things and had not been able to afford them yet, especially those persons living in shacks and inadequate housing. Surprisingly few responses were about education, but more of these were negative than positive, showing a feeling on the part of respondents that they had not enough education to get what they needed and wanted in life and a concern about their children getting enough schooling. A small number of responses, mostly positive, expressed respondents' feelings of freedom in the city where they felt less constrained by the Queensland Aboriginal Acts or were enjoying self-direction after moving to Brisbane from a settlement. A few people preferred to return to a settlement to be near relatives.

It is perhaps also surprising that health was mentioned by so few of the respondents, since ill health is a not uncommon source of dissatisfaction with living in our society. Good health, however, is probably taken for granted by most who enjoy it, and might not be commented on in response to a question such as was asked of the sample population. Recreation was also not discussed by many, and those who did were young people complaining that there were few places for older teenagers to get together.

One of the authors coded the reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction and was struck both by the content of the responses and the language used by respondents. Persons replied to the questions, whether positively or negatively, in straightforward ways about the meeting of basic or essential needs. The Aborigines in Brisbane came from deprived circumstances, and their satisfactions and continuing dissatisfactions in 1965 were concerned with making up for these earlier losses, even among the teenagers. Less basic needs were rarely discussed.

Since the time of the study, some Aborigines have spoken out and have made the needs of the group known. In addition, consciousness-raising among minority groups, such as immigrants, women, and ethnic, religious and racial groups, has become a part of daily life in many nations. It would be exceptional if Aborigines were unaware of the tactics of other groups and remained unaffected by them. But no matter how much some persons might decry the excesses of the strategies used by groups struggling for new identities, the fact remains that members of both dominant groups and minority groups must create new perspectives about one another if expectations for equality and fairness are to be met. It is heartening that since 1965 some Aborigines have begun the task of seeking compensation for past deprivations and humane and considered inclusion into all aspects of Australian life.

Although it would be instructive to know what satisfactions and dissatisfactions were cited by different sub-groups in the sample, the wide dispersion of reasons given made systematic statistical analysis impractical. However, a few categories with reasonably large numbers were checked for differences by age and marital status. (Sex was not used as an analytic variable, for many of the respondents were women.) With the exception of responses about employment, there were no statistically significant differences found for age or marital status.

In the area of employment, however, two statistically significant differences were found. First, positive responses were analysed by whether or not persons were young single adults who had never been married and had no children or were married at the time of the study. Significantly more of the young single adults responded positively about employment in Brisbane than the married.[1] On the other hand, relationships are not simple, and analysis of the negative responses for the same two groups showed that the young single adults were also significantly more *negative* about the employment situation in Brisbane than were the married ones.[2] Employment, then, was a major concern of the young people.

On the positive side young people reported having a job, having a good job, liking their jobs, getting job training and work skills, having a good employer, and having an interesting job. On the negative side, responses included those associated with problems getting or keeping a job, those not liking their job, those finding work uninteresting, those wanting a job above the labouring level, those wanting to get into a trade,

[1] $p < .07$.

[2] $p < .02$.

and those reporting they were spending too much time on the job. As implied earlier in the chapters on education and occupation, these young adults are a crucial group in the Aboriginal population, for they represent the next generation of urban residents. Their own recognition of employment as important in their lives is significant. A major thrust in remedial programs for urban Aborigines might be to contact the young people and assist them into apprenticeships for trades and into schooling and training for industrial skills and lower white collar jobs even though they may have left school at an early age.

## MORALE

As a further measure of their feelings about the kind of life they were living, people interviewed were asked if they considered that they were going up in the world, going downhill, or remaining at the same level. Almost 34 per cent felt that they were going up in the world, and about 59 per cent that they were staying at the same level. Only 7 per cent felt that they were losing ground.

Although, as was observed at the opening of the chapter, it was an easy matter to respond positively to these two questions on satisfactions and morale, 67 per cent having reported they were satisfied and 34 per cent having said they were going uphill, the in-between or neutral responses and the negative ones indicate that at least some Aborigines in Brisbane know that there are problems to be solved and that life is not always easy for them. On the other hand, when one recalls the considerably worse conditions from which they or their parents have come, the few really negative responses (15 per cent dissatisfied and 7 per cent going downhill) are negligible in the overall picture of satisfaction with city living and good morale.

## SUMMARY

To a general question asking about satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the way things were going, 67 per cent of those interviewed reported they were satisfied, 15 per cent reported they were dissatisfied, and 18 per cent reported themselves in-between. Fourteen areas of concern were used to code the reasons given for satisfaction or dissatisfaction with both a positive and negative statement of each. Responses varied greatly. Most of the responses were centred upon basic needs and whether they were being met

or not. Young single adults who had no children were significantly more concerned with employment, both positively and negatively, than married persons.

The morale of interviewed persons was good. Thirty-four per cent felt they were going up in the world and only 7 per cent thought they were going downhill.

Although objectively less well off than other Australians on many measures of well-being, respondents' own views of their satisfaction and morale were positive and reflected an assessment of improvement over the very poor conditions of living from which they or their parents had migrated.

# 11 THE WAY AHEAD

To our fathers' fathers
The pain, the sorrow;
To our children's children
The glad tomorrow.

Kath Walker: 'A Song of Hope'

This chapter is written with considerable diffidence. Neither of the authors is Aboriginal, and yet here speculation concerning the implications of the findings for programs affecting Aborigines will be made. The world has long since shed its innocent ignorance in which programs for the alleviation of the plights of minority groups, however well intentioned, could be planned and administered by those who were not members of such groups. The time has come when no plans should be made, indeed no effective plans *can* be made, for Aboriginal advancement without the full participation and leadership of Aborigines themselves. Moreover, the essence of the Aborigines' plight lies in a continuing white Australian racial discrimination that pervades both social institutions and public thought most noticeably in Queensland. Plans for the assistance of Aborigines must be laid within this ideological context, but indeed they must be designed for its eventual nullification or they will be made in vain.

To plan effectively the facts of the case must be known. Social problems must be identified and their parameters described, and if possible measured. Accordingly, the authors wish now to explore the problems identified in the foregoing chapters and to make suggestions that may be helpful when new plans and programs concerning urban Aborigines are being considered.

First, the overall status of Brisbane's Aborigines is considered from the perspective of ongoing and prospective integration. This section serves to summarise and review some of the more salient findings of our survey. Second, suggestions for action programs, based on the findings, are pro-

posed and discussed. Two types of programs are considered: programs for the amelioration of problems that presently beset the Aboriginal group, and political programs that seem to hold the potential for changing the structure of relationships between the races. The third section briefly describes research for action.

## ASSIMILATION STATUS

As readers will recall, in Chapter 1 the concept of assimilation and a number of others that were closely related to it including acculturation, amalgamation, adaptation, and integration were presented. When the original materials of this project were written up, the thesis of the work was that Brisbane's Aborigines were fairly well acculturated to Australian society but only partially assimilated.[1] The data presented in the preceding chapters of this book were used to defend that view. Although the phrase 'acculturated but not assimilated' is quotable, and although this phrase fits at least some of the data, it is neither adequate nor accurate to fit the total picture of the relationships between the races in Brisbane. What is the status of Brisbane's Aborigines from the viewpoint of these several concepts?

### ACCULTURATION

In Chapter 1 acculturation was defined as the end state in which one culture has been merged from two or more with the politically, economically or numerically weaker of the two groups, or the one with the devalued skin colour, usually changing its culture more than the other. Since the Aborigines of Australia are few in number, have been treated as racially inferior in the past, and have been politically and economically exploited, it is understandable that it is they who have become acculturated to white Australian ways.

The process, however, has not been only one way. If it has appeared to be so or has been described as such in some Australian literature, this view is just one further bit of evidence of the exclusion of Aborigines from a meaningful place in Australian society. In the future, the contributions to Australian culture from Aboriginal sources will perhaps be

[1] This formulation was generated from an unpublished paper of Gist (1965) which has been reformulated in Gist and Wright (1973). The Anglo-Indian case does not fit the urban Aborigine, but the concepts of marginality and identity which Gist and his collaborators employ are relevant. See also Gist and Dworkin (1972).

better documented. Meanwhile, it is useful to remember what Rowley (1967b: 12) has said well:

> It is just not possible for people of two different cultures to live closely together in this kind of situation [along the frontier and bush country] as they obviously did for such a long time without a two-way interaction. It is my belief that much of what makes Australians Australian comes from contact with Aboriginal people. We simply do not know what we owe to the Aboriginal tradition.

But if earlier Aborigines added to the culture of Australia, their present day urban descendants have relearned the merged culture as an Australian one. Urban Aborigines have learned the customs, habits and ways of living and behaving which are characteristic of working class Australians. Educational and occupational goals, work habits, housing styles, dreams of home ownership, home furnishings, clothing, recreation and leisure activities are essentially similar for urban Aborigines and non-Aborigines alike. Existing differences in marital patterns, disruption of marriages, personal problems of adjustment and household composition appear the result not of lack of acculturation but of the difficult conditions in which Brisbane's Aborigines have had to live. One possible exception to this generalisation concerns the family life styles of Aborigines which tend to stress emotional bonds and kinship ties more than do those of non-Aboriginal Australians. These may pose a genuine cultural difference and may persist over time.

One may question the extent to which Brisbane's Aborigines have internalised the values and attitudes of Australian culture. Subtle, unspoken and covert aspects of cultures exist that are not easily learned by newcomers or those who interact only on superficial bases with members of the dominant group. People sometimes make overt adjustments or behave in similar ways without themselves understanding the complexities of their behaviour or the values and attitudes being expressed in those behaviours. Queen and Habenstein (1967), for example, describe one type of urban, Black, matricentric family which they consider *adapted* (see Chapter 1) since these families have not internalised the norms for urban living of middle class white families. The families do what they can to get along and survive in the cities rather than what they ought or should do if they held deep beliefs about urban living. In other words, these families have adapted to city life but cannot be considered acculturated until they or their children have internalised the norms of urban living.

Among Brisbane's Aborigines there seem to be some families who fit

the Queen and Habenstein type. They are still new to urban living and are tied to earlier segregated customs of behaviour developed in fringe areas, small towns, or settlements and reserves. Most families appear acculturated to urban living, however, and even in the adapted families it would seem that most of their teenage children already fit into Australian ways of doing things. Because of the small size of the Aboriginal population in Brisbane, the lack of an inner city ghetto which isolates ethnic minorities, and the speed of present social change, it seems unlikely that the adapted family type will become permanent among Aborigines. Rather, the majority of families will become acculturated.

In summary, then, three points are made concerning the acculturation of Brisbane's Aborigines. First, acculturation is a two-way process, and Australians are generally unaware of the impact that Aboriginal culture has already had on their contemporary society. Second, despite this earlier influence, contemporary Aborigines who move to urban areas are faced with the problem of accommodating to a merged, Australian culture. Brisbane's Aborigines appear, for the most part, as typical, working class Australians. To the extent they exhibit 'problems' these appear primarily as a function of poverty and other structural difficulties of their lives the bases for which probably reflect both racial discrimination and to a lesser extent cultural conflict. Third, while Queen and Habenstein have suggested that some urban, Black families in the United States are adapted rather than acculturated, the adapted pattern does not appear a likely one for Brisbane's Aborigines in the future.

## AMALGAMATION

Chapter 1 defined amalgamation as the joining of two racial groups physically such that neither remains identifiable nor distinct. In other words, with amalgamation there is a loss of identity of all groups through intermarriage.

As was seen in Chapter 2, marriages between Aborigines and non-Aborigines occur in Brisbane at a high rate. Some of these marriages are *de facto*, while others are performed with ceremony. Some are temporary, others are permanent. But whatever the legal status and length of relationship between the partners, children are being born of mixed racial ancestry, some of them so light that although they might in the future be socially defined by their relatives as Aboriginal, they can no longer be so recognised physically by others. Many of these will for all practical purposes pass into the white population.

Amalagamation is a continuous process among Brisbane's Aborigines. Most of the population is of part-Aboriginal descent, and were race relations other than they are in Australia, Brisbane's Aborigines might just as aptly be termed 'part-Europeans'. Apart from a few full-blood Aborigines, most of the persons in the sample ranged from those who were three-quarters Aboriginal-descended to those who were one-quarter Aboriginal descent or less. At the same time that some new dark migrants are arriving, others are passing out of the population, at least as determined by physical observation. This means that there is no group of half-Aborigines marrying half-Aborigines and perpetuating themselves as a permanent group of half-Aborigines, always physically distinguishable from others. Brisbane, thus, exhibits a two-category system, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, but with no fixed or rigid boundary between the two races.

The high rate of amalgamation among Brisbane's Aborigines also appears to facilitate acculturation in this group. As the boundaries of physical membership in the group continue to shift, the development of distinctively 'Aboriginal' ways of doing things is hampered. What acculturated part-Aboriginal father or mother, married to a non-Aborigine, is going to know enough about Aboriginal life to teach children Aboriginal ways of doing things? Or what child born of such a union is going to have an opportunity to interact at length with non-acculturated Aborigines? On the other hand, of course, prior acculturation of the part-Aborigines of Brisbane also assists their amalgamation, for persons who do not differ in culture are more likely to intermarry than those who differ both racially and culturally.

So far nothing has been said of the fact that amalgamation is a process for which the decision is a personal one involving the two persons entering the union. For some of the short-term relationships, little decision making is involved at all, and would be unimportant to any others, except that the women involved sometimes become mothers. But in other cases, the cross-group union is more permanent. Not known are the attitudes of Aborigines to intermarriage, but few norms would appear to exist among Aborigines that would discourage such marriages, and respondents who were married to non-Aborigines seemed satisfied with their marriages. The view of white Australians to such marriages is not known either, although Taft (1970) reports that only 35 per cent of the white Australian respondents in Perth would accept a part-Aborigine as a relative by marriage. As representatives of the white Australian population, Queensland legislators tried for many years to stop the process of intermarriage, passing laws

making such unions difficult and restricting the rights of Australians in proportion to the degree of Aboriginal descent they had inherited. Had they been successful, these laws would have made social groups, or castes, out of groups that are now defined in physical terms alone. Australians may be grateful that they had no such success.

All of this may sound as if racial identification problems do not exist for Aborigines or as if white Australians care little about differences of colour. Neither is the case. As discussed earlier, several people who participated in the study were obviously uncomfortable in identifying as Aboriginal, especially when it came to the matter of legislation which discriminated against them. Racial identity problems are severe for such persons. The sooner the Queensland legislation is repealed, the sooner such persons may come to peace with their identities. But white Australians also have problems associated with colour differences. Philp (1958) referred to the white Australia policy as a 'xenophobia' of Australians, and it was only in the last decade that a less restrictive immigration policy has been emphasised. It is difficult to find attitudes of a group towards others based exclusively on race and not on the social conditions of the racial group as well. But Taft (1970) reports data indicating that white Australians in his Perth sample feel less socially distant from part-Aborigines than they do from full-blood Aborigines on every measure used. It would be unwise to assert that there are no norms concerning intermarriage among white Australians.

In summary, then, five points are made concerning amalgamation among Brisbane's Aborigines. First, amalgamation is proceeding at a rapid pace. Most of the sample were part-Aborigine, and a high rate of intermarriage between Aborigines and non-Aborigines was found. Second, amalgamation appears a continuous process, with new migrants arriving in Brisbane who are dark, while others are passing out of the population through intermarriage. Third, the social system of the city involves two categories, Aborigines and non-Aborigines, and the boundary between these two categories is not very firm. Fourth, little is known concerning the norms and attitudes of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians concerning intermarriage, although it would appear that amalgamation is accepted by the former group. Fifth, previous and current legislation concerning Aborigines in Queensland has attempted to discourage amalgamation and has made acceptance of Aboriginal identity a difficult thing for Australians of Aboriginal descent by denying them rights enjoyed by others.

ASSIMILATION AND INTEGRATION

As was suggested in Chapter 1, both assimilation and integration imply that the races in contact accept one another as full members of the society, and that the institutions of the society should provide free and equal opportunity of access to all members of the several groups. The main difference between these concepts is that with assimilation the two groups become similar in all aspects but with integration the groups remain distinct. A second difference also exists in that assimilation implies that the less dominant group becomes like the more dominant group with little control over the process. Integration, on the other hand, has come to mean that members of a less dominant group should have control over their own future. Each of these issues is discussed below.

First, do both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups accept one another as full members of Australian society? The response to this question is, of course, yes. White Australians are not speaking of encouraging Aborigines to go to another country or to an island in the Pacific. Nor are Aborigines talking separatism and exclusionism or proposing an exodus of either group from Australia. In fact, the situation is otherwise. Most of the discussions from both groups assume that Aborigines, as the indigenous people of Australia, belong there, and that the colonisation of Australia by Europeans is permanent. The issue being discussed is how to create a multi-racial society.

Second, do the institutions of Australia provide free and equal opportunity of access to all members of both groups? The answer to this query is no. The bulk of the evidence in this book concerning Aborigines in Brisbane, as well as those of the other studies in the Aborigines Project, indicates that Aborigines have *not* had free and equal access to the institutions of the society, whether they be political, educational, occupational, medical, residential, or social. A quick review of the summaries of the chapters in this book will indicate the extent of the lack of free and equal access by Aborigines to institutions, measured by low levels of occupational skills and education, the few persons found in high prestige jobs, the numbers not enrolled to vote, the extent of poverty, the disparity in housing patterns, and the few persons belonging to clubs and voluntary organisations. Whether Aborigines are denied access through discriminatory laws or customs, or whether they have failed to gain access through poverty or inadequate socialisation, is moot. The fact of differential access is plain to see.

Third, do Aborigines and non-Aborigines have the same views con-

cerning the future status of Aborigines? Should urban Aborigines become like white Australians or remain an identifiable group? And who will decide? To these questions there is no obvious response. On the one hand, Aborigines contributed in the early days of contact to the common culture that has now become 'Australian', and in later years themselves acculturated to this common, Australian way of doing things. They have, in addition, intermarried at a relatively high rate and produced many persons of mixed racial ancestry. On the other hand, many of the Aborigines in Brisbane are identifiable physically and, regardless of the degree of their descent, define themselves and others socially as members of the Aboriginal community. Aborigines in Brisbane see themselves as a distinct group of kin and friends who share in common some degree of Aboriginal ancestry. The answer to the question of whether they should remain a distinct social group properly belongs with them, and in the long run they will ultimately decide this question for themselves even if the white community should be so unwise as to attempt to force a decision on them.

Possibilities for the future are many. Aborigines have a choice of acculturating fully or of developing distinct cultural forms, perhaps relearning Aboriginal languages and teaching their children the complex philosophical ideas and social relationships of early Aboriginal groups. They may decide to acculturate primarily in public areas of life but to retain Aboriginal patterns in private aspects of living, especially those concerning family and kinship patterns. They may begin to put pressure on young people, and especially girls, to marry only persons with Aboriginal background, hoping to establish a permanent part-Aboriginal group, or they may choose to continue to allow young people to marry non-Aborigines if they wish. They may choose to organise an Aboriginal power movement and press for changes in the structure of Australian society to assist all Aborigines, thereby reviving pride in Aboriginal identity. But whatever the course taken, the choice must be theirs.

One might reasonably ask at this point if urban Aborigines have already acculturated sufficiently to be unable to choose other than becoming like other Australians. It is possible, of course, that this may be the case. However, two arguments suggest otherwise. The first is that identity and culture are aspects of human living which people develop and create, and when minority groups are given acceptance by the dominant society it is always possible that they can create, change, and reinterpret their identities, their styles of life, their priorities in values and aspirations. The second is that other racial groups, such as United States Blacks, have moved towards

reasserting positive aspects of their past to promote identities acceptable to themselves, while also moving forward towards free and equal opportunities in the educational and occupational spheres. It seems that high priority should be given to encouraging avenues for identity and self-determination among Aborigines. This will be a difficult task, of course, given established customs and the habits of those who work in bureaucratic frameworks.

Views about the future status of Aborigines vary among non-Aborigines, ranging all the way from humanitarian concern for their improved welfare to ill considered prejudice in which blame is placed on Aborigines for their exclusion from the full benefits of Australian society (see Philp, 1958; Taft, 1970). Up until perhaps a generation ago many Australians would surely have considered Aborigines to be inferior to white Australians. In the not-too-remote past of 1961, the official view of welfare officials was that Aborigines should change in every way to become like other Australians (Hiatt, 1965). This official view passed into history in 1967, however, when the Fourth Conference of Welfare Officials from the States and Commonwealth stated a new policy. From here on the goal of welfare policies is presumed to be the equality of Aborigines in all areas of life, a policy that establishes the rights of Aborigines to choose their own manner of living, their customs, and their values. It is questionable, however, whether this enlightened policy is adhered to by all white Australians. It surely is not the policy of the present Queensland legislation concerning Aborigines.

In summary, then, five points are also made concerning the assimilation and integration of Brisbane's Aborigines. First, Aborigines and non-Aborigines surely accept one another as joint members of Australian society. Second, however, Aborigines are unfortunately not full participants in the institutions of Australian society at this time. In some cases Aborigines may be denied access to institutions through discriminatory laws or customs, while in other cases they have failed to gain access through poverty or inadequate socialisation. But unequal access is clear. Third, Aborigines (and presumably, also, some non-Aborigines) presently view their group as somewhat distinct from other Australians. Fourth, a number of different patterns of relationship appear possible in the future for Aborigines including both assimilation and integration, or some compromise between these two conditions. Fifth, views concerning the future course of relationships among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians are not now known. Nevertheless, in the long run, this decision must ultimately involve

Aborigines in the making and working out of these relationships. The time is long past when white Australians should attempt to prescribe a life style for Aborigines.

Only time will tell if Australians of all descents can live together harmoniously and whether that style of life will involve assimilation, integration, or some combination of these. The way ahead is filled with the very human obstacles of fear, prejudice, stridency, short-term failure, and chauvinistic foolishness, as well as hard work, complex decisions, and expensive programs. Kath Walker's admonition to Aborigines that they should 'Look forward, not back' applies to non-Aborigines as well.

## ACTION PROGRAMS

We turn now to a discussion of action programs that are implied by findings of the study. As readers will recall, the aim of this study was fact finding—to gain knowledge of the living conditions of Australians of Aboriginal descent in Brisbane. But facts without action are not enough. Despite many positive features of life for Brisbane's Aborigines, such as the young doing better than the old, and the fact that Brisbane's Aborigines are presumably doing better than are those in small country towns or on reserves and settlements, the situation in Brisbane is not a happy one. The greater part of Brisbane's Aborigines remain a depressed minority group. It is obvious that the stage has been reached when more action programs are necessary if Aborigines are to have an equal opportunity to participate in the institutions of Australian society and to obtain the skills needed for self-help and self-determination.

Although it may now be redundant to say so, action programs can no longer be set up by non-Aborigines alone. Common morality and Federal policy alike now demand Aboriginal participation in programs that will affect the welfare of Aborigines, and they will surely be more effective if planned and operated, in part, by representatives of those groups whose welfare is to be affected. Two types of program are called for and will be discussed separately here. The first is for meliorative and compensatory programs which make up for and improve situations resulting from past deprivations. The second is for political plans and programs which change the structure of relationship between the races.

### COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS

Compensatory action programs are seen by most depressed minority groups as a means for catching up with the dominant group in the society. The

philosophy behind the compensatory help movement is simple—past injustices have created a group of people who are not yet integrated and who now need large amounts of money and professional assistance or programs that will help them. On the group level, such a philosophy makes a good deal of sense. On the individual level, however, it is difficult for non-Aborigines to accept programs for Aboriginal children, for example, from which their own children might benefit but are not included. In fact, Taft (1970: 17) found that, whereas at least 84 per cent of his white respondents favoured Aborigines having the same social benefits as other Australians, no more than 14 per cent felt that Aborigines should have more social benefits. From these data it would appear that equal treatment of Aborigines is considered fair and just, but compensatory help is not. To illustrate the complexity of this problem, however, Taft's data were collected in 1965. Taken at face value they would imply hostility to compensatory programs for Aborigines. And yet, two years later a national referendum took place in which 84 per cent of those voting agreed that the Federal government could pass laws and institute programs of action specifically designed to help Aborigines.

One possible stratagem for compensation, of course, is to base programs on demonstrated need rather than on race alone. Surely, few would object to programs designed to assist maladjusted individuals, or to help individuals and families who are hungry or sick, or who have marital problems, or who need help locating jobs or homes. Nor would most Australians object to compensatory activities, such as pre-school programs, day care centres, adult education groups, housing subsidies, tutoring programs, and job training. But the question of compensatory help goes far beyond programs of these kinds.

To what extent, for example, are the administrators of major institutions willing to compensate Aborigines by setting minimal quotas of Aborigines for entrance and upgrading within their institutions? Will universities make a larger effort to include more Aborigines among their students? Will businessmen hire more Aborigines and upgrade them quickly? Will leaders of political parties make room for more Aborigines? Will the State Departments of Education seek Aboriginal teachers? Will the military forces recruit more Aborigines and move them up through the ranks? Will more Aborigines be hired as government office workers? And should the same criteria of experience and qualifications be required of Aborigines as of non-Aborigines or should some positions and opportunities be set aside in institutions in a compensatory effort to get Abori-

gines into areas of Australian life from which they have been excluded? And if not, how then are Aborigines going to obtain the experiences and qualifications for further advancement?

These are not easy issues to resolve. It is all very well for persons who have had strong backgrounds to advocate that Aborigines be allowed a fair chance to compete with white Australians on an equal basis. But suppose an Aboriginal teenager missed out on getting an adequate grade school education in a small country town where as a child he was made to feel unwelcome in school. Must that teenager be condemned to a life of unskilled labour in the city or should he be admitted to a Technical College (on a compensatory basis) to obtain the needed training? If an Aboriginal mother wishes to become a hairdresser but lacks adequate educational background, may she be admitted to the apprentice program to learn the skills? Should an Aboriginal father be advanced to a job he can do when he lacks the usual qualifications for promotion? The compensatory question may be asked at all levels of educational, occupational, and organisational skill.

It may be difficult for Australians who stress egalitarianism somewhat more than other countries, and who have established a close fit between educational level obtained and job status, to accept a broad application of the compensatory principle for Aborigines. But if Aborigines continue to have unequal opportunities in their home life and early schooling, then some compensatory actions will have to be taken to prepare them for advancement in the educational and occupational spheres. Otherwise, talk of self-direction and equality are useless, for the cycle of low education, low status jobs, and poverty for Aborigines will remain unbroken.

Apart from broad compensatory programs, how can help best be provided for the immediate alleviation of problems faced by Aborigines? The authors believe that one of the more effective methods would be the setting up of regional community development centres that can plan and carry out a number of services in the community. One of these would surely be located in Brisbane. These centres, funded by Federal and State grants, should incorporate and be guided, the authors think, by an independent Board of Advisers elected by interested persons in the region. From the outset, the Board of Advisers would be composed of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members. Trained staff, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, would have sufficient funds to establish the necessary services of community outreach programs. The orientation and services of these programs would be those of self-help and self-direction. The

pattern of services organised would vary from region to region, but at least the following programs would be provided: kindergartens for preschoolers, drop-in day care centres, recreation programs, casework services, health centres, housing referral and job placement services, a legal counselling program, and toy, tool, and book libraries, the latter stressing how-to-do rather than the usual books that are available in the community library.

Discussion groups might also be organised, depending on the needs and interests of people involved in the centres. These might be concerned with the repair of mechanical and electrical equipment, with consumer education, with family planning and spacing, with fashion, with travel and places of interest in the region to visit, with current affairs, and with the solution of mutual problems through collective community action.

In addition, community workers from the centres would get to know Aborigines by going out to meet them in their homes; would greet newcomers to the area, provide them with maps of the city, show them bus routes and how to get around, help them get involved in the city, and explain their legal rights to them (including how to enrol and vote); would acquaint people with community services available and help the staff of those services to assist those who needed help; would get school children who needed tutoring together with others who needed similar assistance; and in other ways help people to get together to obtain information when and where they needed it. An effort would also be made to involve families in activities at important points in the life cycle, such as first babies, first child entering school, newlyweds setting up housekeeping, young teenagers starting work, and women wanting to work for the first time or return to work when their children were all at school. The idea is that community workers would spend little time in their offices and a great deal of time getting to know people and their needs, and then facilitating the process of people getting together with the information and ideas necessary to solve problems.

Such community development centres would not only provide services for compensatory help to individuals and families but would also be used as training centres where others could learn community skills. Staff would be recruited from departments of social sciences and education at the universities and should be young and enthusiastic, should be both men and women, and should be both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. In addition, aides should be trained to work with the staff, learn from them, and graduate to working alone. Needed research in intervention programs

and community development could be carried out so that knowledge of how to help disrupted persons would be increased.

The authors endorse Schapper's (1970) principles of intervention and recognise some similarities between the 'learning centres for individuals' Schapper advocates and the regional community development centres here suggested. (Despite these similarities, a major difference is that the community development centres would work within established cities, and Aborigines involved would be living under usual circumstances in their own homes.) In particular, Schapper's idea of intervention at critical phases in the life cycle is an especially useful one. Compensatory programs, then, can help individuals and families make up for the lost opportunities of earlier years. Experimental community development centres, directed by both Aborigines and non-Aborigines, financed adequately by the Federal and State governments, and carefully staffed with both Aborigines and non-Aborigines, hold considerable promise.

### POLITICAL PROGRAMS

But compensatory programs are not enough. Lack of enrolment to vote, lack of job opportunities, housing inadequacies, crowding, poverty and failure of schools to teach Aboriginal children cannot be eliminated by centres catering to individual and family needs. Action is also needed to change the structure of the relationships between Aborigines and non-Aborigines in Australia. For these, political action is needed (see Rowley, 1973).

In general, a depressed minority can improve its position only by substantial or structural changes in established relationships between groups (Ehrlich, 1973). This is always a difficult process, for people do not like to change customary ways of doing things, nor do administrators in institutions like to be challenged by new ideas and plans that cause dislocation or re-evaluation of current procedures. This section of the chapter cannot outline all of the changes needed but only list a few examples with which to begin. Moreover, one should remember that parliamentarians cannot legislate away prejudiced views, nor can they prevent people from differentiating themselves socially from one another. Laws cannot directly change attitudes towards minority racial groups, any more than they can change the feelings and views about the majority group held by minority peoples.

On the other hand, everyone in a society has a right, and should be guaranteed, that he share on an absolute and equal basis the same rights

and privileges of the laws of that society, regardless of skin colour, age, ethnic status, sex, handicap or any other non-behavioural way human beings are distinguished from one another. And this parliamentarians can do. They can, first, pass laws that are fair and just for all people, and then, second, they can see that those laws are enforced fairly.

Western societies have been undergoing rapid social change in the last two or three decades, and many traditional customs and norms are now threatened by physical innovations or the breaking down of barriers between groups. As a result, societies have tended to legalise and contractualise relationships between people which in an earlier day were governed by social norms and sentiments. Witness the United States today: mothers-in-law are uniting to gain access to their grandchildren; nice old ladies who used to 'keep people' are now required to be licensed by their states as operating a boarding home and have to meet standards of size, cleanliness, and safety; fathers who strike or beat their children who have become involved in delinquency may be taken into court themselves; women's liberation is no longer humorous, and young people getting married are signing five and six-page contracts regulating their equality marriages; or adopted children are now asking the right to the names and addresses of the unwed mothers and putative fathers who were their physical parents. Some of these may be overzealous responses to feelings and actions which some people believe deny them rights and privileges. But at one time such concerns were governed by a shared system of norms and sentiments, rather than by laws, no matter how 'unfair' such norms and customs may have been to groups within the population.[2]

Trends towards legalisation and politicisation of relationships between racial groups clearly fall within this movement. When norms of the past have failed to establish just and kind interactions between racial groups, then the minority group is forced to take political action and to gain supporters in the majority group to make laws which prevent discrimination in housing, employment, access to medical care, education, enrolment for voting, the ownership of tribal lands, freedom of movement throughout the society, access to benefits under welfare laws, freedom from domination by the police, and the like. If reasonable appeals to the principles of human egalitarianism fail to gain non-discriminatory treatment, then minority peoples will take to the courts, to direct political action, to

[2] The junior author is indebted to Robert W. Habenstein for the clarification of this trend, personal communication, 1973.

demonstrations and sit-ins and camp-ins and any other methods of consciousness raising, publicity and access to equal treatment.

What can now be done by responsible Australians to establish a new structure of relationships between the races? From the narrow viewpoint of Queensland and Brisbane, the first actions needed are the repeal of the Queensland Acts and the closing of the reserve, mission, and settlement system. The Acts are ineffective, discriminatory, and presumably now in violation of Federal guidelines for the humane treatment of Aborigines. The reserves, missions, and settlements, as established by the Acts, have failed to provide either a set of sites in which a distinct Aboriginal culture was maintained or a place in which Aborigines are educated for entrance into the larger community. With the closing of reserves and settlements, residents could be assisted in moves to medium sized cities or to Brisbane, or to other places where there are jobs available for them. Those so moved could be greeted in their new communities with outreach community development centres as described above. The view that Aborigines could be prepared on reserves and settlements for life in the city or elsewhere has been accepted too long. The process goes the other way; people move to cities and then they urbanise.

Another major change could be effected by guaranteeing to the roughly 5 per cent of the Australian population whose family incomes are presently below the poverty line a guaranteed annual income, fixed at an amount below which no family should exist. Such an income would put many Aborigines into the marketplace as consumers with enough money to buy goods, clothing, housing and furniture. Another step, which is not expensive, could be to hire Aboriginal ombudsmen at the Federal level and in each State who would have immediate access to the Premiers and parliamentarians for the redress of grievances and, in addition, for consultation concerning legislation. The ombudsmen could also take the initiative in publicising grievances if local community Aborigines feared to do so.

Other major steps could be the passage of laws preventing discrimination in housing and employment which impose penalties for offences, and the passage of an amendment to the Queensland Election Law requiring all Aborigines to enrol and vote and permitting persons other than those designated by the Electoral Office to explain voting enrolment procedures to Aborigines. The rules, regulations, and criteria for eligibility for social services benefits and pensions should be reviewed for possible discriminatory practices. The same recommendation should also be made for apprenticeship programs, for membership in unions, and for participation in

political parties. In these latter fields, it may not be the official rules which are discriminatory but rather the customs presently used in carrying them out. And, finally, sufficient funds should be set aside to move rapidly in these many fields.

If all these actions were taken at about the same time and were supported with sufficient funds, the position of Aborigines in Australian society would surely improve. But if the programs are done piecemeal and slowly, improvements will also be slow and a whole new generation of Aborigines will be, once again, locked out of the riches of one of the most affluent societies in the world. Changing the structure of race relations by the legal and political methods advocated above may seem harsh and not in the tradition of gaining consensus for social change before legal changes are made. But the prejudices of people, and the discriminatory practices of their institutions, seldom change as the result of reasonable appeals for responsibility and of concern for a disadvantaged group. The force of custom, and the cost of innovation, are simply too great.

## RESEARCH FOR ACTION

Action programs cannot, of course, wait forever for research on the more effective methods towards an equitable, multi-racial society, or for complete understanding of the causes and effects of behaviour. There are several fields of research from which results useful for Aboriginal betterment may already be taken. But more needs to be done.

Substantive research is needed in at least the following fields:

1. *The effects of poverty.* When people are poor, the results are not only economic but also psychological, nutritional, political, educational and social—how are these effects related to one another?

2. *The effects of institutionalisation.* What happens to people when they are reared in, or live for long periods of time in, group settings whether they be reserves or settlements, hostels, dormitories, gaols, or children's homes?

3. *The effects of migration.* What occurs to migrating people when new experiences overwhelm them or when the move involves multiple changes, such as shift from a rural to an urban area, or from a segregated area to an integrated one?

4. *The effects of language differences.* What can be done to help children who use a non-standard version of the language in which teaching takes place in schools—such as Black English in the United States with its

deep-structure differences in grammar? Are the language differences found among Queensland settlement children social class or superficial ones or are they clearly differences in the structure of the language?

5. *Techniques of teaching.* How can middle class teaching methods be changed to techniques that will help the children of minority peoples to learn?

6. *Helping disadvantaged and distressed people.* Can the middle class helping professions develop techniques to help minority peoples?

7. *Patrifocality and matrifocality.* What are the the effects of dominance of either sex, or the dominance of neither, on families in terms of sex identification, the behaviour of children, and attitudes towards life success? Other areas may also be suggested for research, but these appear basic.

Unfortunately, the need for research is not confined to substantive fields such as these. Research is also needed concerning the various methods that disadvantaged groups might use in seeking changes in their position in society. Studies on this topic are presently being conducted in the United States under the term 'studies of advocacy', and it is possible that some of the findings of this research may be of value to Aborigines. Some of the questions addressed by this research include: what are the conditions for effecting changes; what size group has to be affected by a change before administrators and legislators will pay attention; how high does the level of education of a minority group have to be before enough articulate spokesmen exist to stress the need for change; how much shock effect by demonstrations or sit-ins or publicity about unusual situations is necessary to induce action, or can there be too much of a shock effect which tends to put people off or which leads to indifference to the plight of the minority group; do administrators and legislators respond more to reasoned appeals or to sweeping condemnations of institutions; and what amount of change and what pace of change is sufficient to keep faith with minority groups? Findings of such studies should be scanned with care for their possible applications in Australia, and then replicated, if possible, within the Australian scene.

Research on race relations is in its infancy, and much systematic work needs to be done. Unfortunately, as minority people know, many of the supposedly firm findings of social scientists working in this field are not very firm at all, for the very reason that members of the dominant group have conducted most of the research, have interpreted the data, and have controlled dissemination of the findings. Worse, the very concepts used for expressing issues in race relations have sometimes reflected the values

or traditions of the dominant group; control groups employed in experimental studies have sometimes differed from the experimental groups in both social class and colour; the data were gathered under conditions that were stressful for the minority group but non-threatening for the dominant group; the tests used were drawn from the experiences of the dominant group (and different experiences in the minority group were interpreted as lack of intelligence); and the testers and data collectors were members of a dominant group from whom minority group members often hide the truth about their feelings and their thoughts.[3]

The tragedy of such research is that white researchers and administrators may take action detrimental to minority groups on the basis of the data they have gathered. In perhaps its worst manifestation, this process is used to stereotype minority pupils as genetically inferior, hence to be denied equal access to higher education, because they have failed to score as highly as have white pupils on tests that were prepared and administered by white educational psychologists (Jorgensen, 1973). The most well known advocate of genetic differences in I.Q. scores of Blacks and whites is, of course, Jensen (1969; 1973).[4]

Covert prejudice is hard to change. Numerous well intentioned investigators in the United States have been guilty of concluding that Black respondents were 'poorly motivated', 'alienated', 'had inadequate reality orientation' or expressed other shortcomings because they failed to score as highly as did white subjects on white tests administered by white investigators. In Australia, de Lemos (1969) interpreted differences between full-blood and part-Aboriginal children in the learning of Piagetian skills of logic as a reflection of genetic factors.[5] Near the conclusion of an otherwise exemplary and valuable work, Moodie (1973) offers an admixture of social and genetic explanations. Moreover, the authors of this book were reared in societies when discrimination was more in evidence than now, and readers may find unconscious prejudice here, too, despite the best intentions. As fast as possible, compensatory and structural programs

[3] For discussion of these issues by several authors, see Clark (1973).

[4] Jorgensen (1973) presents the case of unfairness to United States Blacks. References supporting his view may be found in Goldschmid (1970), Chapter 4, pp. 138-86 which has articles by Pettigrew (1964), Stodolsky and Lesser (1967) and Katz (1967). The responses to Jensen's (1969) article are also referenced.

[5] The work has been replicated, however, by Dasen (1973) who obtained results contradictory to those of de Lemos with full-blood and part-Aboriginal children. He employed a theory of environmental influences in explanation of his findings rather than a genetic one.

should be inaugurated to assist Aborigines so that the unrecognised and more subtle forms of prejudice may disappear from Australian society.

It is hoped that this study has increased knowledge of the way of life of people of Aboriginal descent living in an urban community. This knowledge, however, must be used, the authors believe, toward the solution of the problems of Aborigines. If Australia's 'fair go' philosophy is applied to the Aborigines, then Australia as a country may demonstrate that persons of differing racial backgrounds can live together in peace. *The need for action is urgent.*

# APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL NUMBER:.....

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Social Survey of Persons of Aboriginal Extraction

Person(s) interviewed.....Date:.....

.....Interviewer:.....

Address.....Telephone No:.....

Referred by:.....

1. Persons staying in household day of interview:

| Name | Sex | Age | Marital Status (Date of Marriage) | Position in Family (relation to person interviewed) | Length of Residence (how long been in Brisbane) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

(If adults who are not husband or wife are listed here, fill out a separate questionnaire for them).

2. Has anyone else lived or stayed with you during the last year? No..... Yes.....

If yes:

| Name | Sex | Age | Marital Status | Position in Family (relation to person interviewed) | Length of Residence (how long stayed) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

3. Do you have any children who are living elsewhere? No..... Yes.....

If yes:

| Name | Age | Sex | Where living? | Why living away? |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

4. Have you had any children who have died? No..... Yes.....

If yes:

| Date of birth | Date of death | Cause of death |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

These are questions about where you've lived.

5. How long have you and your husband lived in this house? .....
(months and years)

6. Since you were married, have you lived in other homes in Brisbane? No..... Yes.....

If yes: How many others? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(circle one)

7. Now, since you were married, can you tell me the cities and towns where you've lived, starting with the first.

| Cities/Towns | Length of residence |
|---|---|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |
| 4. | |
| 5. | |
| 6. | |
| 7. | |
| 8. | |
| 9. | |
| | |

8. During the last 3 years, have you made any fairly long visits away from Brisbane?

No..... Yes.....

If yes:

| Who went | To whom? (Relation to person interviewed) | Where? | When? | For How Long? |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

9. Where were you born? (Female head) .....

Did you move about as a child? No..... Yes.....

If yes: How many times? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(circle one)

10. Where was your husband born? (Male head) .....

Did he move about as a child? No..... Yes.....

If yes: How many times? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(circle one)

The next questions are about your home.

11. Tick type of dwelling:

House.....
Part of house.....
Flat or home unit.....
Single room.....
Hostel.....
Other (specify).....

12. How many rooms do you have in your home? (Excluding bathrooms?) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(circle one)

13. Do you own your own home? No..... Yes.....
If no: How much is your rent? By week.....
If yes: What is your payment? By month.....

14. Do you have running water in your home? No..... Yes..... Hot water? No..... Yes.....
If none: What facilities do you have for bathing?.....
What facilities do you have for washing clothes?.....
.....

15. Do you have a washing machine? No..... Yes.....

16. Do you have your own bathroom? ..... Or is it shared?.....
If shared: With how many others?.....

17. Do you have a septic tank? ..... City sewer? ..... Or earth closet? .....
Do you share these facilities with anyone? No..... Yes.....
If yes: With how many others? .....

18. Does your roof leak? No..... Yes.....

19. Is the furniture rented with your house? ..... Or your own? .....

20. Have you ever found evidence of mice or rats here? No..... Yes.....

21. Do you have any books or magazines? No..... Yes.....

If yes: Estimate number of books .....

Estimate number of magazines .....

22. Do you get the newspaper? No..... Yes..... Daily? No..... Yes..... Sunday? No..... Yes.....

23. Which of these things do you have in your home? (Tick)

Stove.....

Telephone.....

Radio.....

Refrigerator.....

Ice chest.....

Meat safe.....

Television set.....

Vacuum sweeper.....

Record player.....

Piano.....

24. How many beds do you have in the house? (Count double as two)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(circle one)

25. How many serviceable chairs do you have in the house? (Count settees and benches as 2 or 3 depending on size)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(circle one)

26. Has this house been condemned? No..... Yes.....

27. Has any government authority threatened to destroy it? No..... Yes.....

These next questions are about schooling.

28. What grade were you in when you finished school? (Female head)

(Circle one. Obtain the last grade completed)

Primary grades: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Secondary: Sub-junior Junior Sub-senior Senior

University: 1 2 3 4 5 Field:.....

Honours:.....

Degree:.....

How old were you when you left school? .....

Have you had any special training since you left school? No..... Yes.....

If yes: What kind of training?.....

29. What grade was your husband in when he finished school? (Male head)
(Circle one. Obtain last grade completed)

Primary: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 How old when left school.....

Secondary: Sub-junior Junior Sub-senior Senior

University: 1 2 3 4 5 Field:.....

Honours:.....

Degree:.....

Has he had any special training since he left school? No..... Yes.....

If yes: What kind of training?.....

30. Have either you or your husband talked to the teachers of your children at any time?
No..... Yes.....

If yes: What did you talk about?.....

.....

.....

.....

Now, about your children's schooling.

31. Name of child..... Grade level.....

Would you say that ..... is doing quite well ....., above average .....,
below average ....., or very poorly ..... at school?
(Record "average" if respondent gives this response .....).

Is ..... having any difficulty at school? No..... Yes.....

If yes: What are some of these? .....

.....

.....

32. Name of child..... Grade level.....

Would you say that ..... is doing quite well ....., above average .....,
below average ....., or very poorly ..... at school?
(Record "average" if respondent gives this response .....).

Is ..... having any difficulty at school? No..... Yes .....

If yes: What are some of these? .....

.....

.....

33. Name of child..... Grade level.....

Would you say that ..... is doing quite well ....., above average .....,
below average ....., or very poorly ..... at school?
(Record "average" if respondent gives this response .....).

Is ..... having any difficulty at school? No..... Yes.....

If yes: What are some of these?.....

.....

.....

34. Name of child.....Grade level.....

Would you say that ..... is doing quite well ....., above average .....,

below average ....., or very poorly ..... at school?
(Record "average" if respondent gives this response .....).

Is ..... having any difficulty at school? No..... Yes.....

If yes: What are some of these? .....

.....

.....

35. Name of child.....Grade level.....

Would you say that ..... is doing quite well ....., above average .....,

below average ....., or very poorly ..... at school?
(Record "average" if respondent gives this response .....).

Is ..... having any difficulty at school? No..... Yes.....

If yes: What are some of these?.....

.....

.....

36. If you had a completely free choice, how far would you like your children to go in school?
(Record all responses, probe for grade level).

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

37. When do you think they'll actually leave school? .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

The next questions are about health.

38. Have you been ill during the last 4 weeks? (Female head) No..... Yes.....

If yes: What was the problem(s)? .....

.....

Did you seek medical advice? No..... Yes.....

If yes: Tick source of advice:

Hospital Clinic.....

Doctor.....

Chemist.....

Chiropractor.....

Other (specify).....

39. Do you have any permanent physical handicap owing to accident or illness? (Female head)

No..... Yes.....

If yes: What is the handicap?.....

.....

40. Has your husband been ill during the last 4 weeks? (Male head) No..... Yes.....

If yes: What was the problem(s)? .....

.....

Did he seek medical advice? No..... Yes.....

If yes: Tick source of advice:

Hospital clinic .....

Doctor.....

Chemist.....

Chiropractor.....

Other (specify).....

41. Does your husband have any permanent physical handicap owing to accident or illness? (Male head)

No..... Yes.....

If yes: What is the handicap? .....

.....

42. Have any of your children been ill during the last 4 weeks? No..... Yes.....

If yes: What was the problem(s)?.....

.....

Did you seek medical advice for them? No..... Yes.....

If yes: Tick source of advice:

Hospital clinic.....

Doctor.....

Chemist.....

Chiropractor.....

Other (specify).....

43. Do any of your children have any permanent physical handicap owing to accident or illness?

No..... Yes.....

If yes: What is the handicap? (record name of child) .....

.....

.....

The next questions are about work and wages.

44. Do you have a job? (Female head) No..... Yes.....

If no: Skip to question 45.

If yes: What kind of work do you do? (Details. Where work and kind of work done).

.....

.....

44 Cont'd.

How many hours a week do you work? .....

How long have you had this job?.....

How much money do you clear? By the week .....

For your job before this one: What kind of work did you do? ... . .....

No prior employment: .....

Kind of job: .....

Go to question 46.

45. Have you ever worked? (Female head) No..... Yes.....

If yes: What kind of work did you do on your last job? (Where and what kind of work done).

.....

.....

How long did you have this job? .....

When did you stop working? .....

How many hours a week did you work? .....

How much money did you clear? By the week .....

For your job before this one, what kind of work did you do? ..... .....

No prior employment: .....

Kind of job: .....

46. Have you any special skills or experience you can use in getting a job? No..... Yes.....

If yes: What are these? .....

.....

.....

47. Does your husband have a job? (Male head) Unemployed..... Yes.....

If unemployed: How long has he been out of work? .....

(Ask the next questions of all male heads. Use unemployed person's last job).

What kind of work does he do? (Details. Where works and kind of work done).....

.....

.....

.....

How many hours a week does he work? .....

How long has he had this job? .....

How much money does he clear? By the week .....

Does he own any tools for his job? No..... Yes.....

48. For the job your husband had before his present one (Male head)

What kind of work did he do?.....

.....

48. Does your husband have a second job? (Male head) No..... Yes.....

If yes: What kind of a job is it?.....

How long has he had this second job?.....

How many hours does he work? .....

How much does he clear? By the hour .....

By the week .....

50. Does your husband belong to a union? (Male head) No..... Yes.....

If yes: Does he attend meetings? No..... Yes.....

If yes: How often? .....

Does he hold an office in the union? No..... Yes.....

51. Does your husband have any special skills or experience he can use in getting a job?

No..... Yes.....

If yes: What are these? .....

52. Does your family have any income other than from jobs? No..... Yes.....

| If yes: | Source of money | Amount per week |
|---|---|---|
| | Child endowment..... | ..... |
| | Widow's pension..... | ..... |
| | State Children's Allowance. | ..... |
| | Old age pension..... | ..... |
| | Unemployment benefits..... | ..... |
| | Sickness benefits..... | ..... |
| | Invalid pension..... | ..... |
| | Other (specify)..... | |
| | ..... | ..... |

53. Has it been possible for you to save some money? No..... Yes.....

If yes: About how much have you saved? .....

54. Do you have a bank account for the family? No..... Yes.....

55. Does your husband have a life insurance policy? No..... Yes.....

56. Do you have an insurance policy for your possessions? No..... Yes.....

57. Do you own a car? No..... Yes.....

58. Are you buying anything on hire purchase now? No..... Yes.....

If yes: What are you buying? .....

59. Have you had anything you were buying on hire purchase repossessed in the last 12 months?

No..... Yes.....

60. If you had completely free choice, what kinds of jobs would you like your children to have when they grow up? (Record all responses. Probe for occupations).

For your boys? .....

.....

.....

.....

60 Cont'd.

For your girls? .....

.....

.....

.....

61. What kinds of jobs do you think they'll actually have when they grow up? (Record all responses. Probe for occupations).

For your boys? .....

.....

.....

.....

For your girls? .....

.....

.....

.....

These last questions are general ones.

62. Do you go to church? (Female head) No..... Yes.....

If yes: Which one?.....

About how often do you go?.....

63. Does your husband go to church? (Male head) No ..... Yes .....

If yes: Which one? .....

About how often does he go?.....

64. Do your children go to church or Sunday school? No..... Yes.....

If yes: Which one? .....

About how often do they go? .....

65. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations? (Female head) No..... Yes.....

If yes: Which ones? .....

About how often do you go to meetings? .....

66. Does your husband belong to any clubs or organizations? (Male head) No..... Yes.....

If yes: Which ones?.....

About how often does he go to meetings?.....

67. Do your children belong to any clubs or organizations? No..... Yes.....

If yes: Which ones?.....

About how often do they go to activities? .....

.....

- 11 -

68. What does your family do on weekends or with spare time? .....

.....

.....

69. Has your family been to a wedding, an anniversary party or a 21st birthday party this year?

No..... Yes..... About how many? .....

70. Has your family been to the movies in the last year? No..... Yes.....

If yes: About how many times? .....

71. Does your husband play sports? No..... Yes.....

If yes: About how often?.....

72. Does your husband attend sporting events? No..... Yes.....

If yes: About how often? .....

73. Has your family had a holiday in the last three years? No..... Yes.....

If yes:

| Where did you go? | Length of stay |
|---|---|
| ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... |

74. Is there anything else your family does with free time? .....

.....

.....

75. Does your family keep in touch with people on reserves or settlements? No..... Yes.....

If yes:

| Relation of person (to person interviewed) | How often | How you keep in touch? (Mail, visits, etc.) |
|---|---|---|
| ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | ..... |
| | | |

We'll want to talk with other persons of Aboriginal extraction living in Brisbane. Perhaps you can help us locate them.

76. Do you have relatives living here? No..... Yes.....

If yes:

| Relation of person (to person interviewed) | Name | Address | Tel.No. | About how often do you see them. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

77. And now, can you tell me the names and addresses of friends of Aboriginal extraction?

| Name | Address | Tel.No. | How often do you see them? |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

78. If your family had any problems, worries or difficulties, to whom or where would you go for help first?

.....

.....

.....

Anyone or anywhere else? .....

.....

79. What is your standing under the Queensland Aborigines Act? (Tick)

Wife's standing: Covered by Act .....

Exempted from Act .....

When exempted?.....

Never been under the Act.....

Can you explain why? .....

.....

Have you ever lived on a reserve or settlement? No..... Yes .....

If yes: Where? Length of residence?

.....

.....

.....

Husband's standing: Covered by Act .....

Exempted from Act .....

When exempted .....

Never been under the Act .....

Can you explain why? .....

.....

Has your husband ever lived on a reserve or settlement? No..... Yes.....

If yes: Where? Length of residence?

.....

.....

.....

80. Do you feel satisfied, dissatisfied or in-between with the way things are going for you?

Satisfied .....

In-between .....

Dissatisfied .....

80 Cont'd.

Can you tell me why? .....

.....

.....

.....

To summarize: Do you feel you are going up in the world? .....

going downhill? ..... or staying the same? .....

---

1. Rapport in this interview was Excellent .....

Above average .....

Below average .....

Poor .....

2. Anything special about the interview or the respondent which should be noted.

.....

.....

.....

.....

# REFERENCES


*Articles, Books and Proceedings of Conferences*

BANTON, M. (1960). *White and Coloured.* New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press.

—— (1967). *Race Relations.* London, Tavistock Publications.

BEASLEY, P. (1970). 'The Aboriginal household in Sydney' in Taft, R., Dawson, J.L.M. and Beasley, P., *Attitudes and Social Conditions.* (Aborigines in Australian Society 2.) Canberra, Australian National University Press: 133—90.

BOCHNER, S. (1972). 'An unobtrusive approach to the study of housing discrimination against aborigines'. *Australian Journal of Psychology,* **24**(3): 335–7.

BOTT, E. (1957). *Family and Social Network: roles, norms, and external relationships in ordinary urban families.* London, Tavistock Publications.

BRERETON, J.L. (1962). 'An estimate of assimilation rate of mixed-blood Aborigines in New South Wales'. *Oceania,* **32**(3): 187–90.

BROOM, L., JONES, F.L. and ZUBRZYCKI, J. (1966). 'Five measures of social rank in Australia'. (A preliminary report.) Paper presented to the Standing Research Committee on Stratification and Social Mobility of the International Sociological Association, Sixth World Congress of Sociology, Evian, France.

—— (1970). 'Educational status of Aborigines'. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology,* **6**(2): 150–6.

—— (1971). 'Workforce and occupational statuses of Aborigines'. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology,* **7**(1): 21–34.

—— and JONES, F.L. (1973). *A Blanket a Year.* (Aborigines in Australian Society 10.) Canberra, Australian National University Press.

BROPHY, J.E. (1970). 'Mothers as teachers of their own pre-school children: the influence of socioeconomic status and task structure on teaching specificity'. *Child Development,* **41**(1): 79–94.

CAZDEN, C. (1965). 'Environmental assistance to the child's acquisition of grammar'. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University.

CLARK, C. (Cedric X) (ed.) (1973). 'The white researcher in Black society'. *The Journal of Social Issues,* **29**(1), whole issue.

DASEN, P.R. (1973). 'Piagetian research in central Australia' in Kearney, G.E., de Lacey, P.R. and Davidson, G.R. (eds.), *The Psychology of Aboriginal Australians.* Sydney, John Wiley and Sons: 89–96.

——, DE LACEY, P.R. and SEAGRIM, G.N. (1973). 'Reasoning ability in adopted and fostered Aboriginal children' in Kearney, G.E., de Lacey, P.R. and Davidson, G.R. (eds.), *The Psychology of Aboriginal Australians.* Sydney, John Wiley and Sons: 97–104.

DAVIES, A.F. and ENCEL, S. (1965). 'Class and status' in A.F. Davies and S. Encel (eds.), *Australian Society: a sociological introduction.* Melbourne, F.W. Cheshire: 18–42.

DAVIES, V. (1962). *A Rapid Method for Determining the Significance of the Difference between Two Percentages.* Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations, Department of Rural Sociology, Washington State University, Circular 151 (revised).

DE LEMOS, M.M. (1969). 'The development of conservation'. *International Journal of Psychology*, **4**: 255–69. Reprinted in Kearney, G.E., de Lacey, P.R. and Davidson, G.R. (eds.), *The Psychology of Aboriginal Australians.* Sydney, John Wiley and Sons: 71–88.

EHRLICH, H.J. (1973). *The Social Psychology of Prejudice: a systematic theoretical review and propositional inventory of the American social psychological study of prejudice.* New York, Wiley-Interscience, John Wiley and Sons.

EISENSTADT, S.N. (1954). *The Absorption of Immigrants.* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd.

GALE, F., assisted by A. Brookman. (1972). *Urban Aborigines.* (Aborigines in Australian Society 8.) Canberra, Australian National University Press.

GIST, N.P. (1965). 'Cultural versus social marginality: the Anglo-Indian case'. Unpublished paper presented at the 1965 meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago.

—— and DWORKIN, A.G. (eds.) (1972). *The Blending of Races: marginality and identity in world perspective.* New York, Wiley-Interscience, John Wiley and Sons.

—— and WRIGHT, R.D. (1973). *Marginality and Identity: Anglo-Indians as a racially-mixed minority in India.* Leiden, E.J. Brill.

GOLDSCHMID, M.L. (ed.) (1970). *Black Americans and White Racism: theory and research.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

GRAVES, T.D. (1965). 'The Navajo urban relocation research project'. A Symposium presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Research Report No. 17. Boulder, University of Colorado.

HARRÉ, J. (1966). *Maori and Pakeha: a study of mixed marriages in New Zealand.* London, Institute of Race Relations.

HESS, R.D., SHIPMAN, V.C., BROPHY, J.E. and BEAR, R.M.; and ADELBERGER, A.B. (collaborator in preparation of report). (1969). *The Cognitive Environments of Urban Preschool Children: Follow-Up Phase.* Chicago, The Graduate School of Education, the University of Chicago.

HIATT, L.R. (1965). 'Aborigines in the Australian community' in Davies, A.F. and Encel, S. (eds.), *Australian Society: a sociological introduction.* Melbourne, F.W. Cheshire: 274–95.

JENSEN, A.R. (1969). 'How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement?' *Harvard Educational Review*, **39**: 1–123.

—— (1973). *Genetics and Education.* New York, Crowell.

JONES, F.L. (1970). *The Structure and Growth of Australia's Aboriginal Population.* (Aborigines in Australian Society 1.) Canberra, Australian National University Press.

JORGENSEN, C.C. (1973). 'IQ tests and their educational supporters'. *Journal of Social Issues*, **29**(1): 33–40.

KATZ, I. (1967). 'Some motivational determinants of racial differences in intellectual achievement'. *International Journal of Psychology*, **2**: 1–12. Reprinted in Goldschmid, M.L. (ed.), *Black Americans and White Racism: theory and research.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970: 178–86.

KEARNEY, G.E., DE LACEY, P.R. and DAVIDSON, G.R. (eds.) (1973). *The Psychology of Aboriginal Australians.* Sydney, John Wiley and Sons.

KEATS, J.A., SMITH, H.M., ROGERS, C.C. and ROWE, G.P. (1966). *Dunwich: a study of Aboriginal and European integration.* St Lucia, University of Queensland Papers, Social Sciences, **1**(1) University of Queensland Press.

LIEBOW, E. (1966). *Tally's Corner: a study of Negro streetcorner men.* Boston, Little, Brown.

LOBAN, W. (1966). *Problems in Oral English.* Research Report No. 5, National Council of Teachers of English, Champaign, Illinois.

LOFLIN, M.D. (1967). 'A teaching problem in nonstandard Negro English'. *English Journal,* **56**(9): 1312–14.

LONG, J.P.M. (1970). *Aboriginal Settlements: A survey of institutional communities in Eastern Australia.* (Aborigines in Australian Society 3.) Canberra, Australian National University Press.

MCNEILL, D. (1970). 'The development of language' in Mussen, P.H. (ed.), *Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology,* Third Edition, Vol. I. New York, John Wiley and Sons: 1061–161.

MERTON, R.K. (1941). 'Intermarriage and the social structure: fact and theory'. *Psychiatry,* **4**(3): 361–74. Reprinted in Barron, M.L. (ed.), *The Blending American: patterns of intermarriage.* Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1972: 12–35.

MOODIE, P.M. (1973). *Aboriginal Health.* (Aborigines in Australian Society 9.) Canberra, Australian National University Press.

PAUW, B.A. (1963). *The Second Generation: a study of the family among urbanized Bantu in East London.* Cape Town, Oxford University Press.

PETTIGREW, T.F. (1964). *A Profile of the Negro American.* Princeton, D. Van Nostrand.

PHILP, H.W.S. (1958). 'Prejudice towards the Australian Aborigine'. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge.

PIAGET, J. (1954). *The Construction of Reality in the Child.* New York, Basic Books.

—— and INHELDER, B. (1969). *The Psychology of the Child.* New York, Basic Books.

QUEEN, S.A. and HABENSTEIN, R.W. (1974). *The Family in Various Cultures,* Fourth Edition. Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott Company.

RAINWATER, L. (1966). 'Crucible of identity: the Negro lower-class family'. *Daedalus,* The Negro American, **2**, 95(1): 172–216.

ROWLEY, C.D. (1967a). 'The Aboriginal householder'. Paper read to the ANZAAS Conference.

—— (1967b). 'The background of culture clash', in *We, the Australians: What is to follow the referendum?* Proceedings of the Inter-racial Seminar, Townsville, pp. 12–15.

—— (1971). *Outcasts in White Australia: Aboriginal Policy and Practice Volume II.* (Aborigines in Australian Society 6.) Canberra, Australian National University Press.

—— (1973). 'From humbug to politics: Aboriginal affairs and the academy project'. *Oceania,* **43**(3): 182–97.

SCHAPPER, H.P. (1970). *Aboriginal Advancement to Integration: conditions and plans for Western Australia.* (Aborigines in Australian Society 5.) Canberra, Australian National University Press.

SHRYOCK, H.S., Jr. (1964). *Population Mobility within the United States.* Chicago, Community and Family Study Center, University of Chicago.

SMITH, H.M., BIDDLE, E.H. and CORNWELL, C.M.R. (1966). *Social Survey of Persons of Aborigine and Torres Strait Island Descent Residing in Brisbane, Queensland 1965-66: progress report* (typescript), Social Science Research Council, Aborigines Project File; Canberra, Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

STACK, C.B. (1972). 'Black kindreds: parenthood and personal kindreds among urban Blacks'. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies,* 3(2): 194–206.

STODOLOSKY, S. and LESSER, G.S. (1967). 'Learning patterns in the disadvantaged'. *Harvard Educational Review*, **37**: 546–93. Reprinted in Goldschmid, M.L. (ed.), *Black Americans and White Racism: theory and research.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970: 168–77.

TAFT, R. (1966). *From Stranger to Citizen: a survey of studies of immigrant assimilation in Western Australia.* London, Tavistock.

—— (1970). 'Attitudes of Western Australians towards Aborigines' in Taft, R., Dawson, J.L.M. and Beasley, P. (eds.), *Attitudes and Social Conditions.* (Aborigines in Australian Society 2.) Canberra, Australian National University Press: 1–72.

WALKER, K. (1970). 'A song of hope' in *My People.* Brisbane, Jacaranda Press.

—— (1970). 'Let us not be bitter' in *My People.* Brisbane, Jacaranda Press.

WESTERN, J.S. and HUGHES, C.A. (1971). *The Mass Media in Australia.* St Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

WILSON, J. (1964). 'Assimilation to what? Comments on the white society' in Reay, M. (ed.), *Aborigines Now.* Sydney, Angus and Robertson: 151–66.

*Government Publications*

COMMONWEALTH BUREAU OF CENSUS AND STATISTICS. (1961). *Analysis of Population in Local Government Areas and in Non-Municipal Towns of 1,000 Persons or More.* Part I, Vol. III, Queensland, 30 June.

—— (1966). *Census Bulletin*, No. 3. 2.

—— (1961). *Index of Occupations.* Revised and extended edition, June.

—— (1964). *Labour Report, 1962 and 1963.* No. 50.

—— (1961). *Population and Dwellings in Localities.* Part V, Vol I, New South Wales, 30 June.

—— (1961). *Population and Dwellings in Localities.* Part V, Vol. III. Queensland, 30 June.

—— (1966). *Queensland Year Book.*

QUEENSLAND, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, RESEARCH AND CURRICULUM BRANCH. (1972). *Age-Grade Tables*, 1 August.

——, —— (1963). *Annual Report of the Minister of Education.*

——, —— (1964). *Annual Report of the Minister of Education.*

——, —— (1965). *Annual Report of the Minister of Education.*

——, ——, Bernard Van Leer Foundation Project. (1972). *Research Report on Some Effects of an Experimental Language Development Program on the Performance of Aboriginal Children in Their First Year at School.*

——, Parliament. *The Native Labourers Protection Act of 1884.*

—— *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act, 1897.*

—— *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act, 1901.*

—— *The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts Amendment Act of 1927.*

—— *The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act Amendment Act of 1928.*

—— *The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts Amendment Act of 1934.*

—— *The Aboriginals Preservation and Protection Act of 1939.*

—— *The Torres Strait Islanders Act of 1939.*

—— *The Aboriginals Preservation and Protection Act Amendment Act of 1946.*

—— *The Torres Strait Islanders Act Amendment Act of 1946.*

—— *The Elections Acts, 1915 to 1962, and Regulations with Index, 1963.*

—— *The Aborigines' and Torres Strait Islanders' Affairs Act of 1965.*

—— *The Elections Acts Amendment Act of 1965.*

# INDEX

Hazel Smith, before her death in 1970, was head of the Department of Social Work at the University of Queensland. Her primary welfare interests were in children and Aborigines and she worked actively with community organisations concerned with these groups.

Ellen H. Biddle received her doctorate in 1969 from the University of Missouri, where she is now Research Associate at the Center for Research in Social Behavior. Miss Smith and Dr Biddle collaborated on the present work when Dr Biddle was Research Associate in the Department of Social Studies at Queensland University.

Designed by Philippa Walker
Text set in 10 point Linotype Garamond two point leaded and printed on 85 gsm Burnie English Finish at The Griffin Press, Adelaide, South Australia

Hazel Smith, before her death in 1970, was head of the Department of Social Work at the University of Queensland. Her primary welfare interests were in children and Aborigines and she worked actively with community organisations concerned with these groups.

Ellen H. Biddle received her doctorate in 1969 from the University of Missouri, where she is now Research Associate at the Center for Research in Social Behavior. Miss Smith and Dr Biddle collaborated on the present work when Dr Biddle was Research Associate in the Department of Social Studies at Queensland University.

Printed in Australia
Jacket designed by Philippa Walker
Photograph by Professor W. E. H. Stanner

# ABORIGINES IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

**F. Lancaster Jones**
*The Structure and Growth of Australia's Aboriginal Population*

**Ronald Taft, John L.M. Dawson, Pamela Beasley**
*Attitudes and Social Conditions*

**J.P.M. Long**
*Aboriginal Settlements: A Survey of Institutional Communities in Eastern Australia*

**C.D. Rowley**
*The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*

**H.P. Schapper**
*Aboriginal Advancement to Intergration: Conditions and Plans for Western Australia*

**C.D. Rowley**
*Outcasts in White Australia*

**C.D. Rowley**
*The Remote Aborigines*

**Fay Gale, assisted by Alison Brookman**
*Urban Aborigines*

**Peter M. Moodie**
*Aboriginal Health*

**Leonard Broom and F. Lancaster Jones**
*A Blanket a Year*

**Frank Stevens**
*Aborigines in the Northern Territory Cattle Industry*

**Hazel M. Smith and Ellen H. Biddle**
*Look Forward, Not Back: Aborigines in Metropolitan Brisbane, 1965-1966*

Australian National University Press ISBN 0 7081 0697 8