

ABORIGINAL PERCEPTIONS

OF THE

ENDS, MEANS AND NATURE OF EDUCATION

By

Keith J. McDonald, B.Sc., Dip. Ed.

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the education of Perth Aborigines. This section of the Australian population is part-Aboriginal, urbanized and part of a minority sub-cultural group. In common with other Aboriginal groups, Perth Aborigines are recognized as educational under-achievers whom the State education system has sought, generally unsuccessfully, to assimilate.

In recent years the Government policies on Aboriginal affairs have referred to self-determination and self-management. In real terms these policies have had minimal impact upon Aboriginal education. They have, however, proposed the need for Aboriginal communities and groups to articulate their needs and rights in education and in other fields. Given their educational and social status this has been a difficult task for Aborigines. Further, whilst a strength of Aboriginal society is the tightly-knitted extended family, the achievement of consensus on needs and rights has been made difficult in local areas inhabited by a number of extended families, each seeking to maintain its independence and individualism.

This thesis is an attempt, by a White researcher, to breach these educational, social and cultural barriers and assist an Australian Aboriginal urban population to determine its educational aspirations. These aspirations have been classified into the Ends or goals of education, the Means or structures or strategies of education, and the Nature or values or cultural foundations and spirit of education appropriate for Perth Aborigines.

The methodology for the research was a structured interview schedule which was generated by Perth Aborigines and approved by them. The items in the schedule were obtained by an analysis of nine tape-recorded discussions with groups of adult Aborigines attending post-school educational institutions. To minimize literary problems in the ensuing individual interviews, the major items were illustrated by pictures and posters obtained from Aboriginal sources.

The sample of respondents chosen for the research was based upon the extended family nature of Aboriginal society. All of the leaders of such extended families in Perth were identified from Aboriginal sources and attempts were made to locate and interview all of them. In addition, for purposes of comparison, a group of younger Aborigines were interviewed, and the groups of adult students with whom the original discussions were held also tested and answered the interview schedule.

Each of the respondents to the schedule on the Ends, Means and Nature of education also answered a set of general, background questions. This information allowed for analysis of the data

in terms of groups of respondents characterized by similar age, sex, marital status, tribal identification, census description, level of education, locality of the State previously lived in, knowledge of family tree, leadership and experience of lives on reserves and missions.

The respondents were united in their high rating of the importance of the eleven Ends of education outlined in the schedule. Achievement in the 3Rs, in jobs and housing were rated highest of all. A knowledge of Two Worlds – Aboriginal and White – and the ability to survive and cope in both worlds were rated alongside Aboriginality or the concern for the development of Aboriginal identity and the survival of Aboriginal culture. Emphasis was also placed upon knowledge of the welfare system, free choice of lifestyle and Awareness of other cultures.

Overall the schedule items which dealt with the Nature or underlying spiritual, family and tribal values of Aboriginal society and education were also rated high in importance. This endorsement is an implicit acknowledgment of the need for education to be underpinned by spiritual, family and tribal values which give education for Aborigines a special Aboriginal nature. The clusters identified dealt with Tribal Skills, Tribal Religion, Family Values, Closeness and Acceptance. Some groups of respondents appear to have given up on the past in terms of its religious content but wish to retain the legacy of tribal skills, whilst others – notably the younger and better educated – wish for full cultural revival and knowledge of all aspects of the past. All of the respondents displayed a strong desire to be members of an Aboriginal group and to share in the feelings of security, love, closeness and acceptance generated by such groups, but there is a growing belief that the behavioral norms attributed to Aborigines such as sharing, non-competitiveness and non-materialism have been weakened by the realities of urban life.

Perceptions of the Means of education were grouped into opinions of the present school system and the preferred structuring of educational institutions for Aboriginal purposes. Opinions were equally divided on the statements that individual Aborigines can cope in classes of Whites and that teachers are not prejudiced against Aborigines. Nevertheless, the respondents did agree that teachers are not as interested in Aboriginal students as they are in White students and that schools show a generally poor view of Aboriginal culture. There was strong agreement that Aboriginal culture and language should be part of the curriculum for Aboriginal students. Groups of respondents with similar backgrounds were identified as having opposing viewpoints on the above opinions.

An analysis of the Ends, Means and Nature items revealed two major links. The first - Aboriginal Bias – revealed that central to the respondents thinking about the attainment of important cultural goals is an equal concern for the White bias exhibited by the current school system. The second – Aboriginal Socialization – was a concern that Aboriginal children be able to socialize together in either elite schools or mixed schools with withdrawal facilities in order that the goals of teaching and practicing culture, language and family values might be attained.

Finally, this research study addressed the differences in the perception of the Ends, Means and Nature of education between groups of respondents characterized by similar backgrounds. It was found that the preference of the young, males, the unmarried, the Aboriginals (census description), the adult students and Nyoongahs (the South-west “tribe”) is for achievement in White terms but allied to a strong cultural and identity revival and a demand for changes in the school system to accommodate this revival. The old, females, the married, the Aboriginal Australians and Australians (census description), extended family leaders and migrants from the north of the State are more concerned on the other hand by acceptance by the dominant society of their present alternative lifestyle and with educational structures that will support them as they are. It was further found that whereas the leaders of Aboriginal organizations and respondents who have retained a tribal identification were prepared to stress any of the Ends, Means and Nature items which were overtly Aboriginal, there are small groups – the Lower South-west, Goldfields and Geraldton respondents as well as members of Aboriginal organizations and those with no tribal identification – which were not only quite unsympathetic to the overtly Aboriginal Ends, Means and Nature items, but were generally unconcerned with an enquiry into the Ends, Means and Nature of Aboriginal education.

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Map of Australia



Map of Southwestern Australia



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Australia, the island continent, has a population of about 14 million people, of whom some 80% live in the capital cities of the seven states/territories. Australia is a democracy modelled upon the Westminster style. There are two major political parties, Labour and Liberal, both in the national or Commonwealth Parliament and in the seven state/territory Parliaments. The State of Western Australia comprises almost all of the western third of the whole of the continent, but aside from the southwestern corner (centered on the capital, Perth), is largely unsuitable for agriculture and is partitioned into huge pastoral or 'station' sections with an ever increasing presence of mining towns and developments. The Australian Aborigine, via a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle, 'occupied' the whole of the continent prior to the coming of the White (British) man in 1788 (Sydney) and 1829 (Perth). Today, full-blood Aborigines still observe traditional customs in some outback (or bush) communities, but as with most Australians, most Aborigines now live in the cities and towns, and, as with most Australians, most Aborigines are now of mixed race. Consistent with the experience of colonies in general, Australia has always had an 'Aboriginal problem'.

1.1 The Research Questions

The current Government policies on Aboriginal Affairs are self-determination and self-management. In 1973 the Labour Prime Minister defined self-determination as the restoration "to the Aboriginal people of Australia of the power to make their own decisions about their way of life within the Australian community." (Whitlam, 1973).

In 1978 the present Prime Minister told the National Aboriginal Conference that "the key feature in the Government's policy regarding Aboriginal advancement is summed up in the term 'self-management'". (Fraser, 1978). Earlier the Australian Schools Commission had defined self-management as the incorporation of "three basic elements: independence and self-reliance, responsibility and the acquisition of management skills. (Schools Commission, 1976, p. 2).

These two policies have implications in all fields of Aboriginal endeavour including land rights, compensation, health, housing, imprisonment, discrimination, employment, and education. It is upon this latter area that this thesis is focused. Within these policies of self-determination and self-management Aborigines are to be consulted about the educational services available to them, and the provision, administration and conduct of many, and eventually all, of these services is to become their responsibility.

On a national level the National Aboriginal Education Committee, convened in early 1978, is a consultative body to the Commonwealth Minister for Education. At the State level Aboriginal consultative committees to the State Education Departments have been formed, or are in the process of being formed, in most States. In each local area of Australia, however, the tribal people, the groups of fringe dwellers, or the urbanized part-Aboriginal population regard themselves as part of a distinct culture or sub-culture, and decisions concerning the details of educational services are being left to these local groups and communities. The national and State consultative committees are concerning themselves with wider policy decisions, with issues such as teacher education, or they simply act as mediatory or liaison bodies for the local communities in their dealings with non-Aboriginal agencies.

Many communities in the tribal areas have formulated plans for educational services, and, alone, or with help from the Catholic Education Commission or the State Government or the Department for Aboriginal Affairs, have established schools. Examples are Strelley, Turkey Creek, Billiluna/Lake Gregory/Balgo Hills and Yandeyarra. In Perth, a school set up in the former St. Charles Seminary serves the needs of two fringe-dwelling groups in the Lockridge area.

The problem addressed by this research goes beyond a definable tribe or group. It is the identification of the educational needs and wishes of the Aboriginal population (almost entirely part-Aborigines) interspersed throughout the White population in the cities. The focus of this study is the 9,000 plus Aboriginal people living in the Perth metropolitan area. Their children, in the main, attend the local State primary and high schools. A few, mainly those living in institutions, attend Catholic and other independent schools. The problem is the lack of information concerning the educational wishes, needs and opinions of these urban Aborigines. Although the policies of self-determination and self-management exist, they cannot be implemented unless the Aborigines' wishes are known. The consultation between Aboriginal groups and the relevant Government departments can then be based on the wishes of the whole community.

In question form this enquiry became:

- (i) What do Perth Aborigines perceive as the Ends of education and what do they think education should achieve for Aborigines?
- (ii) What are the Means of education which Perth Aborigines prefer, or how do they think education should be carried out, and how do they think the various educational services should be organized?

- (iii) What differences exist in the perceptions of the Ends and Means of education between groups of Perth Aborigines distinguished by differences in age, sex, level of education, locality of the State in which they have generally lived, tribal affiliation, perceived role of group leadership, preferred census description and experience of reserves and missions?

A full study of the cultural values underlying Aboriginal society would be necessary in order to enquire into the values that might underlie an educational system for Aborigines. Such a study is considered beyond the scope of this research. Discussions on differing value systems were, however, used to initiate sessions with Aborigines on the Ends and Means of education. A final research question therefore was:

- (iv) What should be the Nature of the education for Aborigines as defined by the values which they say should underlie an education system for Aborigines?

1.2 Significance of the Research Questions

The power to make decisions about their own way of life given back to Aborigines by the policy of self-determination has now logically been extended to the acceptance of responsibility for the decisions they make and to involvement by Aborigines in the programs which concern them. This is the policy of self-management of the present Commonwealth Government. It is critical that, under these policies of self-determination and self-management, opinions be obtained from Aborigines of the Ends and Means of education for Aboriginal people. That clarification is the focus of this research.

In recent years all over Australia new systems of education, reorganisations of old systems, and enquiries into the quality of education have occurred. Examples are the Karmel Committee Report (Schools in Australia, 1973), the Wyndham Committee Report in New South Wales (1959), the Dettman Report in Western Australia (1960), the Secondary Education for Canberra Report (1972), and the Matriculation Colleges concept in Tasmania (Hughes, 1969). In each case the committee concerned issued an educational philosophy which included a list of the aims, means, programs and selected values.

It is likewise imperative that Aborigines, now sharers in the power to make educational changes, should make statements about the Ends, Means, Structure and Values appropriate to their region. Granted the paucity of their educational experience, it is important that help is given them in this task. This research represents an attempt to help Perth Aborigines to clarify the Ends and Means

of education appropriate to their region and to comment upon its nature. No other study of this kind has been completed in Australia. The local Aboriginal communities therefore have no model upon which an investigation of their educational opinions can be based. This research may therefore be of use to other communities and groups by serving as a framework for their investigations into the opinions and needs of their people. The results of such investigations can then be used by the groups in their consultations with the relevant authorities, thus enabling the policies of self-determination and self-management to be put into practice.

1.3 The Structure of the Thesis

In Chapter 2 the various Government policies of the past 150 years are considered. Since colonization there have been seven loosely sequential stages. The Ends and Means of education for Aborigines resulting from such policies are briefly summarized as are the results of these policies.

In Chapter 3 a review is made of the literature and related research which deals with the Ends, Means and Nature of Aboriginal education.

In Chapter 4 the subjects of this study, Perth Aborigines, are described and the methods of sampling from their population are outlined.

Chapter 5 describes the research methodology.

Chapters 6 and 7 report on the Ends and Means, respectively, which Perth Aborigines consider to be appropriate for their education.

Chapter 8 describes the different perceptions of various groups of Perth Aborigines of the Ends and Means of education for Aborigines, the groups being distinguished by differences in such background variables as age, sex, level of education, tribal identification and the like.

Chapter 9 is a summary of the findings of the research and recommendations which arise from it.

CHAPTER 2

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND ABORIGINAL EDUCATION

The purpose of this chapter is to place in historical context the emergence of the current Government policies on Aboriginal affairs of self-determination and self-management. This necessitates a detailed study of all the previous policies which have been applied right back to the time of the traditional Aboriginal society in the southwest of Western Australia. In each policy era the focus is upon the implications of the policy for Aboriginal education, but it is considered that education cannot be separated from the society in which it takes place. The effects of each policy upon the Aboriginal society of the time are summarized briefly, therefore, but the Ends, Means and Nature of the education provided for the Aborigines within that society are the central concern.

Government policies on Aboriginal affairs can be separated into a loosely sequential set of seven approaches. The first three of these approaches related to the 'Aboriginal problem' and the final four to both the diminishing full-blood population and the increasing part-Aboriginal population. During the period 1829 to 1900 in which their (south-western) tribes died out, the full-bloods were affected by the Government policies of colonization/dispossession, protection and separation. The segregation or separation policy carried over to the part-Aborigines after 1900, but there have been subsequent policy changes to assimilation, integration, self-determination, and now, self-management.

This thesis is an enquiry into the educational perceptions of Perth Aborigines most of whom were born in, have lived in, and have kinship links extending into the towns and rural areas of the south-west of Western Australia. It is expected that their perceptions relating to education will have been influenced by their past experiences both in Perth and in the south-west in general. This chapter is also important, therefore, in that it records the overall picture of these experiences and the general attitudes amongst Aborigines which these experiences have produced. It also clarifies a number of associated terms and concepts which the respondents used in their discussions on education.

Finally, the three recent Government policies on Aboriginal affairs allow for Aboriginal expressions of the Ends and Means of education for Aborigines by duly constituted consultative groups. The recent discussion paper issued by the National Aboriginal Education Committee is a unique document therefore, and it has been analysed to provide a series of questions suitable for the starting point of an enquiry into the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Perth Aborigines.

2.1 Pre-Colonisation

2.1.1 The Society

In 1788 there were, in Australia overall, approximately 300,000 Aborigines living in small groups of close relatives numbering about 30 individuals. These groups or bands were loosely associated with between three and thirty other such bands to form one of about 500 tribes. Such tribes had lived in Australia for more than 30,000 years. The people were hunters and food-gatherers but the social organization of the tribes was quite complex. Individuals were classified and behaviour codified by kinship, age, family, clan and local groupings. Tribes were usually divided into two halves or moieties, and again into four or eight sections and members of a clan, sub-group or section could not intermarry. (Berndt, 1977, 1979; Hasluck, 1942).

Religion was a total life experience. It linked the people, their land and nature through belief in the ancestral beings, the pre-existence and re-incarnation of spirits, totemism, mythology and ritual. Besides speaking one of 300 different languages, the tribes had considerable diversity in art, crafts, songs, music, dance and verbal 'literature'. In the main the men had access to the ceremonial beliefs and songs and understanding of the tribal law and custom. Authority was equated with depth of understanding of tribal law and the inheritance of custodial rights to ceremonies, sacred places and ritual by individual families.

In the south-west of Western Australia there were, in 1829 (when the White man came), about 12,000 Aborigines in thirteen tribal units.

2.1.2 The Ends, Means and Results of Traditional Aboriginal Education

The Ends of education were to maintain and develop the whole community rather than individuals within the group. The living culture was to be transmitted to each succeeding generation, not indiscriminately, but to those young people selected to receive it. The main educational goal was religion since belief in the spirit world around them was an essential part of every Aborigine's activities.

As a result, religion provided an unchanging philosophy of life. It was embodied in oral literature and illustrated by art, music and drama. It gave definite laws and resulted in a close-knit social life in the community. It organized knowledge of the environment and promoted the skills needed there, thus ensuring a steady supply of food and therefore more time for leisure and cultural activities. It encouraged personal and community development and made for a continuing education in the details of the rites and ceremonies and responsibility for their observance.

The Means of education were informal, out-of-doors, practical and based on a strong teacher-pupil relationship. For the tribal Aborigines, education was by observation and initiation rather than by oral and written instruction; personal trial and error rather than verbal instruction; real life performance rather than practice in contrived settings; mastery of specific skills rather than the principles upon which such skills are based; orientation to persons rather than to information; orientation to present time rather than to the future; cultural conservation and acceptance of traditional authority; training for personal independence; and persistence and repetition as a problem saving approach rather than analysis before action (c.f. Harris, 1978).

2.2 Colonisation/Dispossession/Extermination

2.2.1 The Loss of the Traditional Lifestyle

This traditional education was totally inadequate for communication with a civilization whose goals were conquest and expansion. Nor could the Aborigines compete with the technologically superior settlers in the conflict over land ownership, since their society was based on small-scale organization and their weapons were for hunting rather than for war. But their complex social structure was intimately related to the land and without the land their culture and very purpose for living disappeared. They resisted but there were no full scale wars between Whites and blacks in Australia. The Aborigines had “only spears, clubs, throwing sticks, and in some places boomerangs, ... fire, and even with such poor arms they threw panic into many a settlement (Stanner, 1968, p. 43), Their population was too sparse, they had no large social or political organisations, no executive leadership, no skill for large scale military operations. So “the continent was lost and won, not by campaigns ... it was inched away, locality by locality.” (Stanner, 1958, p. 43)

In the south-west the Aborigines at first thought the settlers were the spirits of their returning dead and were prepared to share the land and its resources (Merrilees &c., 1973). The settlers on the other hand feared the Aborigines. They drove them away, destroyed and burned their camps, made it difficult for them to obtain indigenous food, and threatened, shot at, and killed them. The circumstances of the deaths of local leaders such as Yagan and Midgerigoo and small scale ‘battles’ such as the 1834 Battle of Pinjarra when 20 to 30 natives were killed, have been recorded by several historians (Biskup, 1973, p. 8; Merrilees &c. 1973, p. 53; Hasluck, 1942, p. 177). The Aborigines retaliated by spearing the settlers’ stock, thieving, raiding their homesteads and attacking lone farmers and shepherds. But bitter experience taught them that retaliation was not

the best policy. They were rapidly forced into a culture of dependency and a “role of shiftless vagrants and economic pests” (Biskup, 1973, p. 260).

The founding dates of the towns shown on map 1 (Appendix 2) indicate the rapid spread of the colony and the loss by the Aborigines of their land. The result of this process of conquest and disinheritance was the replacement of the noble savage by the stereotyped native characterized by “homelessness, powerlessness, poverty and confusion” (Stanner, 1968, p.44). This syndrome has persisted to the present day. The Australian Government’s Poverty Commission reported in 1975 that:

“Psychological distress is widely evident in Aborigines. Many are regarded as lazy and indolent when they are in fact exhibiting ‘psychic numbing’ – a response to disaster expressed in apathy, withdrawal or depression. This results in a desire to be left alone and in a chronic state of sluggishness. It is often associated with an increase in eating and drinking” (Poverty Commission, 1975, p. 87).

Nearly 30 years ago Elkin noted the same illness and its cause, the loss of their philosophy of life “centered in the concept of ‘eternal dreaming’, the creative time of the great heroes and ancestors whose spirits are still present (in the land and the life upon it)” (Elkin, 1944, p. 39). At the present time people of Aboriginal descent continue to talk about losing their dreaming or their conscious connection with their sacred world.

Biskup (1973, p. 2) also assigns great importance to the “unusually strong attachment (of the Aborigine) to specific sites” and once removed from these, his “inability to live outside the framework of his own culture, or to detect meaning in any other way of life other than his own”. It appears that many full-blood Aborigines simply lost the will to live when forced to change their lifestyle from a semi-nomadic one to a reserve or settlement. Killings, introduced diseases and inadequate food were further major factors in the decline in their population. In 1829 (when the White man came) there were about 12,000 Aborigines in the south-west, but by 1899 only 850 full-bloods were left, some south-west tribes had disappeared altogether, and others had only one or two survivors. The title ‘extermination’ may seem emotive, but the memories of these years still rankle in the minds of Aboriginal people. That extermination was proposed as a policy is documented, moreover, by N.S.W. Parliamentary records:

“The wisest policy was to let the blacks and the settlers fight it out between themselves” and that “it was not the policy of a wise Government to attempt the perpetuation of the Aboriginal races” who should “give way before the arms, aye! even the diseases of civilized nations”.¹

2.2.2 The Ends and Means of Aboriginal Education during this period.

A discussion of the Ends and Means of education for Aborigines during this period is obviously inapplicable. However, there were unconscious learnings taking place. The Aborigine learned his place in White society. The loss of their land meant that the traditional Ends and Means of education were destroyed in the south-west in the first ten years of this kind of teaching.

2.3 Protection

2.3.1 The Society Imposed by the Protection Policy

Only humanitarian intervention by the British Crown altered the harsh treatment endured by the Aborigines during the colonization period. The resolution passed in 1834 by the British House of Commons was to afford the Aborigines “protection in the enjoyment of their civil rights and to impart to them that degree of civilization and that religion with which God has blessed this nation” (Hasluck, 1942, p. 51).

Governor Hutt (1839-1846) took three major steps to implement this policy with the dispossessed, alienated Aborigines of Western Australia. First, he modified the law to make it more applicable to the natives and set up Rottnest Island (10 miles off the coast of Perth) as a penal institution aimed at training native offenders in the habits of civilized life.

Second, he set up a system of protectorship. The protectors appointed in Hutt’s term acted as mediators between the two cultures in legal matters and minimized the annoyance which blacks caused to Whites in the towns. Hutt had dislodged the Aborigines from the woods and encouraged them to frequent the towns and farms, believing they “cannot be taught civilization, though by constant contact they may become infected by it (Hasluck, 1942, p. 58). But increasingly the protector’s role became the protection of Whites and acting as the prosecution rather than the defense in court proceedings against Aborigines. The colony suffered from a lack of finance and “the protection of the lives and property of British subjects was judged to be of more urgency and importance than the amelioration and civilization of the Aboriginal race” (Hasluck, 1942, p. 60). Following the commencement of transportation (of criminals from Britain) in 1850, the colony became predominantly a convict settlement, the office of protector lapsed and, in official circles,

¹ Debate on the 1849 Bill in the N.S.W. Parliament. Quoted by Elkin, 1949, pp. 189-194.

natives were ignored. They were not mentioned in dispatchers to the British Foreign Office for the next 20 years.

2.3.2 Ends and Means of Aboriginal Education during Protectionism

Third, Hutt sought to promote the education of the Aborigines by subsidizing settlers to employ and train them, and by encouraging missionary institutions. During this period the Ends, Means and Nature of education were quite clear. The Ends were to civilize and Christianize and the Means were the missions. The missionary achievements in the south-west in the nineteenth century were, however, insignificant. In 1895 there were only 76 native and half-caste children in the various institutions. Missionary schools had been opened for short periods in Guildford, Mount Eliza Bay, Perth, Fremantle, York and Wanneroo. Orphanages in Albany, Busselton and Perth survived for a longer period. The most successful institution was the New Norcia Benedictine mission founded in 1846 by Dom Salvado. His contention was that the teaching of 3Rs was a secondary aim in education, religious education and physical work taking first place.

During Governor Weld's term (1870-1874) official interest in Aborigines was revived, the emphasis being the protection of the physical well-being of the native by the restraint of violence against him, the regulation of his employment by Whites, and the distribution of food, clothing and medicine. The policy of advancement in civilization was abandoned and the Whites were also not so sure of the possibility of converting the Aborigines to Christianity. Two important prejudices were that they were dying out anyway and, as the logical conclusion of Darwin's theories, that they were the lowest race on earth.

2.4 Segregation

2.4.1 Part-Aboriginal Society Before 1900

The full-blood population had declined to 850 by 1900, but the population of part-Aborigines had already reached 800. These half-castes experienced very little color prejudice prior to 1901. The 1880 liquor prohibition for full-bloods did not apply to them, the 1886 Act only applied to half-castes habitually associating with full-bloods, they were counted in the 1891 census and given the right to vote in 1893 (Biskup, 1973, p. 44).

2.4.2 The Ends and Means of Education for Part-Aborigines Before 1900

The 1871 Elementary Education Act required compulsory school attendance of children living within a three mile radius of a school. Consequently, the 1901 census records show that 31 per cent of all part-Aborigines over the age of 5 could read and write and that 30 per cent of all

part-Aborigines were at school. Twenty years later, however, these figures were “so low it was thought impudent to record them” (Biskup, 1973, p. 148).

2.4.3 The Society Imposed upon Part-Aborigines after 1900

The rapid increase in the part-Aboriginal population is shown in Table 1. This increase resulted in the emergence of racial prejudice, and, in particular, the removal of schooling from part-Aboriginal children.

Table 1: Part-Aboriginal Population Growth

Year	1891	1901	1911	1926	1935	1968
Part-Aboriginal Population	571	961	1471	2927	4005	13200

The 1905 Act of the Western Australian Parliament became the major vehicle through which discrimination could be wrought against part-Aborigines. They could be forcibly segregated on reserves and towns declared ‘prohibited’ areas to them if they were not in full employment. The further growth of the part-Aboriginal population was restrained by official permission being required for mixed marriages and by cohabitation being made a criminal offence for the White partner. The Minister could exempt any part-Aborigines from the provisions of the Act but by 1910 such exemptions had virtually ceased since they were conditional upon local police approval, no involvement with alcohol, no association with other Aborigines, even close relatives. In addition, part-Aborigines had their drinking rights cancelled in 1907, their right to land grants limited to an area less than 200 acres in 1898, and they were excluded from the 1908 Old Age Pensions Act and the 1912 Maternal Allowances Act of the Federal Parliament (Biskup, 1973, p. 140). The discrimination which built up in local areas was most evident in employment (seasonal only, poorly paid, last on – first off), hospital treatment and schooling.

2.4.4 The Removal of Schooling from Aborigines

Racial prejudice as a factor affecting schooling was helped by the 1897 amendment to the Aborigines Protection Act which transferred the responsibility for the education of both full and part-Aborigines from the Education Department to the Aborigines’ Department. The Education Department had never easily accepted part-Aborigines into State schools and this removal of responsibility allowed the Education Department to implement the clause of the 1893 Education Act which gave schools the right to exclude any pupil “suffering from any infectious or contagious

disease or whose presence was otherwise injurious to the health or welfare of other children” (Biskup, 1973, p. 148). Aboriginal children were excluded from schools at Shark Bay (1905), Beverley (1912), Quairading (1914), Mount Barker (1914), Mullewa (1915) and in other places. In 1898 the Aborigines’ Department had reduced mission subsidies in the hope of being able to establish its own schools for Aboriginal children, but while the 1905 Act gave the Department the authority to do this, the money was not available. The Department had, however, asked for control over part-Aboriginal children up to the age of 16 years in 1900, 1901 and 1904 with the hope of placing these children in an industrial home away from “evil influences” (Biskup, 1973, p. 142) and this power was also granted by the 1905 Act in the case of children of part-Aboriginal parents who had been expelled from towns or removed from reserves. Subsequently many children were taken away from their families.

2.4.5 The Segregation of Part-Aborigines on Government Settlements

Katanning, with no opposition to Aboriginal children in its school, experienced a steady influx of (part-Aboriginal) women and children in 1912 onto the town reserve which was an old Aboriginal camping ground. The men came and went in their search for work. But by 1915 local racism had built up to such a degree that all these people were deported to the newly created Government mission at Carrolup, 12 miles away. A superintendent with sweeping powers was appointed and fortnightly visits of the Katanning police supported him. Subsequently agitation began in other towns in the Great Southern for their entire Aboriginal populations to be deported. In the area north of Perth, similar requests came from Moora and Northampton, and in 1918 a second Government settlement was established at Mogumber on the Moore River. Aborigines were taken to these settlements by force, including 45 Guildford Aborigines in 1918 and all 91 Northam Aborigines in 1933 being transferred to the Moore River settlement.

2.4.6 Schooling on the Settlements

The education provided at Moore River and Carrolup was very inferior, with only one teacher for 100 children at Moore River, and up to about Grade 3 standard. The settlements were regarded in any case as prisons, and harsh measures, particularly the separation of children from their parents, were hardly conducive to a beneficial educational climate. With the opening of these two settlements all mission subsidies were withdrawn in 1917 and consequently all missions in the south, with the exception of New Norcia, were closed by 1921.

2.4.7 The Creation of the Nyoongah Lifestyle

The full-bloods of the 13 tribal units of the south-west left a cultural legacy to the part-Aborigines. However, the forced movements of Aborigines in the 30 years following World War 1 caused a mixing of these sub-cultures and dialects. Douglas (1976, p. 7) refers to this fusion of languages into the Nyoongah language and the sense of homelessness produced amongst part-Aborigines. “Today (1967) the people travel in many directions seeking work, visiting relatives, attending funerals and consciously or unconsciously searching for a community in which they may feel at home.”

In the late 1920s the picture was of an Aboriginal population largely out-of-work, restricted to town reserves far enough from the White population to avoid contact but near enough for rations and occasional employment, dominated by the twin spectres of Moore River and Carrolup. In this atmosphere “most parents would not even attempt to send their children to schools” (Biskup, 1973, p. 165). Even so, the 1928 amendment to the Education Act reiterated the right of the Minister of Education to expel from schools any child “whose presence was injurious to the health, welfare and morality of other children (Biskup, 1973, p. 165). The Aboriginal people became very disillusioned and as Biskup (1973, p. 263) states,

“the resulting disillusionment was a causal factor behind many Aboriginal attitudes which can be observed even today – resentment, aggressiveness, lack of dependability, irresponsibility in situations concerning payment of rent, food and hospital bills, various forms of ambivalence such as demanding assistances as a birthright and resenting all help offered – all these attempts to reinforce personal and group integrity are in some way related to our failure to accept the southern Aborigine on equal terms.”

The intention of the 1936 Native Administration Act was to uplift the part-Aborigine by force if necessary to the level of the general population and to bleed out color to ensure the ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth of the Aboriginal people. But the policy failed because exemptions were rarely granted to the impoverished and racially despised Aborigines. Expulsion from schools continued up to 1940 and forced removals to Carrolup as late as 1946. Biskup reports N. B. Tindale (1940) as noting that the policy of uplift by force had completely failed and that the emphasis was on a “policy of segregation ... with ... no general attempts being made at education ... illiteracy is extremely high (1973, p. 189). Makin (1970, p. 53) summarized the post-War picture as,

“in the south there was an increasing sub-stratum of European Australian society whose members lived a dejected spitless life, camping in the least desirable parts of country towns, eking out subsistence with seasonal employment on farms and Government handouts or rations, barely educated to literacy level, with few skills, and alternatively depressed or frustrated into anti-social retaliation by the imposition of restrictive laws and close personal control”.

2.5 Assimilation

2.5.1 Changes in the Lifestyle and Schooling of Nyoongah People

During the teacher shortage of the World War years both the Moore River and Carrolup settlement schools were closed. But overall the War brought enormous benefits to part-Aborigines. The plight of the oppressed peoples in Europe stirred a healthy awakening of the White man's duty to the Aborigines. Child endowment, pensions, maternity allowances, unemployment and sickness benefits were all granted to Aborigines in 1941-1944. With work again available in the war years, the economic status of the Aborigines improved. Children were sent back to school, Aborigines were allowed back into the towns in daytime and some bought or built homes in the towns. Aboriginal soldiers, in particular, experienced equality with their fellows. Finally the 1944 Native (Citizenship Rights) Act gave an adult Aborigine the right to apply for a certificate of citizenship which deemed him to be 'no longer a native or Aborigine'. There was a resurgence of racism after the war, but the Education Department had now accepted responsibility for the education of Aboriginal children, and it adhered to a firm policy of non-segregation, apart from reopening the settlement schools. By June, 1947 there were 650 Aboriginal children at school in Western Australia, 250 in the settlement schools, 100 in the metropolitan area and 300 elsewhere. The idea of separate schools for Aboriginal children was again suggested by the W. A. Teachers' Union, but the Education Department remained steadfast in its opposition and accepted only the need for a special curriculum for schools with large numbers of Aboriginal pupils.

2.5.2 Implementation of the Policy of Assimilation

The Bateman Report (1948) had the first basic policy of assimilation worded as “to fit these people into our economic and social structure” (Biskup, 1973, p. 231). This policy was implemented by the new Commissioner of Native Affairs, S. G. Middleton. He closed both the Moore River and Carrolup settlements because they postulated a policy of isolation and segregation and he went to the public with the Aborigines' cause in 1952-1953. As a result, Native Welfare Groups were formed on a State basis and also in towns such as Narrogin, Wagin, Kojonup,

Mt. Barker and Collie. Together with the re-election of a State Labour Government in 1953, these advances culminated in the 1954 Native Welfare Act which gave Aborigines reasonable equality before the Law without removing all the discriminatory legislation passed under the previous Acts. The policy of assimilation which operated in the 1950s was not actually defined until the 1961 Conference of Federal and State Ministers.

“The policy of assimilation means ... that all Aborigines and part-Aborigines are expected eventually to attain the same manner of living as other Australians and to live as members of a single Australian community, enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians” (Pittock, 1975, p. 18).

A significant result of the assimilation policy was the entry of the W. A. State Housing Commission into the field of Aboriginal housing. Under this policy, to encourage optimal integration with the wider community, it was decided to cluster groups of Aboriginal families in different suburbs, not cut off therefore from their own people, but too small to prevent a colony developing with the attendant problems of drinking, brawling and gambling. This policy is still labelled a “pepper-and-salt” approach. For this purpose land was acquired in the Perth metropolitan area close to the industrial areas in Belmont, Queens Park, Cannington, Eden Hill and Welshpool (for the building of homes for Aboriginal families).

2.5.3 The Ends, Means and Results of Assimilation in Aboriginal Education

In 1951, the Director of Education of the W. A. State Education Department formulated a policy on Aboriginal children which is still functioning today. It included compulsory school attendance for all Aboriginal children, no segregation of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children and no discrimination against Aborigines in matters of grade placement, seating or access to facilities. Biskup reports that by 1955 there were 2,200 Aboriginal children in primary and high schools in the south-west and that the last vestiges of discrimination (in access to schooling) had disappeared (1973, p. 243). The State Education Department (annual) Reports from 1951 contain sections on native education. These reinforce the policy of assimilation, “our fundamental objective – to educate the Black so that he becomes White in all but color” (Report of the Education Department, 1953, p. 11) and indicate the Means of education to be emotional and social development, the inculcation of standards of hygiene and conduct, and the establishment of normal reactions to problems and situations in everyday life (Report of the Education Department, 1954, p. 13). With

this kind of emphasis it was acknowledged that many of the Aboriginal children being taught would be limited in scholastic achievements, but that most of them should be able to live decently as normal citizens after they leave school.

There was firm Departmental opposition to any special training for teachers of Aboriginal children because “few problems in the sphere of native education should be beyond the resources of a competent, well-trained and adaptable teacher (Report of the Education Department, 1958, p. 12). During the late 1950s and the 1960s an air of complacency prevailed and Aboriginal students were regarded as deserving of no special consideration. New initiatives occurred in the field of adult Aboriginal education with eighteen classes for 197 students in seven centers in 1964 expanding to 269 classes for 5,000 students in 73 centers by 1975. In 1975 also, Perth Technical College started a full-time literacy class for Aboriginal adults. In 1959 the Director General of Education reported that “standards of achievement (of Aboriginal students) have lifted considerably in the past decade and are now at a satisfactory level” (Report of the Education Department, 1959, p. 17), while in 1969 the Department of Community Welfare reported that “98% of Aboriginal children now attend school” that a “full tertiary education can be achieved with 100% Departmental aid” (Berndt, 1969, p. 26).

Other evidence suggests that the above statements should be interpreted cautiously. By 1971 no people of Aboriginal decent had even attended university in Western Australia, while “the majority of Aboriginal students in all primary school grades had been appraised by their teachers as performing at least below average and in many cases well below average in all academic areas” (Punch and Tannock, 1975, p. 92). As for secondary education, the 1971 census figures for Year 10 students shown in Table 2 indicate that the State school system was not retaining Aboriginal students at school to an acceptable degree.

Table 2

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION IN YEAR 10
OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN W.A.
(Education Department Report, 1971)

	Aborigines	Non-Aborigines
Males	1.7	13.8
Females	2.2	12.2

Further, for the lower secondary school years 8-10, Watts (1976, p. 143) reported that 70-75% of Aborigines are in Basic levels in the four core areas of Mathematics, English, Social Studies and Science compared with a State average of 25% in these classes, quite apart from “the existence of Project classes at several high schools for students whose achievements do not reach Grade 5 level”. As recently as 1979, the holding power of State schools for Aboriginal students was very low. Table 3(a) refers to the number of Aboriginal students in each school year for the whole state, the proportion of students, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal being the ratio of the enrolments in that year to enrolments in Year 1.

Table 3(a)
Retention Rates of W.A. Schools for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Students

Year	No. of Aboriginal Students	Ratio of Aboriginal Students in the Year to Year 1 Enrolments	Ratio of non-Aboriginal in the Year to Year 1 Enrolments
1	1126	1.00	1.00
2	923	0.82	1.02
3	1063	0.94	0.96
4	904	0.80	0.94
5	824	0.73	0.91
6	840	0.75	0.86
7	787	0.70	0.85
8	881	0.78	0.80
9	733	0.65	0.82
10	516	0.46	0.78
11	123	0.11	0.41
12	25	0.02	0.24

(Source: W.A. Education Department, 1979.)

The failure of the policy of assimilation in the area of Aboriginal education is quite clear. Nevertheless, the Means of educating Aborigines have remained unaltered except in the adult and tertiary fields. The policies of self-determination and self-management mean that Aborigines now have the power to change the Ends and Means of education for their people but a doubt must exist as to whether they have the leadership and other resources to effect such changes.

2.6 Integration

2.6.1 The Re-emergence of Aboriginal Culture in Australia

Criticism of the policy of Assimilation increased in the early 1960s. Critics argued that a policy of ‘Integration’ based on the recognition of the value of Aboriginal culture and the right of

Aborigines to maintain their own languages, customs and distinctive communities was more practical, more acceptable to Aborigines, and more readily justified. The 1967 national referendum overwhelmingly favored Aborigines being counted in the census and the concurrent power in Aboriginal affairs between the Commonwealth and the States. These decisions were typical of a climate in which legal equality was being restored to Aborigines in many areas, and cultural differences within Australian society were becoming tolerated. In 1972 the Senate Standing Committee on Social Environment defined Integration as “equal access to the rights and privileges” Australian society provides, and encouragement and assistance “to preserve to preserve and develop their own culture, languages, traditions and arts so that these can become living elements in the diverse culture of Australian society” (Senate Standing Committee on the Social Environment, 1976, p. 74).

2.6.2 The Ends and Means of Aboriginal Education under Integration

By 1956 it was recognized in the W.A. Education Annual Report (p. 11) how Maori children in New Zealand were being greatly helped by the introduction into the curriculum of some of the best features of Maori culture. But this innovation never took place in W.A. south-west schools. Integration as a policy had little effect upon Aboriginal society or schools in the south-west of W.A. Its more spectacular successes were the bilingual education programs and the granting of land rights in the Northern Territory. This is an example of a Government policy which had little effect upon a particular region, and, in fact, each of the seven policies had a different effect upon the Aboriginal societies throughout the sub-regions of the States of Australia.

2.7 Self-determination and Self-management

2.7.1 The Current Policies

In early 1973 the Labour Government defined its self-determination policy on Aboriginal Affairs, and, since 1976, the Liberal Government has increasingly spoken of a goal of self-management. These policies are based on the acknowledgement that,

“... all Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders should be as free as other Australians to determine their own varied futures. We acknowledge the fundamental right of Aboriginals to retain their racial identity and traditional lifestyle or where desired to adopt partially or wholly a European lifestyle ... This approach allows for the preservation of traditional culture and for Aboriginal people to be integrated into the wider Australian society, retaining their cultural heritage while at the same time enjoying opportunities in the fields of economic, social and cultural

development which are at least equal to those available to other Australians”. (Background Notes: Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Nov. 1979, p.1). The policy document issued by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs reports the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs’ policy speech to the House of Representatives in 1978 in which he defined the “policy of self-management . . . (to be) . . . that Aboriginals, and individuals and communities, be in a position to make the same kinds of decisions about their future as other Australians customarily make, and to accept responsibility for the results flowing from these decisions” (Background Notes: Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Nov. 1979, p. 1).

2.7.2 Self-determination in Education

The involvement of Aborigines in education decision making arose from a recommendation of the Karmel Report (19783, p. 106) that an investigation into Aborigines’ needs and aspirations be undertaken as a matter of high priority. In view of its policy of self-determination the Labour Government referred the matter to its newly constituted National Aboriginal Consultative Committee. The N.A.C.C. subsequently nominated 17 Aborigines to form the Aboriginal Consultative Group to the Schools Commission. This group first met in December 1974 and in February, 1975 issued an interim report to the Schools Commission followed by a final report in June, 1975. The report stated:

“We do not see education as a means of producing an Anglicised Aborigine, but rather as an instrument for creating an informed community with intellectual and technological skills in harmony with our own cultural values and identity. We wish to be Aboriginal citizens in a changing Australia” (Aboriginal Consultative Group, 1975, p. 3).

The group laid an emphasis immediately on the cultural values underlying education, rejecting the values of the current education system and seeking the construction of an Aboriginal identity, a revival of Aboriginal culture and an Australia where the cultures of both peoples, Black and White, thrive. They defined cultural change as a replacement of the skills necessary for survival, but not of the values fundamental to Aboriginal identity. On the contrary, they maintained that education must be used to actively develop Aboriginal identity and to initiate the child into two worlds, Aboriginal and wider Australian.

The difficulty seen by the group lay in the means required to implement this program. They stated that Australian society would need to change and create an education system which taught Aborigines the new skills they required for survival or equality, but in harmony with the old

Aboriginal values. They maintained that only Aborigines can understand these values, and therefore their most important request to the Schools Commission was for the formation of a National Aboriginal Education Commission with full executive and funding powers in the area of Aboriginal education so that Aborigines themselves could initiate these basic changes in the education system applicable to Aboriginal children. In terms of the present research this was a request for Aboriginal control of the Ends, Means and underlying Values of an education system for Aborigines.

The Schools Commission's response to this request agreed with the Group's request that there was a great need for Aborigines to take more responsibility for their own advancement. But the Schools Commission interpreted the request for a National Aboriginal Education Commission to be merely the Group considering self-management as an acceptable focus for Aboriginal education. The Schools Commission proceeded to interpret self-management as independence, self-reliance and responsibility, but only in terms of the acquisition of managerial skills and not the practice of them (Schools Commission, Feb. 1976). Consequently it was a Committee and not a Commission which was appointed in March, 1977 by the Commonwealth Department of Education. The Schools Commission did state, however, as one of the basic assumptions underlying the establishment of the National Aboriginal Education Committee that there should be a national philosophy and program for Aboriginal education which would provide the foundation for Aboriginal social development.

2.7.3 N.A.E.C. Perceptions of the Ends, Means and Values of Education

In March, 1978 the N.A.E.C. issued a discussion paper on the rationale, aims and objectives of Aboriginal education (National Aboriginal Education Committee, 1978). The ideas contained in that paper are the only available framework from Aboriginal sources for an investigation into the Ends, Means and Values of education for Aborigines. The ideas refer to Aboriginal educational planning on a national level but they have been extensively analysed in this research to provide an Aboriginal starting point for an enquiry at a local level into the perceptions of the Ends, Means and underlying Values of education for Perth Aborigines.

2.7.3.1 The Ends of Education according to N.A.E.C.

The major end of education for the N.A.E.C. was the acquisition of knowledge of, and pride in, the cultural heritage. A secondary end was the acquisition of the academic and technological skills required today. But these skills must be acquired in harmony with the Aborigines own cultural

values, identity and choice of lifestyle, and not at the expense of these. The N.A.E.C. recognised the common problem of discrimination which Aborigines share with other ethnic minorities and suggested that all education should aim at developing understanding, tolerance and respect for the differing cultural viewpoints to be found in Australia. In particular Aboriginal studies in the schools for all Australian children would lessen the discrimination shown Aborigines by giving an accurate understanding of Australian history and a respect for Aboriginal culture and lifestyle.

The starting point for an enquiry into the Ends of education for Perth Aborigines was therefore taken to be a discussion amongst them of such questions as:

1. What ought education achieve for Aborigines?
2. What are the needs of Perth Aborigines?
3. What are the skills Aborigines require for participation in the wider society?

2.7.3.2 The Means of Education according to N.A.E.C.

The objectives discussed by the N.A.E.C. were the means of education on a national level. They included such ideas as the establishment of a national enquiry into all aspects of Aboriginal education, the establishment of a National Aboriginal Education Commission and an Education Resource and Curriculum Development Unit, the founding of a multi-campus Aboriginal College of Advanced Education and the need for appropriate teacher education courses for Aborigines. On a local level they merely asked for the implementation throughout Australia of community education schemes based on parental involvement and community consultation. However, Aborigines were to be involved at all levels in these programs and services, and their means of preparation were to include Aboriginal educational philosophy courses and ways of involving a community in the content of a curriculum. The starting point of an enquiry into the Means of education for Perth Aborigines was therefore taken to be a discussion of such questions as:

1. What are the educational services and programs available to Aborigines and what changes are required in these?
2. What changes are needed in schools or curricula or teaching methods or atmosphere in the schools?
3. How may Aboriginal identity be taught?
4. How can Aborigines be involved at all levels of the education system which caters for Aborigines?

2.7.3.3 The Nature of Education and its Underlying Values according to N.A.E.C.

The N.A.E.C. considered that the education system since 1788 has endeavored to make Aborigines lose their own rich cultural background and think, act and hold the same values as white, middle-class Europeans. This pressure for a change in their cultural values is why “all research studies show Aboriginal school children are at present achieving very low standards in literacy and numeracy skills” (N.A.E.C., 1978, p.3). Aboriginal children have rejected an education system which has tried to alter their values and lifestyle.

The solution to this problem is to be found in the Ends of education already summarized, namely, knowledge of and pride in their cultural heritage, and the acquisition of the skills required today in harmony with the values of this cultural heritage. This question of values is therefore closely related to the Ends of education, but the isolation of the differences in the cultural values of White and Aboriginal society is essential to understanding the need for a separate approach to Aboriginal education. As stated earlier, a full investigation of these cultural values differences is beyond the scope of this research project. Nevertheless, an attempt will be made to isolate and identify these cultural differences as they arise, and, in particular, to identify the values of traditional Aboriginal society which are still of great importance to Perth Aborigines. It is expected that these will be derived from consideration of the Ends of education rather than the Means thereof. In addition, following the example of the N.A.E.C. in their discussion paper, a discussion of the value differences between the two societies will be used as an introduction to the more detailed enquiry into the Ends and Means of education. As a starting point for the discussions of the Ends and Means of education for Aborigines it was decided, therefore, to use such questions as:

1. What do you know about traditional Aboriginal lifestyle, beliefs, values, education, language and relationship to the land?
2. What do you (i) like (ii) dislike about (i) White (ii) Aboriginal society?
3. What things are important to (i) Whites and (ii) Aborigines?
4. What are the important values of (i) Whites (ii) Aborigines?

2.8 Conclusion

The seven distinguishable Government policies on Aboriginal affairs over the past 150 years form a loose sequence when considered historically. The south-west full-blood Aborigines experienced the three policies of colonization/dispossession/extermination, protection and

separation. Their society before 1829 (when the Whites arrived) had been as described but it was completely destroyed by 1900 and their number decimated.

The part-Aboriginal population increased rapidly after 1900. It was subjected to the separation or segregation policy for over 50 years before unsuccessful attempts were made at assimilation. The more recent policies of integration, self-determination and self-management have recognized the cultural diversity of Australian society, and, in particular, the value of Aboriginal culture to the whole of Australian society. The latter two policies allow Aborigines to make their own decisions about their lifestyle and the extent of their participation in the economic, social and political life of Australia.

There have been, therefore, two similar cycles within Aboriginal policy making. The colonization/dispossession/extermination policies during the early colonial period compares with the segregation and assimilation policies of the first 60 years of this century (20th), the former policies applying to full-bloods and the latter to part-Aborigines in the south-west of Western Australia. The humane protection policy with the concomitant abandonment of the aims to civilize and Christianize compares with the recent integration policy and its concomitant abandonment of assimilation and 'making them White'. Finally the current policies of self-determination and self-management compare with the pre-colonisation era when the mode of lifestyle was a free choice. In each of these policy eras the Ends and Means of education for Aborigines have been considered. They have produced a sorry picture of failure and resentment. But now the wheel has turned full circle, there is an urgency for Aborigines to act upon the freedom which the current Government policies afford and begin the process of reform.

The ideas of the N.A.E.C. should provide considerable inspiration to local groups bent upon this task and they have been analysed in detail for this reason. Finally this research is an attempt to help Perth Aborigines to begin this process of the reform of the education provided them. In order to limit the influence of the white researcher's cultural differences upon the preliminary discussions held with groups of urban Aborigines, an Aboriginal starting point and frame of reference was required. This was found in the discussion paper issued by the N.A.E.C.. Its ideas were analyzed to produce a list of questions suitable for a discussion amongst Aborigines on the Ends, Means and Nature of education.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RELATED RESEARCH

The previous chapter dealt with the historical development of the policies on Aboriginal Affairs from the time of the first White settlement through to the current policies of self-determination and self-management. The changes in the Ends and Means of the education made available to Aborigines in each policy era were summarized. This chapter has a two fold purpose. It synthesizes recent opinions of the Ends and Means of education expressed by individuals and by national and State conferences on Aboriginal education. It also reviews the limited research which has been done in areas related to this research question. The review has been limited to literature and research applicable to the whole of Australia and to that concerned specifically with the State of Western Australia. The other States were not considered since the material available from them is repetitious of the process which has taken place in Western Australia, or where different, has limited applicability to the Western Australian situation which is the concern of this study.

3.1 Review of Literature and Research from National Sources

3.1.1 Seminars, Workshops and Conferences

The Abschol Conference (Roper, 1968) considered each of the levels of the education process from pre-school to adult education and also teacher education. It saw the need for new goals for Aboriginal education because of the conflict between assimilation for educational success and the maintenance of Aboriginal cultural values, the effective lack of social mobility for Aborigines and the cultural barrier which limits the educational achievements of Aboriginal children. It argued, consequently, for educational programs which discriminate in favor of Aborigines and for appropriate teacher training. It referred also to the general educational retardation of Aboriginal children which it attributed to poor housing, absenteeism, prejudice and social and psychological factors rather than to intelligence.

The Centre for Research into Aboriginal Affairs seminar (Dunn and Tatz, 1969) considered long term policy matters such as teaching Aborigines to cope with modern society and to become independent citizens. 'Education for what?' was seen to be a question the answers to which are very much limited by the fact that only lower-class jobs are available to Aborigines. The Seminar members also paid attention to preserving and teaching aspects of Aboriginal culture. The suggestions put forward by the Seminar concerned the adequate funding of education programs,

the need for further conferences on Aboriginal education and the need to alleviate the professional isolation of the teacher of Aboriginal children.

Both of these conferences exhibited a mentality oriented to the policy of integration rather than assimilation, but, more importantly, they catered for Aboriginal involvement in their decision-making, the Abschol Conference having two Aboriginal members and the latter, thirteen.

The National Workshop on Aboriginal Education (Watts, 1971) asked for research on the relevance of Aboriginal world views to educational aims and the traditional Aboriginal methods of imparting knowledge. Such a study could inform discussions concerning the Nature of Aboriginal education. The Workshop selected the development of favorable self-concepts and identity in Aboriginal children and the study of Aboriginal culture by all Australians as suitable educational goals. On a State basis the Means highlighted were the appointment of Superintendents of Aboriginal Education by the various Education Departments as well as the development of curricula relevant to the students' needs and teaching materials designed to improve achievement levels. On a local level, recommendations relating to the Means of education concerned liaison between the school and the parents, initial literacy in the Aboriginal vernacular and the creation of early childhood education facilities.

The Australian College of Education seminar (1971) repeated most of the above points but added the need for courses in Aboriginal studies at tertiary level and the need for Aboriginal school aides to assist European teachers. The members saw the major factors handicapping Aboriginal children as being inadequate motivation from the home, scarcity of teachers of the curriculum, and the loss of racial pride and self-respect. These factors suggest the development of new Ends and Means for the education of Aborigines.

The Australian National University Workshop (1974) had 46 participants but only four Aborigines. The discussions were limited to teacher education. The four Aborigines, however, issued a separate report calling for the teaching of Aboriginal culture to be done by Aborigines only in the tribal areas as well as the need for Aborigines to assist in the teaching of European culture since "Aborigines can understand Aborigines better than anyone else" (p. 16). For non-tribal areas the same requests were made but with less emphasis on the teaching of the culture of the local area. This separate report was a foretaste of self-determination.

The National Conference on Pre-school Education (Dwyer, 1974) could faintly see the need for self-management. It observed that:

“It must be even more difficult for us to try to establish goals and to provide programs for people who not only have had different experiences from ours but who have had these experiences within the context of a different cultural background” (p. 14)

The goals seen to be important by this Conference were that Aboriginal parents wanted similar things for their children to non-Aboriginal parents and that the child must be helped to fit into his own society. The Means highlighted were the involvement of Aboriginal parents and personnel in pre-school education programs, and the design of pre-school experiences which could enable Aboriginal children to fit more smoothly into the general school system. There is a conflict, however, between the educational goal of helping a child to fit into his own society and the educational means of designing pre-school experiences which can enable him to fit more smoothly into the general school system. In more recent times Aborigines themselves have pointed out the confusion such a clash in cultural values is likely to produce in the mind of the child.

The First National Conference of Teachers of Aboriginal Children (1976) was clearly oriented towards the policy of self-management. The Means proposed for education included more Aboriginal teachers and aides for schools with a significant Aboriginal enrolment and also that the local Aboriginal communities play a more active role in determining the courses of education offered by such schools. The Conference resolutions in fact called for the Aboriginal management of such schools and the total staffing of them by Aboriginal teachers.

The Second National Conference of Teachers of Aboriginal Children (Brumby and Green 1977) was held in Perth at the Mt. Lawley College of Advanced Education. This College had commenced an Aboriginal Teacher Education Program in 1976 and the Conference concerned itself mainly with teacher education. But significantly the emphasis was on the request of Aboriginal communities in relationship to the quality and training of teachers. The educational Means highlighted were curriculum innovations for teaching Aborigines and for teaching about Aborigines and community involvement in the development of the school programs and of the school policy. There was a repeated request for the Aboriginalization of schools with a significant Aboriginal enrollment.

According to the requests of the 1977 Perth Conference, the third National Conference for Teachers of Aboriginal Children (1978) concentrated upon teaching techniques including the discussion of a paper on Traditional Aboriginal Teaching Strategies and their applicability today.

In summary, the three National Conferences have called for self-determination in education by local communities through the Aboriginalization of schools where this is warranted by the numbers of Aboriginal students. This concept of Aboriginalization implies varying degrees of involvement of the local Aboriginal community in the management of the school and the staffing of the school by an appropriate number of Aboriginal teachers and aides. The Ends of education appropriate to the school were not considered by these Conferences since they are logically the domain of community deliberation. The Means of education were seen to be relevant, however, since the local community has no control over the quality or preparation of the teachers made available to it. It was on these matters that the Conferences concentrated their attention. The recommendations of the National Conferences are therefore in marked contrast to those of earlier conferences and seminars which concentrated on the Ends of education. The earlier conferences were operating, however, during the period of a change in Government policy from assimilation to self-management and to some extent they were also the agents of this change,

Besides this continuity of conferences from 1969, the recommendation of the 1971 Workshop was acted upon in 1973 and a journal for teachers named “The Aboriginal Child at School” has been issued bi-monthly in each succeeding year. This journal has helped in the communication of ideas between teachers geographically isolated from one another. The acceptance of self-management by Aboriginal people was demonstrated, finally, by the First National Teacher Aide (1978) held in Brisbane. The Aides defined several areas of concern which relate to the Ends, Means and Nature of education. These included parental involvement in school programs, the inadequacy of language programs in schools, the poor attitudes of many teachers to Aboriginal students, and the inadequate social background of Aboriginal children due to health, housing and employment issues. They referred also to the ‘brain drain’ of young people who go from their own community to College and are then employed in another community rather than their own.

3.1.2 Literature Relating to the Ends and Means of Education

Hart (1974), Lippman (1976) and Sommerlad (1976) also made significant contributions to the process of change in Government policy particularly as it relates to Aboriginal education. Hart (1974) looked searchingly at the forces acting upon the Aboriginal child at school, at the qualities teachers of Aboriginal children should possess and at traditional Aboriginal teaching techniques. On the basis of this analysis he suggested a number of innovative approaches to teaching,

especially those which involve using the expertise of the community and the basing of school programs on the familiar elements of the child's own culture.

Lippman (1976) considered the educational wishes of the Aboriginal people and the statistical picture of underachievement and early school leaving by Aboriginal students against the background of the tardy implementation of the current Government policies. She placed the blame for underachievement upon extrinsic factors mentioned earlier such as housing, health, poverty and lack of facilities, but also upon intrinsic factors such as self-esteem, White attitudes, separate identity, prejudice in school textbooks, teacher expectations and cultural differences. Because of the anxiety felt by Aboriginal people that education was changing their children's values, she suggested "a program based on Aboriginal ideas taking only what is good from the European side" (p. 20) which would give an education "of the community, by the community, for the community and in the community" (p. 21) She therefore saw the solution to the 'problem' of Aboriginal education to be the real implementation of the policy of self-management with preparatory adult education courses for the managers and then the Aboriginalization of community schools.

The importance of the value system underlying the educational services provided to Aborigines was stressed by the research of Sommerlad (1976) on Kormilda College, the first residential college for Aboriginal students in the Northern Territory. She identified the conflict experienced by Aboriginal students at the College in trying to reconcile the opposing value systems of the teachers and their families. She commented that,

"Kormilda is also a commentary on education as an agent of social change that fails to enhance self-identity and potential for growth and development and abandons its learners in a state of confusion and self-doubt" (p.1)

The Aboriginal author Kevin Gilbert has made two contributions to the literature dealing with the differences in the value systems of Aborigines and Whites and the consequential inability of the White agencies to really help Aborigines. He called for total self-management and self-reliance for Aborigines in order to effect change "Because a White man'll never do it" (1973). Gilbert quoted Aborigines who saw education as important for their survival in the wider society, for instance the remark,

"Education, mate. I reckon that education is everything . . . we've got to get our kids through the schools and into White man's society as judges, businessmen and what have you. To give the Aboriginal people something to be proud of. To be accepted into Australian society you've got to

have an education mate” (1977, p. 217). But his own preference is for a segregated lifestyle and the strengthening of Aboriginal life on the reserves through education.

He comments:

“if we are to build a healthy black society on our little portions . . . we will need doctors, lawyers . . . you name it. We all know the reserve kids can’t become these things . . . because it ruins them, it poisons them – and all blacks, if they want to be honest, will admit it. The reserves are pestholes. The trouble is, we don’t want the kids off the reserves either, because if that happens, they don’t remain black people . . . And we don’t just want doctors, lawyers, . . . we want black doctors, black lawyers, . . . So what have we got to do. Change the reserves!” (1973, p. 194)

Gilbert’s conclusion is a demand to Aborigines for self-management of the reserves and for this ‘what is needed is Aboriginal personnel who have been thoroughly trained in community organizing, in how to stimulate people into new creative channels (p. 195). He castigates the irresponsibility and apathy of most Aborigines. His goals for education centre around the development of Aboriginal identity, of a sense of pride and self-esteem and the educational Means of “helping him (the child) within his own community” rather than and education in White schools even if this is helped by “a scholarship in his hand” (p. 197)

Finally, Tatz (1975) edited a set of 17 lectures delivered to Armidale teachers by Aborigines. The lecturers constantly repeated the inapplicability of “White institutions and their values” (p.4) to the Aboriginal situation and this was a strong plea for a different Nature of education for Aborigines.

In summary, the major contribution of the literature relating to the Ends, Means and Nature of Aboriginal education has been this insistence on the irreconcilable differences in the cultural values of White and Aboriginal society. The overall conclusion is aptly summarised as “the people saw . . . that the education must be by the community, of the community, for the community, and in the community” (Lippman, 1976, p.21). On a national level the N.A.E.C. has taken up the challenge and individual members of this Committee have led the way in convening State Consultative Education Committees. Well-defined local committees in several areas have been able to apply themselves to the task of establishing an education service for their community, but the dispersed urban communities of the large cities have not as yet created education services suited to their needs. This research is an attempt to help Perth Aborigines to consider various options.

3.1.3 Research Relating to the Ends and Means of Education

Watts (1976) found the levels of achievement of Aboriginal secondary school students to be generally unsatisfactory compared with the total Australian population of secondary school students. In Western Australia 69% of the Aboriginal survey sample were found to be poorer achievers including 62% in basic, special or project classes. On a State-wide basis only 25% of all students are found to be in these classes. At the other end of the spectrum only 6% of the sample were reported to be achieving well to very well compared with 25% of all students to be found in the advanced levels of Years 8 to 10 (p.76). The high-achievement students were found to be from families with a high socioeconomic status or their parents had higher aspirations for their future education or future employment. The students themselves were found to have better motivation and a clearer view of their future than sample members. 37% of the teachers of Aboriginal children believed that the school needed to make changes to accommodate the Aboriginal children and they requested changes in curriculum and teaching methods and in teacher education courses. A minority of teachers favored the inclusion of Aboriginal studies in the curriculum or segregated schools.

Watts recommended that Governments make it possible for Aborigines to live in two worlds, by working “towards a viable culturally pluralistic society wherein all members of subcultures have the opportunity to achieve happiness and life satisfaction in their own lifestyle and to share in the economic and civic life of the society” (p. 234) She considered that the major areas requiring urgent attention within the school system were the staffing of schools, the appointment of Aborigines to school staffs, teacher education, curriculum, teaching methods, school organization and home-school liaison. She recommended the appointment to school staffs of teachers whose special job was to provide pastoral care for the Aboriginal students and to play a liaison role between the home and the school, and of community education officers who could work directly with the parents who,

“at present . . . accept the education that is offered and the manner of its offering, not because they are content but rather because they are not in a position to see alternatives. With greater knowledge and understanding, they would be in a better position to shape education to their needs, to have an influence in bringing about the changes they desire” (Watts, 1976, p.77).

The earlier suggestions and recommendations concern changes in the Ends and Means of education for Aborigines. This latter suggestion, however, would allow Aboriginal parents

themselves to propose the changes they desire by educating them in their understanding of the school system and of education in general. It is therefore more appropriate to an age of self-determination and self-management.

3.2 Review of Literature and Research from Western Australian Sources

3.2.1 Conferences, Seminars and Symposiums

The 1969 Summer School of the University of Western Australia was devoted to the question of Aboriginal progress (Hutchinson, 1969). A pertinent distinction was made between the concepts of welfare and advancement, both of which occur in the data of this research study. Welfare could simply perpetuate Aboriginal bludging and self-cycling dependent poverty in situations not dissimilar to segregation. Advancement, on the other hand, was seen as going beyond the need for welfare to help Aborigines who want to become adequately independent persons to reach a position from which they can exercise for themselves the choice whether to integrate and assimilate or to remain independently Aboriginal. R.M. Berndt commented on the emergence of such independent Aborigines:

“The question of social identity is relevant and this is directly pointed up by the concept of Aboriginality. More people are coming together and finding they are a similar kind of people with common interests, aspirations and past experiences, including in broad terms a more or less similar color. That has its dangers, and in social terms, in my view, identification should ideally be in relation to Australia and not so much in relationship to close group membership” (p. 35).

Despite their growing independence Aborigines continue to encounter the conflict over the Nature of education. They want the best of both worlds, Aboriginal and White, they want economic development, training in skills, improved educational facilities and wealth and to be equal in all respects with other Australians, but “the dilemma relates to the conflict in values between traditional values and those which are being superimposed; the differences in customs and behaviour patterns (p. 143). For this reason A. Grey commented:

“Contrary to what many White Australians seem to be saying to me about how Aborigines have to change and improve themselves, I am coming to believe that the major task which faces us in Australia is that of developing awareness in the thinking of White Australians about the values held by Aboriginal Australians” (p.60)

It was gradually being recognized that this lack of awareness on the part of White Australians was the reason why “these children, all in the lowest quartile . . . on practically every index . . .

show a consistently lower performance, lower achievement, lower intelligence, lower standards of work . . . “ (p. 70).

The goal proposed as an antidote to the problem of the poor achievement of Aboriginal children, however, was not programs for increasing the awareness of White Australians, but rather, adult Aboriginal education and Aboriginal parental involvement in the schools so that the children would receive some home support. Nevertheless, for a conference held during the era of the policies of assimilation and integration, the suggestions and comments of the participants were extremely far-sighted.

The same cannot be said for the Inservice Course for Teachers of Aboriginal Children conducted by the Education Department of Western Australia in 1973. The special educational needs of Aboriginal children were seen to be caused by family patterns and by a lack of experience of the culture on which the school is based but this was perceived as cultural deprivation rather than cultural difference. The aims of education were therefore considered to be to “arrest and reverse the course of intellectual retardation in the culturally deprived child” (p.7) through concentration by the teacher upon the basic tasks of literacy, language, creativity and personal and social development. The teachers were also referred to basic Means of education such as the use of materials geared to a state of continual readiness, over-learning before going on to new work, basic literacy and numeracy skills only with no frills, frequent testing and the provision of feedback. These Ends and Means are no different to the special curriculum for native schools adapted by the Education Department in 1946. Biskup (1973) reported that “the curriculum had the following aims: to provide rudiments of our civilization, to attain literacy, to inculcate desirable habits of hygiene and living, to secure a training in rural pursuits, and to provide desirable moral and spiritual attitudes”, and he concluded that “the Aboriginal child was still to be conditioned rather than educated” (p. 226). And they are no different either to the Provisional Curriculum for Colored Pupils in Caste Schools compiled by the Education Department in 1953 which was “based on the assumption that there was a considerable gap between the White and Aboriginal child, not only in skills, habits and attitudes but also in ‘potential’”(Biskup, 1973, p. 242).

Further resistance to change is evident in the attitude to teacher training. The self-determination policy of the Commonwealth Government had recently been promulgated. Commenting on the two provisions that the educational process should sustain Aboriginal culture and that, where possible, Aborigines should receive instruction in their own language, the Director of Primary

Education stated that this must result “in the training of teachers for particular localities - since there are so many dialects – and the segregation of Aboriginal pupils for educational purposes” (p. 1) and this was unacceptable since “such a narrow concept of teacher training would produce primary teachers of restricted and limited value to the Department” (p. 3), which is a repetition of the 1958 policy statement on teacher training considered above.

By 1976, however, an Aboriginal Teacher Education Program had commenced at the Mount Lawley College of Advanced Education and in the Education News Symposium (1976) the coordinator stated that “the best means of improving the education of Aboriginal children is to train Aborigines to become teachers” (p. 32). The difficulties put forward at the Inservice course of 1973 were easily overcome by the training of the Aboriginal people themselves to teach the Aboriginal children in their own language. Such solutions require, however, some degree of empathy with the Aboriginal situation on the part of the Education Department. In 1973 the Superintendent of Aboriginal Education referred to precisely “the emergence of an awareness that educational services must provide for people of different cultures . . . (and) . . . a focus . . . on Aborigines” (Berndt and Berndt, 1979, p.402). He referred also to the efforts being made to reduce areas of disability through the introduction of additional support teachers, the development of child-based learning materials, the preparation of child-centred literacy material, increasing the level of Aboriginalization in schools and special pre-service training for teachers.

The Superintendent conceded, nevertheless, that “school performance remains inadequate” (Berndt and Berndt, 1979, p. 402) and he attributed this to a number of causes, specifically, inappropriate secondary school courses, poor levels of expectation by teachers, inadequate parental support, peer group pressure and factors relating to the socio-economic disadvantages evident amongst Aborigines in general. The educational Means which suggest themselves as the solution to this problem are better teaching methods, relevant curricula, better teachers, adult education, and action by other authorities upon such areas as health and housing.

In comparison with other educational groups the acceptance of the policies of self-determination and self-management by the State Education Department has been only minimal. This will remain the situation until Aboriginal people are asked to give their opinions and then act upon them. Whereas the Superintendent discussed Aboriginal culture in terms of the information to be taught to all students in all schools, in the same publication an Aboriginal educational administrator proposed as the Means of education adequate social studies materials relating to

Aboriginal culture, art and history and the teaching of the local language because for her, a goal of education is that “children must continue to be proud of their Aboriginal heritage . . . (and) . . . it is within the school environment that the Aboriginal heritage must be sustained”. (Berndt and Berndt, 1979, p. 442).

3.2.2 Research in Western Australia on Aboriginal Education

McKeich (1972, P. 206) found an age retardation of one to three years in 60% of urban Aboriginal secondary school students compared with only a 12% retardation in the secondary school students in the same school. The details are shown in Table 3(b).

Table 3(b)
PERFORMANCE OF ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL
SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN SELECTED AREAS

Subject	% Aboriginal students below average	% non-Aboriginal students below average
Reading	45	19
English	48	18
Spelling	40	19
Arithmetic	55	24
General Knowledge	52	17

He built up a pattern of socio-cultural differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies from which the students came, and found that, because the school is oriented towards the European-Australian goals “part-Aboriginals are relatively deprived of the pre-requisite learning skills and contextual knowledge upon which school programs build, and this . . . accounts in part for the lower levels of educational achievement” (p. 432).

He also found a large disparity between the educational aspirations of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students. Whereas 73% of the non-Aboriginal students aspired to higher than the Year 10 terminal High School Certificate course, only 47% of Aboriginal students did so. And in a follow-up study of the same students he found that 66% of the non-Aboriginal students achieved this goal whereas only 21% of the Aborigines did so (pp. 402, 405).

He further found that the Aboriginal students had lower aspirations with regard to employment. He used a 7-category grouping of occupations and found that only 24% of the Aboriginal students aspired to occupations in the top four categories, whereas 50% of the non-Aboriginal students did so. And McKeich noted that these aspirations of Aboriginal students were consistent with the employment census figures for Aborigines of the time which placed 1478 of the 1579 males employed in rural or unskilled workers categories and 198 of the 233 females employed in the domestic, unskilled or shop-assistant categories (p. 405). McKeich therefore criticized the assimilationist assumptions inherent in the 1966-67 educational programs that par-Aborigines will take their place within the wider society and this is only possible if they are exposed to the same basic subject matter with the use of the same teaching methods as non-Aborigines. He stated:

“At the outset it must be realized that the concept of “equal education” is a myth. Part-Aboriginal scholastic achievements prove this. No matter how ‘equal’ the facilities offered, if they are appreciated differently by people of different cultural backgrounds, with different values and goals, then inequality prevails” (p. 519).

McKeich thought “perhaps separate education may provide a more realistic approach to the problems faced by people of Aboriginal descent” (p. 521) since education must be intimately related to the society in which “the educands will eventually participate” (p. 521). Finally he foreshadowed a change in Government policy from assimilation to its present form where “not only must the cooperation of Nyoongah people be sought and obtained, but it is also essential that they themselves initiate and carry through community activities to deal with their own problems” (p. 519).

Makon and Ibbotson (1972) found that 42% of the teachers in schools in the south-west of Western Australia agreed that “in many cases, Aboriginal children might well not be going to school at all” (p. 224). Unlike other areas in the State, Aboriginal children in the south-west speak and use English as a means of everyday communication. Yet the survey found in the south-west that “the divergent socio-cultural background of the Aboriginal people was as inhibiting to learning as both language and socio-cultural barriers in other areas” (p. 228). They saw the problems as being due to deprivation. Thus,

“it is obvious in Australian society that Aboriginal people are a minority group occupying an inferior status and mostly cut off from the majority values and the benefits wider society enjoys” (p. 234).

The goals of education they proposed, therefore, were to change the Aborigine’s role in society by educating not only the individual, but also his family, the surrounding community and society at large. This policy is not consistent, however, with a policy of self-determination.

Punch and Tannock (1975) found that: “the educational attainments of Aboriginal students in Western Australian schools are generally disturbingly low. The majority of Aboriginal pupils in primary school grades have been appraised by their teachers as performing at least below average, and in many cases, well below average, in all academic subject areas (p.93). Table 3(c) shows the detail of their findings on this picture of underachievement. (Source: Punch and Tannock, 1975, p.18.)

TABLE 3(c)
PERFORMANCE OF ABORIGINAL PRIMARY SCHOOL
STUDENTS BASED ON THEIR TEACHERS’ PERCEPTIONS

% of Aboriginal pupils either below average or well below average		
Subject	Metropolitan Area	Southern Region
Reading	56	61
Oral language	48	60
Written language	59	65
Science	41	50
Social Studies	42	52
Mathematics	57	65
Art and Craft	13	25
Music	24	38
Physical Education	9	14

Punch and Tannock placed the blame for this situation upon the teachers “who in general have accepted that Aboriginal children just cannot do well at school. They do not expect Aboriginal children to do well in school” (p. 92). The report therefore recommended that a major attack be made upon the problem of the negative attitude of teachers towards the possibility of success in school for Aboriginal children.

The conclusions and recommendations of their report are based on four goals of education, namely, that the most important task of the school is to teach every child to read well, communicate clearly and to use numbers at a satisfactory level; that Aboriginal children can master these skills;

that the curriculum content of the school program can be made more relevant to the cultural background of Aboriginal children; and that the schools and other agencies can help to alleviate the out-of-school conditions which operate to handicap Aboriginal children. The Means of education which they proposed were culture free Mastery Learning of the 3Rs; inviting Aboriginal parents into the school to decide how the curriculum and life of the school can be made more appropriate to Aboriginal children in terms of their cultural identity; and joint action by the relevant bodies upon the out-of-school handicapping conditions. But their emphasis was very much upon Mastery Learning in the belief that a child who succeeds in these basic skills will gain confidence and be able to tackle other areas.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has confined itself to a review of the literature and research in Australia and Western Australia in particular that is relevant to an enquiry into the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Perth Aborigines. The review has indicated that the recommendations and conclusions of the literature and research were generally consistent with the Government policies which operated at that time. But instances of forward looking and fore-shadowing of the current policy of self-management have been noted. A grave fear must be expressed, however, that the current educational system has not been able to change its delivery to Aborigines at the same pace as Government policies. The educational achievement of Aboriginal students is still disturbingly low and the root causes of this problem have not been investigated in conjunction with Aboriginal people. This research study is therefore critical in that it allows Aboriginal people to think freely about education and the educational services from the viewpoint of their Ends and Means and the underlying value system.

The methodology used in all previous research on Aboriginal education in Western Australia has been the study of school records or the use of questionnaires to teachers of Aboriginal children. In this study, the methodology used has involved discussions and interviews with Aboriginal parents and young adults because this approach is consistent with a Government policy of self-management. In the next chapter these subjects of the study will be described and the method of sampling from their population will be outlined.

CHAPTER 4

THE SUBJECTS OF THIS STUDY

The previous chapter reviewed the recent literature and research relevant to an enquiry into the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Perth Aborigines. This chapter is a description of the sample of Aborigines, drawn from the total population of Perth Aborigines, which was selected as the group of respondents to the enquiry. This description will be based partly on the information obtained in the structured interviews (see Appendix 1) held with each of the respondents. The structured interviews revealed that the majority of the respondents had migrated to Perth from country towns, mainly towns in the south-west of Western Australia (see Figure 1, Appendix 2). A significant number were also found to have migrated to Perth from all the other regions of the State. This chapter contains, therefore, a brief description of the Aboriginal populations of the State of Western Australia as well as that of the Perth metropolitan area, since they all contributed respondents to the survey.

4.1 The Aboriginal Population of the State of Western Australia

This section deals only with the distribution of the Aboriginal population at both the present time and before White settlement. The changes in the population distribution pattern and the causes of these changes have been dealt with in Chapter 2. All the respondents to the structured interview schedule were found to be Western Australian Aborigines and it was found that they represented each of the regions of the state listed in Table 4. The distribution of the Aboriginal population of the State was therefore relevant to this study. The estimates of this population at the time of the study are given in Table 4.

TABLE 4
ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF REGIONS OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA AT 30TH JUNE, 1979

<u>Region</u>	<u>Aboriginal population</u>
Kimberley	9,024
Pilbara	5,349
Geraldton area	4,721
South-east	3,668
South-west (excluding Perth)	5,381
Perth	8,874
Total	37,017

(Source: Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority and Aboriginal Lands Trust, Annual Report, 1979)

Prior to White settlement in 1829 there were about 47,000 Aborigines in the State, including about 12,000 in the south-west. They were divided into about 131 socio-cultural entities or tribes. The rapid spread of the frontiers of settlement (see Figure 2, Appendix 2) and the dispossession of the Aborigines' lands has been discussed in Chapter 2. The Aborigines' heritage is shown in Figure 3 (Appendix 2). The shaded areas are the current Aboriginal reserves, the smaller ones range in area from 40 to 2,000 hectares.

4.2 The Aboriginal Population of the South-West of Western Australia

This section also deals only with the distribution of the south-west population at the present time and before White settlement. Again the changes in the population distribution pattern and the causes of these changes have been discussed in Chapter 2. Reference is also made in this section to the cultural heritage of the south-west Aborigines, remnants of which are likely to have survived to the present day. As noted above, most of the respondents to the survey were found to have migrated to Perth from south-west rural areas. The population characteristics of south-west Aborigines which are noted in this section become relevant later in this report. Within the south-west of Western Australia, the major areas of Aboriginal population as at 30th June, 1979 are listed in Table 5, from the same source as Table 4.

TABLE 5
MAJOR CENTRES OF ABORIGINAL POPULATION IN THE SOUTH-WEST OF WA

Population Centre	Aboriginal population	Population Centre	Aboriginal Population
Perth	8,874	Narrogin	184
Moora	670	Bunbury	176
Northam	447	Goomalling	156
Quairading	322	Collie	153
Gnowangerup	200	Albany	134
Merriden	199	Katanning	136
Pinjarra	188	Total	14,253

At the time of White settlement there were 13 south-west tribal divisions, socially distinguished by the non-practice of circumcision and by speaking different dialects of the Nyoongah language. (Figure 4, Appendix 2). These tribes had developed complex cultures over a

period of at least 30,000 years before White settlement. Archaeological studies within the south-west give estimates of over 25,000 years for occupancy by humans of the Devil's Lair Cave and 37,000 years for Mammoth Cave, two sites south of Bunbury (Merrilees &c, 1973, p. 45). Douglas (1967, p.7) identified eleven of these tribal divisions through the memories of people of Aboriginal descent (Figure 5, Appendix 2), but at the present time nearly all Aborigines in the south-west refer to themselves simply as Nyoongahs. The word 'Nyoongah' is an Aboriginal word meaning 'man'. It is also the name of the language and culture of the south-west Aborigines (Douglas, 1967, p.5).

The dialect names in Figure 5 likewise referred to the language spoken by the members of the group and also to the people who inhabited a particular stretch of country which was recognized as being theirs. This recognition implied their religious, hunting and food-gathering rights over that land. Every piece of land throughout the south-west, and indeed the State, was linked with a group of Aborigines in this way. Each had its own names and mythological associations and was linked with others so that they formed an intricate criss-crossing of tracks extending all over the country. Along these tracks great spirit beings of the Dreaming travelled in the creative era. So did the traditionally oriented Aborigines in the contemporary scene in their everyday affairs as well as on religious occasions. To them the whole land was rich in meaning and significance.

The basic pattern of social organization within the tribes consisted of:

- (i) The domestic family
- (ii) A local descent group, the land-owning unit
- (iii) An economic food-gathering group, (Berndt, 1964, pp 40-45)

Everyone belonged to all three of such units. The local descent group was based on patrilineal descent. Members belonged to it by birth and by mythological linkage. It was associated with a particular stretch of country which was held in trust, in perpetuity, by its members. This included mythological and sacred sites. The men were responsible for looking after these and seeing that the appropriate rituals were held. People usually kept to their particular stretch of land, there were no political alliances between large-scale units or tribes and no land conquest. Trade was mostly a matter of individuals and groups exchanging commodities and passing them onto others over a wide area.

The internal organization of the south-west tribes fell into four patterns (Figure 6, Appendix 2). Area C (Perth type) had matrilineal moieties called manitjat and wardenmat (White cockatoo

and crow) with at least four exogamous matrilineal clans grouped under each moiety. The moieties classed everyone and most of the natural world into two distinct divisions, a person being of the same group as his mother, marriage and certain religious duties being governed by the clan allocation. The local descent group, on the other hand, was based on the father. Area B (Bibbelmun type) had both patrilineal moieties and patrilineal local descent groups. Area D (Nyaginyagi type) on the other hand, had two alternating endogamous moieties named birangumat and djuamat (kingfisher and bee-eater). One moiety included a person, grandparents and grandchildren, the other parents and children. Local descent groups were patrilineal. Area A was similar to Area D, but the local descent patrilineal groups were named similarly to the moieties. In summary, all the local descent groups were patrilineal, but Area C had matrilineal moieties whereas A, B and D had patrilineal ones (Berndt, 1979, pp 82-84).

There were various distinctive aspects of the south-west Aboriginal culture. The Aborigines constructed bark-covered huts and made buka-cloaks as a protection against cold winters. Also distinctive to the area were kangaroo skin bags (goto and gundir) and the hammer (kadjo). The initiation of the red-ochred novice was the piercing of the nasal septum and the gift of a hairstring, cloak and weapons. The tribes had myths about the Sun (nanga, a female) and the Moon (miga, a male), as well as the morning star and the great Rainbow snake.

“The Rainbow Serpent appears frequently in Aboriginal mythology. As depicted on the scenery, the Serpent takes the shape of the Swan River. According to the legend Warrgul emerged from the earth at Upper Swan and moved towards the sea forming the Swan Valley. The accompanying earthquakes and storms formed various geographical features, the River (beeyol), Mt. Eliza (Karta Koomba) and the Plain and Swamp between the River and Kings Park (Kargattup) where it rested before continuing on to Fremantle (Marmboyet – where the river meets the sea) and finally into the Ocean, leaving behind two rocks, Garden Island and Rottnest Island” (Davis, 1979). (Berndt 1979, pp 84-85).

Legends, dances and material on magic and death have been recorded by several observers. Of particular relevance to this report is Berndt's (Merrilees &c, 1973, p. 53) observation that women had considerable say in tribal matters in the south-west. The custom of monyo, conferring the status of moyran (grandmother) on a woman gave her the authority to arbitrate in quarrels and during armed disputes.

4.3 The Aboriginal Population of the Perth Metropolitan Region

This section is concerned with the distribution of the Perth Aboriginal population at the present times, also before 1950 which saw the beginning of the S.H.C. housing programs for Aborigines, and before White settlement. The age distribution of the present population is also included since it is a help in estimating the extent of the migration to Perth from other regions. The Perth Metropolitan Region was taken to be the Perth Statistical Division defined by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. This is also the region of jurisdiction of the Western Australian Metropolitan and Regional Planning Authority. It consists of 26 Local Government Authorities and covers an area of some 1200 square kilometres (Figure 7 and 10, Appendix 2). This area is roughly rectangular, being approximately 25 kilometres in width, bounded on the west by the Indian Ocean and, on the east by the Darling Scarp, a fault line marking the edge of the pre-Cambrian plateau.

The Aboriginal population and the total population of these 26 Local Government regions are listed in Table 7. The Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority estimates of the Aboriginal population of Perth are higher than these census figures. Their estimates for the years 1976, 1978 and 1979 are given in Table 6.

TABLE 6
A.A.P.A. ESTIMATES OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION
OF THE PERTH METROPOLITAN REGION

Year	Aboriginal Population
1976	7,461
1978	8,591
1979	8,874

Source: Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority and Aboriginal Lands Trust Annual Reports

At the time of White settlement the land which is now metropolitan Perth was owned by the leaders of small family groups as shown in Figure 8, Appendix 2. The family groups immediately gave way before the onslaught of White settlement. The history of Aboriginal dwellings in the Perth area is a record of various camping areas into which the remnants of these families and of the outlying tribes of the southwest were forcibly herded.

TABLE 7
ABORIGINAL AND TOTAL POPULATION OF THE 26 LOCAL GOVERNMENT
REGIONS COMPRISING THE PERTH METROPOLITAN REGION

Local Government Authority Area	Total Population	Aboriginal Population	% of Aborigines in the Population
Armadale-Kelmscott	27,457	367	1.3
Bassendean	11,382	235	2.1
Bayswater	38,302	244	0.6
Belmont	31,531	393	1.2
Canning	43,337	390	0.9
Claremont	8,629	23	0.3
Cockburn	29,492	259	0.9
Cottesloe	7,399	48	0.7
East Fremantle	6,452	16	0.2
Fremantle	23,497	257	1.1
Gosnells	40,422	343	0.8
Kalamunda	26,469	103	0.4
Kwinana	13,687	197	1.4
Melville	54,384	198	0.4
Mosman Park	6,760	24	0.4
Mundaring	16,413	27	0.2
Nedlands	20,974	47	0.2
Peppermint Grove	1,587	0	0
Perth	87,598	666	0.8
Rockingham	17,224	39	0.2
Serpentine-Jarrahdale	2,119	16	0.7
Stirling	162,313	862	0.5
South Perth	30,388	133	0.5
Subiaco	15,271	133	0.9
Swan	27,360	583	2.1
Wanneroo	57,328	342	0.6

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1976 Census

For example, Biskup (1973, p. 53) records that the dying remnants of the south-west tribes were collected on a 'refuge' in Welshpool in 1901. The location of this camp and other camping areas occupied before 1950 are shown on Figure 9, Appendix 2. Aborigines were barred from the city of Perth itself in 1927, a ban which was not lifted until 1954. McKeich (1972) reported that most urban Aboriginal families in 1966 were living in the inner city, low class suburbs of East and West Perth. Today there remain five fringe-dwelling camps in the metropolitan areas with a total

population of less than 200 persons. There are a further estimated 200 homeless Aboriginal persons in the East Perth area centred on the infamous Miller's Cave, which receives regular newspaper publicity. The five fringe-dwelling camps are located in Midland (Abattoirs and Brickworks), Lockridge (Widgee Road and Lord Street), and West Swan (Saunders Street). The media coverage of these 400 fringe-dwellers is of some concern to the other 8,000 plus urban Aboriginals since it is considerable, often bad and always stereotyped.

The other 8,000 urban Aborigines live in over-crowded conditions in normal homes throughout certain State Housing Commission estates, apart from a small minority who have bought or rented homes in suburbs of their own choosing. This program of SHC homes for Aborigines began in the 1950s but was unsuccessful because "the families placed in these houses were quite unready to make the move from corrugated iron and hessian shanties to life in an unfamiliar town environment" (Berndt, 1969, p. 26).

In 1959 a three-stage transition housing scheme was therefore launched throughout the State. Stage One was 500 two- and three-roomed houses on camping reserves with communal toilet and laundry facilities. Stage Two was 280 small and robust homes with self-contained toilet and laundry facilities built on town lots, and Stage Three was 130 SHC and 35 Native Welfare homes of conventional construction. Families were moved through the three stages when it was judged appropriate.

Since the entry of the Commonwealth Government into the direct funding of Aboriginal projects there has developed in Perth and country towns the distinction between State funded rental homes and Commonwealth funded grant homes. About 70% of Aborigines rent grant homes, the rent being considerably lower than for SHC rental homes, increasing in steps from \$5 per week in the first year to \$7.50 per week in the second year to \$10 per week in the third year and then to a maximum of 15% of the occupier's weekly income in subsequent years. Both rental and grant homes are built and administered by the SHC.

The 1967 Referendum result gave the Commonwealth the power to initiate the grant homes scheme and the SHC 'pepper and salt' policy of sprinkling both grant and rental homes throughout certain of its estates has created a radical change in the distribution of the Aboriginal population since 1967. There is no longer a high density of the population in the East and West Perth inner city suburbs, but rather Aboriginal families are wide-spread throughout the metropolitan area as Table 7 above illustrates. This has been due not only to the movement of people from the East and

West Perth areas but also to extensive migration of Aborigines from rural areas to the city. The sudden drop in the age-group populations occurring at 25, 30 and 15 years respectively in Table 8 is indicative of the comparative recency of the migration of many Aborigines to the metropolitan area. Estimates of continued Aboriginal migration to the Perth area are as high as 1,000 people annually to the Canning-Gosnells area alone.

TABLE 8

AGE BREAKDOWN OF THE ABBORIGINAL POPULATION
OF THE SHIRES OF SWAN AND WANNEROO AND THE CITY OF STIRLING

Age-group	Swan	Stirling	Wanneroo
0-4	84	116	49
5-9	96	173	80
10-14	87	138	75
15-19	92	140	28
20-24	70	86	22
25-29	15	60	23
30-34	37	31	22
35-39	20	35	10
40-44	24	28	12
45-49	15	26	12
50-54	12	12	4
55-59	16	4	0
60-64	7	7	0
65-69	0	4	2
70-74	5	3	2
75-	2	1	0
Total	582	862	342

Source: Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Statistical Section, 1976 Census returns.

4.4 Sampling from the Population of Perth Aborigines

4.4.1 Rationale

It was anticipated that an enquiry amongst Perth Aborigines into the Ends, Means and values of education for Aborigines would have limitations imposed by their dispersion throughout the Perth Metropolitan Area, the absence of any public records of the whereabouts of the families, the itinerant Nature of part of the population, and, on the part of those people who could be located, a wide range of readiness to cooperate, of literacy and of interest in education. An approach to a group of Aborigines in a park in the central city area did reveal all three of these latter limitations

as well as alcoholism, senility, aggression, antipathy to White people and a suggestion to talk to a daughter who lived in Armadale (20 kilometres away!). The hit-and-miss method of randomly approaching any ‘visible’ Aborigines was therefore rejected as a sampling approach. It was decided initially to approach groups of Aborigines who could be expected to be very interested in education. Discussions with these groups could then be used to generate interview material geared to an Aboriginal frame of reference and to overcome literacy and conceptual problems. A prepared interview schedule could then be administered to individual Aborigines who were judged by their peers to be representative of a group or leaders.

4.4.2 Sampling Procedure

The sample selected for the initial discussions is described in Table 9. These discussions were held with all the adult Aboriginal students at Midland, Shenton Park and the Western Australian Institute of Technology (W.A.I.T.) and with the teacher trainees at Mount Lawley College of Advanced Education.

TABLE 9
ABORIGINAL STUDENTS AT POST-SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: THE
SAMPLE FOR THE INITIAL DISCUSSIONS

Institution	Number of students
Midland	18
Shenton Park	60
W.A.I.T.	39
Mount Lawley College	14
Total	131

At Midland a basic literacy and numeracy course is conducted in the parish hall adjacent to the Catholic school for 18 Aboriginal adults. At Shenton Park three courses in basic literacy and numeracy, general studies and “Leaving” English (T.A.E. syllabus studied by all Year 12 students) are conducted in the former Catholic school for 60 students. At W.A.I.T. a bridging course in the skills required for tertiary study is conducted in a lecture room in the Architecture building. Finally, at Mt. Lawley College a three-room building is the centre for the 14 Aboriginal students as a study area, a lecture room for Aboriginal studies courses and an office for a staff member of the Intercultural Studies lecture staff who acts as a liaison person for the Aboriginal students. For discussion purposes the 60 students at Shenton Park were divided into six groups, the W.A.I.T. and Midland groups were not divided and a Mt. Lawley group of six students met voluntarily in their free time. This gave a total of nine groups for the initial discussions. An interview schedule

to be used with individuals was prepared from these discussions. The demographics and background data collected for each respondent are shown below. The E-group filled in the data as a group with constant interaction, all other interviews were one on one.

Following the collection of this data the structure interview schedule concerning the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Perth Aborigines was administered as described later.

The sample of respondents selected for the enquiry amongst Perth Aborigines into the Ends, Means and Nature of education by use of the structured interview schedule is shown in Table 10. Broadly the sample was divided into a group attending formal education programs and a group not directly involved in education. The reason for this was to obtain Aboriginal perspectives on education from people directly involved and from people not directly involved in the issues under question, an E-group and a non-E-group.

4.4.3 The Education Group (E-group)

The courses followed by each group of students have been described above. In the second stage of the research the structured interview schedule was administered to as many students in these institutions as were available. Due to students dropping courses, the “Leaving” English group at Shenton Park being unavailable and absenteeism on the day the structured interview schedule was administered, the actual number of students in the sample was 51 compared with 132 students with whom the initial discussions were held. The structured interview was administered in September – October whereas the preliminary discussions had been held in April – June. There was no way of finding the other 82 students. In the end the sample of the Perth Aboriginal population who were interviewed is shown in Table 10. The sample consisted of a group attending formal education programs (as described above) and a group not directly involved in education but perceived by others to be leaders. The reason for this was to obtain Aboriginal perspectives on education from people directly involved and from others not involved in education but representing wider views on the issues under question. The two groups were labelled the E-group and the Group-leaders.

The Demographic data collected on the sample of respondents is shown below.

General Information Required**Interview Number** _____

Name _____ Age _____ Sex _____

Address _____ (Suburb)

Housing (circle one) Own Private SHC Grant SHC Rented Staying with others

Marital status _____

Children Number _____ Ages/Grades/Occupations (separate sheets if necessary)

Where Born? _____

Towns you have lived in _____

Suburbs you have lived in or have close relatives in _____

Census description: Aboriginal __ Aboriginal Australian __ Australian __

Tribal area or affiliation (Nyoongah, Wongai, Yameji, Bardi, etc. _____)

Level of education _____

Family Tree: Father _____ Mother _____

Father's Parents: Father _____ Mother _____

Mother's Parents: Father _____ Mother _____

Self/Brothers/Sisters _____

Wives/Husbands _____

Number of children _____

Membership of an Aboriginal Organization (name) _____

Leadership position/ Number representing _____

Where is 'home'? _____

Have you ever lived on an Aboriginal reserve or mission (which) _____

Data collection:

Interview site: _____

Interview Atmosphere: _____

Interest in education: _____

Other people present: _____

Distractions: _____

Length of Interview: _____

4.4.4 The non-Education group or Group-leaders

It was therefore decided that the structured interview schedule would also be administered to a group of Aborigines not directly involved in education. It was felt that these respondents should also be leaders of the Aboriginal community since this would be an economical way of obtaining the views of a large number of people. The method of locating leaders actually meant that the views of every Aborigine in Perth were sought either directly or indirectly through his or her group leader.

TABLE 10
THE SAMPLE SELECTED AS RESPONDENTS TO THE
STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Category of Respondents	Description	Sub-Category Name	Perth Population	Number in Sample	Estimated Population represented
Education Group (E-group)	Adult students	W.A.I.T.	39	21	-
		Midland	19	11	-
		Shenton Park	60	19	-
		Mt. Lawley	14	-	-
Subtotal			132	51	-
Non-education group Non-E-group	Leaders	Leaders of Aboriginal Organizations	20	11	1100
		Group Leaders	90	63	6300
	Young Adults	Youth-Group	1500	15	-
Subtotal					
Total			1742	140	±7400

Because these leaders were generally found to be a much older group than the E-group the responses of a further group were sought. This group, named the Youth Group, consisted of young adults not directly involved in education. Their views were sought in order to determine the influence of the age variable upon the responses of the other two groups.

4.4.5 Leaders of Aboriginal Organizations

There are twenty Aboriginal organizations in Perth as listed below.

- 1) Aboriginal Advancement Council, Beaufort Street, Perth
- 2) Aboriginal Citizens Trust of WA (Inc), Beaufort Street, Perth
- 3) Aboriginal Rights League (Home for the Aged), Guilford Road, Maylands
- 4) Nyoongah Community (inc) Gnangara Cultural Complex, Sydney Road, Gnangara
- 5) New Era Aboriginal Fellowship, Wellington Street, Perth
- 6) Belmont Aboriginal Council, Hardy Road, Belmont
- 7) Medina Aboriginal Cultural Group, Leasham Way, Medina
- 8) Urban Fringe-dwellers Association, Lot 64, Saunders Street, Caversham
- 9) Swanee Nyoongah Association, Morley Drive, Lockridge
- 10) North Suburban Progress Association, Mirrabooka Avenue, Nollamara
- 11) Southern Suburbs Aboriginal Progress Association, Sampson Street, Hilton
- 12) Kadee Club, Walderton Avenue, Balga
- 13) Kulila Committee, Montfort Place, Morley
- 14) Nyoongah Building Company, Third Avenue, Kelmscott
- 15) Midland Aboriginal Progress Association, Victoria Parade, Midvale
- 16) Aboriginal Medical Service, Beaufort Street, Perth
- 17) Aboriginal Legal Service, Aberdeen Street, Perth
- 18) National Aboriginal Conference Member, Weld Street, Morley
- 19) Aboriginal Lands Trust, Ravenswood Drive, Nollamara
- 20) Aboriginal Hostels Limited, Adelaide Terrace, Perth

The structured interview schedule was administered to 11 of the leaders of these organizations. In addition, the researcher spent the two years 1979-80, the period of this research, working for one of the Aboriginal organizations concerned with establishing an Aboriginal cultural, educational (including a full-time school), recreational and sporting centre on 160 acres of land in the Perth Metropolitan Area. Members of that organization also contributed to the research data.

4.4.6 Group-leaders

As well as the leaders of these organizations there remained the possibility that a further set of leaders existed. Consistent with the structure of traditional Aboriginal society, these leaders would be the focal points of small family groups, and, therefore, within the context of Perth's Aboriginal population, either house-owners or tenants. The problem of locating these leaders of small groups was solved in four stages.

- (1) Based on information obtained from the Western Australian Education Department, maps were prepared showing the number of Aboriginal children in every primary and secondary school in the metropolitan area (Figures 11 and 12, Appendix 2).
- (2) A map of all S.H.C. estates was obtained for comparison (Figure 13, Appendix 2).
- (3) The congruency of certain areas of these three maps led to a quest for the S.H.C. homes rented to Aboriginal tenants. No complete list of such dwellings was obtainable, but an interview with a senior public servant within the S.H.C. produced considerable cooperation based on the purpose of this research.
- (4) Subsequently, discussions were permitted with the eight S.H.C. inspectors concerned with Aboriginal housing. They were asked for the names and addresses of all the Aboriginal people whom they considered to be 'group-leaders' in the sense outlined above. They named a total of 110 people including the 20 leaders of Aboriginal organizations as described above. Further, six of these eight inspectors were themselves Aborigines so that the perception of the role of group-leadership was that of Aboriginal peers in the main.

At a later stage a complete list of all Aboriginal rental and grant homes in the metropolitan area was obtained. The number of such homes in each of the S.H.C. estates is shown on Figure 14, Appendix 2. It was estimated that each of the group leaders was the focal point of about 100 individuals, or the total Perth Aboriginal population of about 10,000 people. The 11 leaders of Aboriginal organizations interviewed therefore represented the views of about 1,100 people and the other 63 Group-leaders the views of a further 6,300 people or a total of 7,400 of Perth's Aborigines.

4.4.7 Youth-Group

The 15 members of the Youth-Group who responded to the structured interview schedule all lived in houses where the Group-leaders were not found to be at home in as many as five attempts to locate them. The views of some of the missing Group-leaders are therefore represented to some degree by these younger respondents. As mentioned before, however, the prime purpose of interviewing these 15 young adults was to obtain for the purposes of comparison and contrast, the views of a non-Education group of a similar age-range to the E-group. Based on the breakdown given in Table 5 it was estimated that the total Perth population of Aborigines of these ages was about 1,500.

4.5 Description of the Respondent Sample

The characteristics of the overall sample will be described first and then an analysis provided of the differences between the age, sex, marital status, family size, number of children, locality, tribal identification, suburb, census category, level of education, knowledge of family tree, membership of Aboriginal organizations and reserve or mission experience characteristics of the sub-groups within the sample, namely the E-group, Group-leaders and Youth-group. Finally, attention is drawn to other relationships between the age, sex, etc. characteristics which proved to be relevant in the analysis of the data provided by the responses to the structured interview schedule.

4.5.1 Age

The frequency distribution table of the ages of the 140 respondents and of the respondents in the three major subgroups of the sample are shown in Table 11. The average age of the respondents was 32.5 years (standard deviation = 10.9 years).

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE (N=140)

Age	E-group frequency	Group- leader frequency	Youth- group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
15-20	20	1	4	24	17.1
21-25	10	7	6	23	16.4
26-30	1	14	3	18	12.9
31-35	6	16	2	24	17.1
36-40	6	16	0	22	15.7
41-69	8	20	0	28	20.7

4.5.2 Sex

As Table 12 shows, the sex bias in the sample was considerable. The Table clearly shows that the leadership of our urban Aboriginal society is biased towards women.

TABLE 12
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO SEX (N=140)

Sex	E- group frequency	Group- leader frequency	Youth- group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
Male	20	20	8	48	34.3
Female	31	54	7	92	65.7

4.5.3 Marital Status

With reference to Table 13, the question “Are you married or . . . ?” was clearly too direct for some of the respondents. The actual number of defacto relationships and separated and divorced respondents is probably much greater than 23 and the number of married respondents corresponding lower. This is supported by the fac that only 21 of the 140 respondents had no children as compared with 47 who claimed to be single or unmarried.

TABLE 13
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS (N=133)

Marital Status	E-group frequency	Group-leader frequency	Youth-group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
Married or widowed	10	50	3	63	47.1
Defacto, separated or divorced	3	16	4	23	17.3
Single	31	8	8	47	35.3

4.5.4 Family Size and Number of Children

The size of Aboriginal families appears to be much lower in this generation than in the last. Respondents were asked the number of their brothers and sisters (in many cases this included step-brothers and step-sisters) and the number of children they themselves had. Tables 14 and 15 show the frequency distribution of the responses to these two questions. The mean number of children in the family has decreased from 8.4 (standard deviation = 3.9) to 4.8 (standard deviation = 2.3) in the two generations. The 4.8 is not a final figure since many of the younger respondents will have further children, but there is a marked absence of the large families of ten or more children of the previous generation. The calculation of the mean of 4.8 was based only on the respondents with children of their own at the present time.

In an Aboriginal frame of reference it was thought that the locality of the State in which people have mainly lived could be an important variable. Traditionally Aborigines were a nomadic race but confined their movements to a particular stretch of country. The respondents to this survey were also found to have lived mainly in a certain locality. This was determined by the question “In

what towns in Western Australia have you lived?”. Some people have lived in towns far apart, but the majority have confined their movements to one of the eight localities listed in Table 16 and shown on Figure 15 (Appendix 2).

TABLE 14
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO FAMILY SIZE (N=121)

Family Size	E-group frequency	Group-leader frequency	Youth-group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
1-5	14	12	2	28	23.1
6-10	10	39	11	60	49.6
11-19	8	23	2	33	27.3

TABLE 15
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CHILDREN (N=132)

Number of Children	E-group frequency	Group-leader frequency	Youth-group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
0	21	1	5	27	20.5
1-5	17	40	8	65	49.3
6-10	6	33	1	40	30.3
11-19	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 16
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO LOCALITY (N=137)

Locality	E-group frequency	Group-leader frequency	Youth-group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
Geraldton	6	14	1	21	15.3
Goldfields	5	2	1	8	5.8
North	9	8	1	18	13.1
Sub-total	20	24	3	47	34.2
Wheatfields	6	13	6	27	19.7
Lower S-W	2	9	0	11	8.0
Bunbury	4	13	0	17	11.7
Perth	5	1	2	8	5.8
Upper S-W	11	14	3	28	20.4
Sub-total	28	50	11	91	65.8

The first three localities in Table 16 are not in the south-west of the State but the latter five are. The sub-totals illustrate a fact, which is of some importance in the data analysis, namely that 47 of the 137 respondents, or 34%, have migrated to Perth from non-south-west localities.

4.5.5 Tribal Identification

Figure 15 (Appendix 2) also shows the general names by which Aborigines are known in various localities. Bardi (Broome area) is but one example of a large number of tribal names still current in the north of the State, while for the Geraldton area 'Yameji' applies, for the Goldfields or Kalgoorlie area 'Wongai' applies and in the south-west localities, 'Nyoongah' is the name used. The number of respondents identifying with each of these tribal names is given in Table 17.

TABLE 17
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO TRIBAL IDENTIFICATION (N=140)

Tribal Name	E-group frequency	Group-leader frequency	Youth-group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
Nyoongah	22	57	12	91	73.4
Yameji, Bardi, etc.	11	6		20	16.1
None	2	11	0	13	10.5
No ans.	16	0	0	16	11.4

When compared with the figures in Table 16, the figures in Table 17 indicate that some respondents in all localities have either changed their affiliation to 'Nyoongah' or have rejected any identification with a tribal name. This will be discussed more fully below.

TABLE 18
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO SUBURB (N=140)

Suburb	E-group frequency	Group-leader frequency	Youth-group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
Perth	3	0	0	3	2.3
Kwinana	1	7	0	8	6.2
Fremantle	5	12	0	16	12.3
Karrinyup	1	3	0	4	3.1
Balga	6	10	2	18	13.8
Belmont	7	5	3	15	11.5
Lockridge	4	2	2	8	6.2
Midland	6	3	2	11	8.5
Canning	5	19	6	30	23.1
Armadale	3	14	0	17	13.1

4.5.6 Suburb

Within the metropolitan area of Perth the various suburbs in which the respondents live were grouped into 10 regions. The regions were named according to the local authority name of that of the most populated suburb as far as the respondents are concerned. The number of respondents living in each of these regions is given in Table 18 above.

4.5.7 Census Description

Table 19 gives the frequency description of the respondents' description in a census enquiry.

TABLE 19
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO CENSUS DESCRIPTION (N=125)

Census Description	E-group frequency	Group-leader frequency	Youth-group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
Aboriginal	5	11	5	21	16.8
Aboriginal - Australian	27	50	9	86	68.8
Australian	4	13	1	18	14.4

It is noteworthy in terms of the data analysis that 17% of the respondents still prefer to be called Aboriginal, while 14% have rejected any reference to their Aboriginality and prefer to be simply counted as Australian. The large majority, 69%, prefer the dual title of Aboriginal Australian.

4.5.8 Level of Education

The average number of years of education of the respondents was 7.8 (standard deviation = 2.6), a result which indicates that most stayed at school only until they reached the allowable leaving age. However, a significant number of the respondents (10%) have had virtually no education (just 0-4 years). Of the people over 40 years of age, 86% have had only primary education and of the people over 30 years of age, less than half have had any secondary education. For the younger age groups the percentages having had higher secondary education (Years 10 to 12) were much higher (33% to 58%) but there were still a large number who have had only primary school education. In the 15-20 years age groups it was surprising to find that 38% have had only primary education. It does not seem that Aborigines are making any more use of the State educational system than they have done in the past. Given the present system in schools of compulsory promotion it may be assumed also that all 38% of these respondents left school before reaching the compulsory schooling age of 15 years. Table 20 shows the frequency distribution of

the respondents according to the level of education attained, and Table 21 shows the frequency distribution of the respondents according to age groups and the level of education attained.

TABLE 20
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION (N=140)

Level of Education	E-group frequency	Group-leader frequency	Youth-group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
0-7	23	39	5	67	47.9
8-9	8	19	4	31	22.1
10-12	20	16	6	42	30.0

TABLE 21
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION (N=140)

Age	Level of Education (Years)					
	0-7		8-9		10-12	
	Frequency	% Freq.	Frequency	% Freq.	Frequency	% Freq.
15-20	9	37.5	1	4.2	14	58.3
21-25	6	26.1	7	30.4	10	43.5
26-30	3	16.7	9	50.0	6	33.3
31-35	12	50.0	8	33.3	4	16.7
36-40	12	54.5	4	18.2	6	27.3
41-69	25	86.2	2	6.9	2	6.9

4.5.9 Knowledge of Family Tree

TABLE 22
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO KNOWLEDGE OF FAMILY TREE (N=122)

Number of Ancestors named	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
2	12	9.8
3	10	8.2
4	24	19.7
5	31	25.4
6	45	36.9

Deep knowledge of kinship relationships is a commonly held belief of and by Aborigines. The respondents were asked the names of their six immediate ancestors: mother, father, maternal and paternal grandparents. Twelve of 122 respondents were able to name only their mother or father but not both. Ten others could name only one of their four grandparents. Forty-five of the

respondents, however, could name all six ancestors and the mean response for the overall sample was 4.7 (standard deviation = 1.3). Granted the incidence of broken marriages and defacto relationships, this is indeed a trait of Aboriginal society not matched by White society. The frequency distribution of the responses is given in Table 22.

4.5.10 Leadership and Membership of Aboriginal Organizations

The 74 group-leaders interviewed included eleven leaders of Aboriginal organizations. All of the subgroups of the sample included respondents who were members of Aboriginal organizations and the frequency distribution for this result is given in Table 23.

TABLE 23
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO MEMBERSHIP OF AN ABORIGINAL ORGANIZATION (N=118)

	Members	Non-members
E-group frequency	4	26
Group-leader frequency	17	57
Youth-group frequency	2	12
Overall frequency	23	95
Percentage frequency	19.5	80.5

4.5.11 Reserve or Mission Experience

Twelve of the 55 respondents who have experienced life on a reserve or mission name the Moore River or Carrolup reserves as their experience. These reserves were closed nearly 30 years ago.

TABLE 24
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO EXPERIENCE OF LIFE ON A RESERVE OR MISSION (N=127)

Experience	E-group frequency	Group-leader frequency	Youth-group frequency	Overall frequency	Percentage frequency
Reserve	17	31	7	55	43.3
Mission	5	16	2	23	18.1
None	16	27	6	49	38.6

4.6 Differences between E-group, Group-leaders and Youth-group

The structured interview schedule was administered to an E-group of 51, to 74 Group-leaders and to a Youth-group of 15 members. It was developed from discussions with an E-group of 132 members. It was therefore expected that the responses of the E-group members to the structured

interview schedule would reflect their participation in its construction. Some differences were expected from the Group-leaders who were a generally older group, who were not directly involved in education, but who exercised responsibility for a large family group and who could therefore be expected to reflect this extra sense of responsibility in their responses. The Youth-group was included in order to test the responses of the E-group against those of a similar age not directly involved in education. Because of both the age and responsibility factors it was in turn anticipated that the responses of the Youth-group would differ in some areas from those of the Group-leaders. In this section some of the differences in age, sex, marital status, etc. of the three sub-groups are examined in order to define more precisely the differences between the three subgroups.

4.6.1 Age

The frequency distribution of the ages of the three subgroups is given in Table 11 above. The average age of the E-group was 28.1 years, of the Group-leaders 36.6 years and of the Youth-group 23.9 years, the respective standard deviations being 12.1, 9.5 and 5.2 years.

4.6.2 Sex

The percentage of females in both the E-group and the Group-leaders was almost the same, being 62% and 58% respectively. The Youth-group, however, was 53% male. The frequency distributions are shown in Table 12.

4.6.3 Marital Status

Only 17% of the Group-leaders described themselves as single, but 32% of the E-group and 53% of the Youth-group did so. The frequency distributions are shown in Table 13.

4.6.4 Family Size and Number of Children

Tables 14 and 15 above give the relevant frequency distributions. There are no important differences in the family sizes of the three subgroups but comparison with Table 13 indicates that although 31 of the E-group, 8 of the Group-leaders and 8 of the Youth-group describe themselves as single persons, only 21, 1 and 5 respectively of the respondents in the three subgroups have no children. This fact may also point to the high incidence of pregnancy at an early age amongst young Aborigines and to the acceptance of the resulting children into the family group, rather than the solutions of adoption, abortion and methods of contraception used by other cultures.

During the course of this research three of the respondents referred to children who must have been born when the respondents were 13 years old. The presence of these children in the family

group attests to the feeling of closeness and acceptance felt by Aborigines in their family circle. This feeling is relevant to the data analysis of later chapters of this report.

4.6.5 Locality

The sub-totals of Table 16 above reveal an important fact. 42% of the E-group and 32% of the Group-leaders have come to Perth from non-south-west localities. In addition, five of the eleven leaders of Aboriginal organizations interviewed were not south-west Aborigines. The migration of large numbers of non-south-west Aborigines to the metropolitan region and their relative dominance of the leadership and employment scenes was the cause of frequent comment.

4.6.6 Tribal Identification

The frequency distribution of Table 17 above is also significant with respect to the characteristics of the E-group and the Group-leaders. Even though 42% of the E-group come from non-south-west localities, only 31% identified with the tribal names of these areas. Some of the other 11% now prefer to be called Nyoongahs and 6% of the E-group admitted to no particular tribal identification. Likewise, although 31% of the Group-leaders came from non-south-west localities, only 8% admitted to the tribal names of these areas and 15% preferred no tribal identification at all. The remaining 8% have altered their tribal identification to Nyoongah. For both the E-group and the Group-leaders therefore, 77% call themselves Nyoongahs.

4.6.7 Level of Education

39% of the E-group achieved Years 8-10 at school compared with 40% of the Youth-groups and 22% of the Group-leaders. For both the E-group and the Group-leaders almost 50% have had only primary school education but the same is true of only 33% of the Youth-group. (Table 20 above).

4.6.8 Other Characteristics

There were no substantial differences between these three subgroups in suburb distribution, census description, knowledge of family tree, membership of Aboriginal organizations or experience of life on reserves or missions.

4.6.9 Summary

The E-group and the Youth-group were generally younger than the Group-leaders and, as expected therefore, more members of these first two sub-groups were unmarried. The overall sex bias of the sample to females was reflected in the E-group and the Group-leaders but the majority of the Youth-group were males. A large proportion of the E-group and Group-leaders are not south-

west Aboriginals, although some of them have altered their tribal identification to Nyoongah or have rejected their own completely. The E-group and the Youth-group were found to be better educated than the Group-leaders, but almost half of each group has had no secondary (high school) education.

4.6.10 Other Sub-group Differences

The major sub-groups of the overall sample were the E-group, the Group-leaders and the Youth-group. The other sub-groups considered were based on differences in age, sex, marital status, family size, number of children, locality, tribal identification, suburb, level of education, census description, knowledge of family tree, leadership and membership of Aboriginal organizations and experience of life on reserves and missions. This section explores the relationships between pairs of these variables which have relevance later in this report.

4.6.11 Sex and Locality

The migration of Aborigines from non-south-west localities has involved more females than males. 36% of the females in the sample were from these localities compared with 28% of the males (Table 25).

TABLE 25
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND % FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS
ACCORDING TO SEX AND LOCALITY

Locality	Males		Females	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Geraldton	2	4.3	18	20.0
Wheatfields	11	23.4	16	17.8
North	8	17.0	10	11.1
Goldfields	3	6.4	5	5.6
Lower south-west	3	6.4	8	8.9
Upper south-west	12	25.5	16	17.8
Bunbury	6	12.8	10	11.1
Perth	1	2.1	7	7.8
Total	46		90	

TABLE 26
PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO LOCALITY AND
SUBURB

Suburb	Geraldton	Gold fields	North	Wheat fields	Lower S-W	Bunbury	Upper S-W	Perth
Perth	5.0		8.3				3.6	
Kwinana	5.0	16.7		7.4		12.5	7.1	
Fremantle	10.0	16.7	8.3	7.4		31.3	10.7	12.5
Karrinyup	5.0			7.4	9.1			
Balga	15.0		25.0	14.8	18.2	18.8	7.1	12.5
Lockridge		16.7	25.0	7.4	9.1		10.7	12.5
Midland	10.0			11.1	18.2	6.3	7.1	12.5
Belmont	15.0	16.7		11.1		6.3	10.7	12.5
Canning	30.0	16.7	33.3	22.2	18.2	18.8	21.4	25.0
Armadale	5.0	16.7		11.1	27.3	6.3	21.4	12.5

4.6.12 Locality and Suburb

It was thought that despite the ‘pepper and salt’ housing distribution policy of the State Housing Commission that Locality and Suburb might not be independent variables, and that respondents from particular suburbs might have migrated from certain localities only. Table 26, Appendix 3 shows the percentage of respondents from the various localities who now reside in the suburban areas. The trends indicated in this Table are not particularly strong, however, and considerably more people would need to be interviewed on this point for any firm conclusions to be drawn. The trends are illustrated on Figure 17 of Appendix 2. The stronger trends are from Bunbury to Kwinana and Fremantle, from the upper-south-west to Canning and Armadale and from the lower south-west to Canning, Armadale and Balga.

4.6.13 Age and Census Description

The younger and older age-groups differed from the middle age-groups in their responses to the question of preferred census description. Two-thirds of the respondents who preferred the

census description ‘Aboriginal’ were either young (15-20) or older (35-69) even though these age groups included only 50% of the respondents. In addition, only 61% of these age groups preferred the description ‘Aboriginal Australian’ as compared with 77% of the middle age groups.

4.6.14 Sex and Census Description

About 66% of each sex preferred the census description ‘Aboriginal Australian’, but more males (24%) than females (13%) preferred ‘Aboriginal’ and more females (16%) than males (12%) preferred ‘Australian’ (Table 27, Appendix 3). Taken together, the conclusion suggested by these two sections is a return to Aboriginality on the part of younger males particularly.

4.6.15 Locality and Census Description

No respondents from the Lower-south-west or Perth localities preferred the census description ‘Aboriginal’. In later sections of this report it will become clear that these respondents have basically rejected all of their Aboriginal heritage and favor complete assimilation into White society. Respondents from the other south-west localities, Bunbury, Wheatfields and the upper-south-west, showed a generally lower preference for this ‘Aboriginal’ description than did respondents from non-south-west localities (17% compared with 23%). On the other hand the preference for the description ‘Aboriginal Australian’ was less for the non-south-west localities than it was for the south-west ones. (59% compared with 73%). See Table 27, Appendix 3.

Table 27
PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO:
AGE AND CENSUS DESCRIPTION
SEX AND CENSUS DESCRIPTION
TRIBAL IDENTIFICATION AND CENSUS DESCRIPTION

	Census Description		
	Aboriginal	Aboriginal Australian	Australian
Ages: Young and old	22	61	17
Middle	11	77	12
Sex: Male	24	64	12
Female		67	16
Localities: Non S-W	23	59	18
S-W	17	73	10
Tribal Identification:			
Nyoongah	16	70	14
Non-Nyoongah	38	50	12
None	8	62	31

4.6.16 Tribal Identification and Census Description

In Table 27 above, the Wongai, Yameji, Bardi, etc. tribes were grouped under the title 'Non-Nyoongah' and the percentage of each tribal group which answered to a particular census description is recorded. The Table indicates that the highest percentage in each census category came from Non-Nyoongahs in the 'Aboriginal', Nyoongahs in the 'Aboriginal Australian' description and None (no tribal identification) in the 'Australian' description. These results are evidence of the degree of assimilation and integration preferred by each of these groups.

4.6.17 Tribal Identification and Age

Only 8% of the respondents younger than 35 years old admitted to no tribal identification at all, but 13% of those older than 35 fell into this category. This suggests younger people are more concerned about their Aboriginal identity than are the old. (Table 28 below).

4.6.18 Tribal Identification and Sex

All 13% of the respondents who admitted to no tribal identification at all were females. Also, 88% of the males compared with 65% of the females were Nyoongahs. This suggests females are less Aboriginal in their identification than males, even allowing for the fact noted above that more females than males have migrated to Perth from non-south-west localities. (see Table 28).

Table 28
PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO:
TRIBAL IDENTIFICATION AND AGE
TRIBAL IDENTIFICATION AND SEX,
TRIBAL IDENTIFICATION AND LOCALITY

	Tribal Identification		
	Nyoongah	Non-Nyoongah	None
Ages: Less than 35	71	21	8
More than 35	77	8	15
Sex: Male	88	11	
Female	65	19	16
Localities:			
South-west	92		8
Geraldton	44	25	31
North	44	50	6
Goldfields	13	87	
Total non-SW	38	48	15

4.6.19 Tribal Identification and Locality

90% of the respondents from the south-west localities have remained Nyoongah in their tribal affiliation, but 43% of the Geraldton respondents and 43% of the North (Kimberly) respondents have altered their tribal identification to Nyoongah. However, only one of the Geraldton respondents has done this. This suggests that many respondents from non-south-west localities have assimilated, not into the White society of Perth but into the Aboriginal one. The Wongais are an important exception to this trend. They have remained 88% Wongai in their tribal identification. The biggest breakdown in tribal identity has occurred with the Yameji. Apart from the 43% who now call themselves Nyoongahs, 32% claim no tribal identification at all and only 25% still identify as Yameji. The North respondents who have not altered their identification to Nyoongah have, with one exception, retained their original tribal name.

4.6.20 Summary

The important points which emerged from this description of the sample of respondents to the structured interview schedule were that the female-male ratio was 2:1, the marital status and number of children are both conforming more to the Australian norm than previous studies indicated (McKeich, 1972; Makin 1969), that significant numbers of both the E-group and the Group-leaders have migrated to Perth from non-Nyoongah localities, and that 90% of the respondents still identify with a tribal name and classify themselves as Aboriginals or Aboriginal Australians rather than simply as Australians. It was anticipated that there would be differences in the responses of such groups as the E-group, Group-leaders and Youth-group but also to groups based on differences in age, sex, locality, census description and tribal identification.

The migration of respondents to Perth (and by inference of the groups each represents) has involved more females than males. The migrants have to some extent settled in particular suburbs rather than being randomly distributed. The census description 'Aboriginal' is preferred by young males and by those from non-south-west localities or non-Nyoongahs. The census description 'Australian' was favored by respondents who were generally female, middle-aged, and who admitted no tribal identification. The majority of the sample favored the census description 'Aboriginal Australian'.

Tribal identity has been rejected mostly by the older respondents, by females and by lower-south-west and Perth respondents. Many North and Geraldton respondents have altered their tribal

name to Nyoongah, but the Goldfields or Wongai respondents have mainly retained their original tribal name.

None of the other pairs of variables which were investigated revealed any important relationships. On the basis of the above analysis it was decided to investigate the differences in the responses to the structured interview schedule of not only the E-group, Group-leaders and Youth-group, but also of groups having differences in age, sex, marital status, locality, suburb, census description and tribal identification.

4.7 General Observations

During the structured interviews with individuals certain qualitative differences were also observed. The respondents lived in houses sprinkled throughout the low-status S.H.C. estates. Some of the homes were well-presented, carpeted and in pleasant garden settings, but the majority were obviously 'Aboriginal' with no lawns or gardens, surrounded by rubbish, junk and old cars, and they had no floor coverings and only scanty furniture. The homes were generally over-crowded with numbers of adults seemingly permanent residents and large numbers of small children and dogs. The people seemed quite happy. They were pleasant to talk with, often shy, but quite willing to talk about education. Many seemed ashamed of their accommodation and were unwilling to admit the researcher to their homes. School-aged children were often at home (even though most of the visits were made during school hours) and the problem of teen unemployment and lack of something to do was evident.

The people were very mobile – carloads of visitors were often at the house being visited to or arrived during the visit. House visits by the researcher before 10.00 a.m. were generally successful in finding someone at home, but calls after 11.00 a.m. were often fruitless. None of the homes had telephones, all the visits were 'cold calls'. The fortnightly pension cheques made that Wednesday and the following two or three days an unlikely time to find people at home. Further evidence of this mobility came from the answer to the question "In which town or towns of W.A. have you lived?" Typical answers were:

1. Perenjori, Morowa, Geraldton, Derby, Perth
2. Ongerup, Gnowangerup, Mount Barker, Cranbrook, Harvey, Perth
3. Katanning, Gnowangerup, Narrogin, Albany, Northam, Quairading, Beverley, Perth
4. Mullewa, Mount Magnet, Leonora, Perth
5. Wongan Hills, Jenacubine, New Norcia, Konangring, Goomalling, Perth

Both within the metropolitan area on a daily basis and in country areas for more extended periods, visiting is still a high priority for Aboriginal people. Absence from home for this reason or for a funeral were frequently mentioned and encountered. Douglas' comment (1967, p. 7) is still true:

“Today the people travel in many directions seeking work, visiting relatives, attending funerals, or consciously or unconsciously searching for a community in which they may feel at home.” For they no longer have a real home.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The preceding chapter described the sample upon which the research findings were based. The concern in the present chapter is to describe the procedures used to obtain from that sample its views relating to the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Aborigines. Several barriers limited access to such views, not the least being the limited literacy and restricted comprehension of the respondents to the range of educational concepts under question. As Watts (1976, p. 238) noted:

“At present, in general, Aboriginal and Islander parents accept an education that is offered and the manner of its offering, not because they are content but rather because they are not in a position to see alternatives. With greater knowledge and understanding, they would be in a better position to shape education to their Ends, to have an influence in bringing about the changes they desire.”

5.1 Data Gathering Strategy

Moreover, there was a danger that a non-Aboriginal researcher could impose his own frame of reference upon the research in a positivistic manner. It was therefore necessary to choose a strategy whereby Perth Aborigines could communicate fully their views about the Ends, Means and Nature for Perth Aborigines. The strategy selected was a set of multiple choice items to which the individuals in the sample could respond in an interview and it was necessary that these items be developed within an Aboriginal frame of reference. For these reasons the research proceeded in three stages:

1. Exploratory unstructured discussions with groups of Aborigines.
2. Production of an interview schedule and associated support material.
3. The interview program.

This strategy was chosen because it parallels the approach used by Freire (1972) in the education of Brazilian peasants and other Third World minority groups whose characteristics are shared by Aboriginal groups on reserves and missions, groups from which Perth Aborigines have migrated. Freire described such groups as follows.

“Latin American societies are closed societies characterized by a rigid hierarchical structure; by the lack of internal markets, since their economy is controlled from outside; by the exportation of raw materials and the importation of manufactured goods, without a voice in either process; by

a precarious and selective educational system whose schools are an instrument of maintaining the status quo; by high percentages of illiteracy and disease, including the naively named ‘tropical diseases’ which are really diseases of under-development and dependence; by alarming rates of infant mortality; by malnutrition, often with irreparable effects on mental faculties; by a low life expectancy; and by a high rate of crime.” (Freire, 1970, p. 61).

In the course of reading for this research notes were prepared on each of the above characteristics for Aboriginal groups. These notes are, however, but repetitions of much-publicised themes and have been omitted. But Freire’s method of educating the Third World groups was adopted as the model for this research. The three stages used by Freire were as follows:

1. Freire’s education team spent some weeks discussing with the peasants.
2. From the discussions they culled out a series of tri-syllabic generative words which epitomized the social, cultural and political situation of the peasants, a situation which the peasants uncritically accepted. Photographs or sketches were made to illustrate the generative words.
3. During the literacy course the words and pictures were shown simultaneously so that the people could stand apart from their lives and consider their situation objectively in a discussion which dissected, analysed and probed the concept. Subsequently about five generative words at a time were separated into their three syllables and the resultant 15 pieces used to create new words which were written up as the people said them. In this way the students were able to create their own reading matter and their own concepts could then be written. They discovered through this process of ‘conscientization’ that by becoming aware of the concepts they had previously uncritically accepted they were in a position to change them.

Freire’s three stages intended to allow for revolution. This is an emotive term but its definition is similar to the policies of self-management and self-determination in Aboriginal affairs. Likewise the three stages of this research are intended to assist in the educational decisions of Perth Aborigines within the context of these current policies.

5.2 Exploratory Unstructured Discussions

The first stage of this research was the development of a list of educational concepts which Aborigines regard as central to the Ends, Means and Nature of education. Exploratory discussions were therefore held with groups of adult Aboriginal students at Shenton Park, Midland, the

Western Australia Institute of Technology (WAIT) and Mt. Lawley College of Advanced Education. The immediate advantage of using these groups as a starting point for this research was their accessibility and their familiarity with the language and concepts of education. The limitation recognized was the bias which such groups might build into a list of concepts and for this reason their responses were checked with individual Aborigines not in educational institutions. As a stimulus for these exploratory discussions and to set an Aboriginal frame of reference, selected statements from the National Aboriginal Advisory Committee (NAEC) discussion paper (March, 1978) were used as well as a list of questions derived from this discussion paper and listed in Chapter 2 above. The statements and the questions were selected for their relationship to the central issues of the research, namely the Ends, Means and Nature of Aboriginal education. The four statements from the NAEC discussion paper which were used in the exploratory discussions were:

1. Aboriginal parents have expressed the desire for their children to be able to function in both their own culture and the wider Australian community.
2. Since 1978 the education system has endeavoured to make Aborigines lose their own rich cultural background and think, act and hold the same values as White, middle-class Europeans.
3. To ensure effective learning we believe academic and technological skills must be acquired in harmony with the Aborigines' own cultural values, identity and choice of lifestyle.
4. The contemporary education of the Aboriginal people must be a process which builds on what Aboriginal people are by recognizing and using traditional Aboriginal methods of learning. The questions which were used at appropriate points of the informal discussions were:

Nature:

1. What do you know about traditional Aboriginal lifestyle, beliefs, values, education, language, relationship to the land?
2. What do you like/dislike about White/Aboriginal society?
3. What things are important to Whites/Aborigines?
4. What are the values of White/Aboriginal society?

Ends:

5. What ought education achieve for Aborigines?

6. What are the needs of Perth Aborigines?
7. What are the skills required for participation in the wider Australian society?

Means:

8. What are the educational services and programs currently available to Aborigines and what changes are required in these programs?
9. What changes are required in schools, curricula, teaching methods, atmosphere?
10. How may Aboriginal identity be taught?

All of the nine discussions were tape-recorded with the permission of the participants. In eight cases also keywords and phrases suggested during the discussions were written onto large sheets of paper pinned up onto the blackboard. Both the sheets and tapes were analysed in the second stage. These exploratory discussions lasted for an average of 90 minutes.

5.3 Development of the Structured Interview Schedule

The tapes and sheets were analysed by a simple word count of educationally related words and phrases. The order of the discussions was Nature, Ends and Means in order to further set an Aboriginal frame of reference but the responses were analysed in the order Ends, Means and Nature since the primary concern of this research is with the Ends and Means of Aboriginal education.

5.3.1 Analysis of Discussions Relevant to the Ends of Education

Specifically this section relates to the analysis of the discussions on Questions 5, 6 and 7 above. The frequencies associated with each word are given in Table 29. Reference was also made to some of these concepts on questions 1 and 4 and the number of such references is shown in parentheses. Finally, each of these words or phrases was incorporated into a statement of an End of Aboriginal education. The eleven Ends of the structured interview schedule (Section 1, Appendix 1) were based on the words or phrases given in Table 29 and the final column of the Table shows to which end each word or phrase is specifically related.

End 9, concerning welfare was added to the interview schedule because it arose frequently in discussions with non-Aborigines on the Aboriginal situation. It was not mentioned at all in the exploratory discussions.

TABLE 29
FREQUENCY OF WORDS AND PHRASES IN THE EXPLORATORY DISCUSSIONS ON THE
ENDS OF EDUCATION

Word or Phrase	Frequency	End
Two worlds (not in-between)	6	10
Choice of lifestyle	7	7
Open my eyes to the rest of the world	3	11
Survive and cope in White society	6 (6)	6
Aboriginal culture and spirituality	6 (6)	1
Pride (own and family's) and Identity	11 (9)	5
Better jobs	8 (1)	2
Skills and 3Rs	4	3
Housing	3	4
Mod cons	3	4
Social behaviour	1	8
Racism	5 (2)	8
Stereotypes, bad press, jail	7 (20)	8

5.3.2 Supporting Pictures and Posters

In order to overcome the literacy problem anticipated with a number of the respondents as well as to enable all of the respondents to objectify their reality in Freirean terms, a set of 11 posters or pictures was prepared to illustrate each of the 11 Ends listed in the Interview Schedule for the Ends of education. Most of these pictures or collages were obtained from Aboriginal publications, mainly Identity, a Nyoongah magazine printed in Perth. The posters may be found in Appendix 3.

5.4 The Interview Program: Ends

In Section 1 of the structured interview schedule as shown on the next page the respondents were invited to assign an order of importance to each of the 11 Ends. Because it was expected that the majority of the respondents might simply ratify the proposals of the students and assign each End a rating of 'very important', variability in the rating of the importance of each End was further sought by having the respondents rank the posters of the 11 Ends in order of importance from the Most to the Least Important. They did this expeditiously by simply arranging the 11 posters in order and transferring that information onto the interview schedule.

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: ENDS OF EDUCATION

1. Education can help Aborigines in different ways. You may think some of these things mentioned here are important and that others don't matter. For each statement of what education can do, mark a circle around the number (1,2,3 or 4) which is your opinion.

	Doesn't matter	Fairly important	Important	Very important
1. Giving Aborigines knowledge in schools of Aboriginal culture (see 4. Below)	1	2	3	4
2. Helping Aborigines to get out of the lower paid jobs into the skilled areas.	1	2	3	4
3. Teaching Aborigines the 3Rs (to read and write and use numbers)	1	2	3	4
4. Helping Aborigines to get houses and mod cons of society.	1	2	3	4
5. Developing in Aborigines an Aboriginal identity which makes them proud to be Aboriginal and takes away any shame they have been made to feel.	1	2	3	4
6. Helping Aborigines to survive and cope in White society.	1	2	3	4
7. Making it possible for Aborigines to choose whether they wish to live like White people or an Aboriginal lifestyle.	1	2	3	4
8. Teaching Aborigines correct social behaviour such as avoiding drunkenness and fighting.	1	2	3	4
9. Giving Aborigines knowledge of how the welfare system operates so they can use it to get what they want.	1	2	3	4
10. Giving Aborigines knowledge of two worlds, Aboriginal and White.	1	2	3	4
11. Opening Aborigines' eyes to the rest of the world and people in other countries.	1	2	3	4

2. What other Ends of education do you think are important? _____

3. What do you think is the order of importance for the 11 Ends listed above. Pick out the four most important, the four least important, leaving a middle three. Then place the top four in order of importance, the middle three and finally the bottom four. Write your opinion here:

Most important _____ Least important

4. What should Aborigines know about these parts of their culture? (Circle one of the numbers 1,2,3 or 4 where 1 = Doesn't matter; 2 = Is fairly important; 3 = Is important; 4 = Is very important.)

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|---|-------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Aboriginal spirituality | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6. Traditional law | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Kinship relationships | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 7. Legends | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Language | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 8. Corroborees | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. Sacred places | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 9. Tracking | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. Bush survival | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 10. History before 1829 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

5.4.1 Further Suggestions of Ends of Education

Section 2 of the structured interview schedule invited the respondents to add any further suggestions of Ends of Aboriginal education in the form of a written comment.

5.5 Means of Education: Analysis of Discussions

Specifically this section relates to the analysis of the discussions on Questions 8, 9 and 10 of Section 1 above. The frequencies associated with each word or phrase occurring in the discussions are given in Table 30. References were also made to some of these concepts in the discussion on Questions 1 and 4 and the number of such references is shown in parentheses. Finally, each of these ideas was incorporated into a set of opinions of the present school system (Section 5) which were presented to the respondents within the structured interview schedule. The final column of Table 30 indicates the particular opinion on Means to which each of the words or phrases is specifically related. To achieve greater variability of response, several of the opinions on Means (namely 1, 4 and 7) were written in the opposite manner to the above.

TABLE 30
FREQUENCY OF WORDS AND PHRASES IN THE EXPLORATORY DISCUSSIONS ON THE MEANS
OF EDUCATION

<u>Word or Phrase</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Opinion</u>
Our own culture	8 (6)	8
Our own language	5	9
Non-prejudiced teachers	4 (2)	4
Teachers interested, no judgments	3	7
Observation and verbal teaching methods	2	6
White low view of traditional Aborigines	3	5&3
Education in groups rather than as individuals	1	1
Too much competition, being better than	2 (11)	2
Not in White society	2***	
Parental ignorance of the school system	1	
Learn White society culture and laws	4**	
Trades	1*	
Atmosphere of Aboriginal life	(2)	10

***This idea was placed into section 9 of the structured interview schedule:

Items A1, B1 and C1

**Incorporated into Ends 10 on Two Worlds

*Incorporated into Ends 3 on skills and the 3 Rs.

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: MEANS OF EDUCATION

5. Opinions of the present school system

Mark a circle around the number which states what you think these statements are always true, often true, sometimes true or 'I don't think this statement is true.;

	Doesn't matter	Fairly important	Important	Very important
Individual Aborigines can cope in classes of Whites	1	2	3	4
Schools are too competitive - Primary	1	2	3	4
- High	1	2	3	4
Social Studies and History textbooks show bias against Aborigines	1	2	3	4
Teachers are not prejudiced against Aborigines	1	2	3	4
Schools show a generally low view of Aboriginal culture including legends	1	2	3	4
In schools there is too much reading and writing and not enough listening and observing	1	2	3	4
Teachers are as interested in Aboriginal students as they are in White students.	1	2	3	4
Aboriginal students should be taught Aboriginal culture in schools.	1	2	3	4
Aboriginal students should have the opportunity to learn an Aboriginal language.	1	2	3	4
The atmosphere of the school needs to become more like that of an Aboriginal family group.	1	2	3	4

6. I think the family values schools should teach and practice are:

	Definitely Yes	Yes	Maybe	No
The closeness of Aboriginal people	1	2	3	4
Respect for older people	1	2	3	4
Sharing possessions	1	2	3	4
Non-competitiveness	1	2	3	4
Ready acceptance of others into the group	1	2	3	4
Kinship obligations	1	2	3	4
Not-materialism	1	2	3	4
Attending funerals	1	2	3	4
Visiting others of your kin	1	2	3	4

‘7. What other opinions of the present school system would you like to add?

.8 What other Aboriginal family values do you think schools should teach and practice?

9. Structuring schools and educational institutions to cater for the development of Aboriginal identity and the learning of Aboriginal culture. (Put a circle around the number which is your opinion.)

	Definitely Yes	Yes	No	Definitely No
A. Kindergartens				
1. Aborigines only	1	2	3	4
2. Mixed but Aborigines a separate group	1	2	3	4
3. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	1	2	3	4
B. Primary Schools				
1. Aborigines only	1	2	3	4
2. Mixed, but Aborigines a separate group	1	2	3	4
3. Mixed but with a withdrawal room available to Aborigines	1	2	3	4
4. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	1	2	3	4
C. Secondary schools				
1. Aborigines only	1	2	3	4
2. Mixed, but Aborigines a separate group for all courses.	1	2	3	4
3. Mixed, but Aborigines separate for some courses (which?.....)	1	2	3	4
4. Aboriginal room or centre, but mixed for all courses.	1	2	3	4
5. Mixed Whites and Aborigines all the time	1	2	3	4
D. Boarding school education				
1. Primary and secondary	1	2	3	4
2. Secondary only	1	2	3	4
3. Segregated Aboriginal boarding school	1	2	3	4
4. Aboriginal hostels to mixed high schools	1	2	3	4
5. Put about 20 Aboriginal students into each existing city boarding school	1	2	3	4
6. Boarding only on a weekday basis	1	2	3	4
E. Education of the more intelligent Aboriginal children – the elite				
1. A day college for them only	1	2	3	4
2. A boarding school for them only	1	2	3	4
3. A hostel for them only	1	2	3	4
4. Scholarships to existing mixed colleges	1	2	3	4
F. Technical Colleges (Trades)				
1. An Aboriginal technical college	1	2	3	4
2. Special courses for Aborigines in existing colleges (What?.....)	1	2	3	4
3. Mixed	1	2	3	4
G. Universities				
1. An Aboriginal College of Advanced Education	1	2	3	4
2. Separate courses for Aborigines in existing institutions	1	2	3	4
3. Aboriginal groups within the bigger groups but with a withdrawal room/center	1	2	3	4
4. Mixed but with a room or centre	1	2	3	4
5. Mixed at all times	1	2	3	4

10. Any further comments? _____

Finally, Section 9 on the previous page was included in the interview schedule as a summary of the answers to Question 8 concerning the educational services and programs available to Aborigines. All of the services and programs listed in Section B exist somewhere in Australia, except for the proposals for Aboriginal Tertiary Institutions which have come from the N.A.E.C.. The suggestions in Section B include descriptions of the services offered at W.A.I.T., Mt. Lawley, Shenton Park and Midland as well as those offered in the various kindergartens, primary and secondary schools throughout the metropolitan area and the south-west. Sections A (Means) and B (Structures) are both followed in the interview process by an invitation to the respondents to offer any further suggestions relating to the opinions of the present school system or the structuring of educational institutions to cater for the needs of Aboriginal students.

5.9 Analysis of Discussions Relevant to the Nature of Education

This analysis is concerned with material relevant to the values which ought to underlie education for Aborigines. Tables 29 and 30 indicate that the discussions on the Ends and Means of education overlapped with the discussion on questions 1 to 4 which were specifically concerned with the Nature of education for Aborigines. The overlap was most pronounced in discussions on Aboriginal culture (past) and the atmosphere of Aboriginal groups (present). As mentioned above, it was seen to be beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt a full analysis of the values which underlie Aboriginal society and the responses concerned with the Nature of education were intended to be deduced in the main from the responses to the Ends and Means of education. The results of the analysis of Questions 1 to 4 were therefore not separated in the interview schedule from the results of the analysis on the Ends and Means of education. Table 31 below shows that the responses on the Nature of education were of the two kinds mentioned above, namely they concern either past culture or present family atmosphere, and they have been labelled C (culture) or A (atmosphere) in Table 31 accordingly. The items relating to Culture were included in the Ends section of the interview schedule as an extension of Ends 1 (Giving Aborigines knowledge in schools of Aboriginal culture) and the items labelled A (Atmosphere) were included in the section on the opinions of the present school system as an extension of Opinion 10 (The atmosphere of the school needs to become more like that of an Aboriginal family group). Question 2 invited discussion on the things disliked about non-Aboriginals. This material was not included in the interview schedule since it did not specifically relate to the Ends, Means and Nature of

Aboriginal education, but as an aid to understanding the attitudes of the respondents, the words and phrases count has been included in Table 31.

TABLE 31

FREQUENCY OF WORDS AND PHRASES IN THE EXPLORATORY DISCUSSIONS RELATING TO:

The Nature of education	Frequency
A. Atmosphere of Aboriginal family life	2
C. Culture-based education	6
A. Non-racial	1
A. Challenge	1
C. Affinity with the land	2
A. Informality of Aboriginal groups	1
A. Funerals	4
A. Marriage	1
A/C. Kinship and closeness	4
A. Visiting	4
A. Aboriginal values	2
A. /C. Ancestry	2
A. Sharing and Group ownership	3
A. Non-competitive	5
A. Not better than	5
A. Love for one another	1
A. Respect	5
A. Kind and understanding	2
C. Traditional law	2
C. Traditional food-gathering	2
A. Acceptance by others	3
C. Aboriginal spirituality, legends, corroborees	3
C. Group survival	1
Dislike of White Society Words and phrases	
A. High opinions of themselves	1
A. Try to brainwash Aborigines	1
C. Their laws	2
A. Hard-hearted	1
A. Materialistic	3
A. White education system	3
B. Diseases, drink, tobacco	2
A. Shot like dogs, prejudice, racism	8

Bush survival, tracking and oral history were widely mentioned in all areas of the discussion and were included in the list of items of past culture. The students maintained, however, that they are skills which are known and practiced by many urban Aborigines.

5.10 Summary

The interview schedule was prepared from the analysis by simple word count of the tape-recorded discussions with the 131 students attending the four educational institutions in Perth

which cater for Aboriginal adults. The discussions were set within an Aboriginal frame of reference by the use of quotations and questions obtained from the N.A.E.C. discussion paper on Aboriginal education. Eleven posters were prepared from Aboriginal source material to illustrate the concepts relating to the Ends of education in order to lessen the literacy problems anticipated with the respondents not in educational institutions and to allow all the respondents to distance themselves from their situation and to view it objectively.

This process parallels the Freirean methodology of informal discussions to select generative words, the preparation of posters to illustrate the words, discussions prior to the construction of new words and concepts and the realization by the participants that their world can be similarly altered. Such realization by Perth Aborigines will hopefully lead to action by them upon the educational services offered them. This action is intended by the Government policies of self-determination and self-management.

5.11 Administration of Interview Schedule

Pilot interviews were held with the adult Aboriginal students to test the validity of the structured interview schedule in expressing their ideas. The schedule was then administered to all available E-group members, to the Group-leaders and to a random group of younger Aborigines living in a Group-leader's home.

5.11.1 Pilot Study on the Structured Interview Schedule

The pilot study of the structured interview schedule was done with the Midland E-group and with two of the six groups at Shenton Pak. This involved determining the clarity of each item, the meaning behind each item, the appropriateness of the posters for illustrating the eleven Ends and the noting of any omissions. The three groups agreed that the structured interview schedule covered all the points mentioned in their discussions, was sufficiently clear and that the posters illustrated the meaning behind the words of the eleven Ends. They also thought that time required to answer the schedule was not too long.

These groups then filled in the schedule and subsequently the W.A.I.T. group and two other groups at Shenton Park also responded to it during group sessions when comments on both the schedule and the posters were invited. Discussion took place on three of the five occasions on the poster illustrating End 8, namely that education involves teaching Aborigines correct social behaviour such as avoiding drunkenness and fighting. The concern in these discussions was the

bad press given Aborigines rather than the suitability of the item for inclusion as an End of education.

In summary, no suggestions were made to change or add to the schedule but many comments on its scope, depth and consistency with the exploratory discussions favored it going out in its present format to the wider Aboriginal population. The piloting was done by 51 adult Aborigines in the three institutions and since they made no changes and favored its further distribution, their 51 completed schedules were included in the data collected as the responses of the E-group.

5.11.2 Administration of the Structured Interview Schedule

The schedule was administered individually to 89 other Aboriginal adults. These included 74 group leaders and 15 members of the Youth Group. This section is concerned with the physical difficulties encountered in the interviews and with the set of explanations developed in the pilot study to assist the respondents in answering the schedule.

5.11.3 Physical Description of the Interviews

The researcher had obtained the names and addresses of 110 Group-leaders from the (mainly Aboriginal) S.H.C. Inspectors. Most visits to their homes were made between 9.00 a.m. and 12 noon. Few, if any, homes had a telephone and no prior contact could be made. It was necessary to return to most homes as many as five times even to find anyone at home. When the door was answered, and it was normally open if someone was at home, the Group-leader was asked for by name. When he/she appeared, the preliminary conversation was along the lines:

“My name is ... I am doing some research on Aboriginal education, going around talking to Aboriginal people about education. I have some opinions here (schedule shown) about what the Aboriginal students at W.A.I.T., Mt. Lawley and Shenton Park think about education and I would like to find out what you think of their opinions. Have you got time to talk about me with this?”

This procedure resulted in interviews with 74 of the 110 Group-leaders. In the homes where the Group-leader could not be contacted (despite numerous attempts), fifteen young adults agreed to respond to the schedule. Of the 36 Group-leaders who did not respond, five refused an interview, three houses were empty of all furniture, one house had a Shire notice nailed to the door ‘House unfit for human habitation’, three people were repeatedly sick and absent, one had died the previous day, one had just moved to Victoria, and up to five visits to the remaining 19 homes at various times of the day and week did not find anyone at home.

One next-door-neighbour said the occupants of one of these houses had not been there for at least six weeks, another neighbour said someone made a quick visit to another of these houses most evenings between 6 and 7 p.m. to check doors and windows. It was in the other 17 homes where the 15 Youth-group members were interviewed.

Gaining interviews with the 74 Group-leaders generally required more than one visit to their home to meet them, but in most of the 74 initial visits someone was at home and an indication was given of when the Group-leader might be there. Some people were contacted at work and an interview time arranged.

On several occasions the researcher found himself almost following people such as Community Health sisters and S.H.C. inspectors from door-to-door and invariably the initial perceptions of the occupants of the house cast the role of the researcher into a similar vein or even more threatening roles such as truant officers and the police. Suspicions along these lines continued for quite some time during the interviews with several people. The Nyoongah grapevine was sometimes mentioned and the researcher found that his arrival had been anticipated in some homes and the purpose of the visit was known.

As people of a certain area came to accept the researcher's role as non-threatening, a further reason for the disquiet of many people became apparent. In the cases of people who left a house rather suddenly, or who were not prepared to sleep there but stayed with relatives, or who made sure the house was always guarded by at least one male, a pattern emerged during conversations. Beneath the surface of Aboriginal society in Perth there is considerable gang-war. The rival gangs appear to regard certain suburban areas as their preserve and resent the presence of outsiders. This would be more clearly understood were the rival gangs to come from different rural areas, but this is not the case. Not only may rival gangs come from the same country towns, but each opposing group has cousins, uncles, even brothers in the opposite group. Typical gang reprisals take the form of the sudden arrival at a house of a carload of young males who enter the house unannounced, wander through it, permit no opposition or rebuke, and bash any unprotected opponent they encounter. The insecurity this has bred in many urban Aborigines was evident in the attitudes of several of the respondents.

There was a further reluctance on the part of some Group-leaders to admit the researcher to their home because they felt it was untidy. To overcome this feeling, three of the interviews were held on car bonnets, four on the front lawn and eight on the porch or verandah. Ten other interviews

were held in the kitchen and the other 49 in the lounge, the room to which the front door gave direct access. The 25 interviews not done in the lounge were generally free from distractions apart from the occasional baby held in its mother's arms. The 49 lounge interviews were, however, disturbed by loud television on ten occasions, more than one child present with resulting interaction between the children on 25 occasions (the most extreme example being the presence of ten young children in one lounge) and the presence of other adults, generally either the spouse, grandparents or relatives. Almost without exception there were other adults present in the house, but they did not always come into the room where the interview was being conducted.

Apart from these realities of crowded Aboriginal family life, the interview atmosphere and interest in education were noted as generally being very good to excellent. The majority of the Group-leaders were quite willing to talk about education. The interviews were normally 30-40 minutes long but some lasted as much as 90 minutes. Only eight of the interviews were noted as being very difficult, the reasons being recorded as 'very reluctant', (twice), 'very critical of everyone and everything', 'distant and cold', 'old and vague', 'can't read or write and ashamed about this', and 'could not understand the words'. The most difficult interview was with a 27-year-old woman who found it very difficult to understand the words and concepts and the interview required an hour's painstaking explanations. It was note-worthy because the concepts came through easily to almost everyone else, including those who had had little or no formal schooling.

5.11.4 Explanations Given During the Administration of the Interview Schedule

The following explanations were worked out with the groups involved in the pilot study.

Section 1: The introduction was read. The posters were shown one by one in the order 1 to 11 and the respondents were asked to circle their choice for themselves. About 20 of the respondents preferred the researcher to do the circling. In some cases this was necessary because the respondent was holding a baby. The most difficult concepts to grasp were those involved in Ends 7 and 10. In End 7 the emphasis was placed on Aboriginal people being able to choose and in End 10 the emphasis was placed upon Aboriginal people knowing the laws, customs and lifestyle of the two societies or worlds.

Section 3: The posters were mounted on thick cardboard of foolscap size and covered with plastic. The respondents were therefore able to spread them over the kitchen table, the lawn, the verandah, the car-bonnet or floor so that all 11 could be seen at once. Most people then picked out three or four as the most important, three or four as the least important, and then put the whole

eleven in order of importance. Others, however, simply picked out the posters one at a time from the most to the least important.

Section 4: Aboriginality was defined as the Dreaming, the old beliefs, totems, spirits and legends. History before 1829 was equated with history before White settlement, but 1829 was a familiar year since 1979, the year of the research, was the sesqui-centenary year of the State and appropriately celebrated by non-Aborigines. Aborigines, on the other hand, had a common car-bumper sticker reading”

‘1829-1979 Aboriginals celebrate ?’

Section 5: Opinion 1 was explained as ‘one Aboriginal child can cope in a class of Whites’, Opinion 2 as ‘competition means putting too much pressure on kids’. Opinion 3 was ‘bias means prejudice or racism’, Opinion 10 as ‘schools should change in their spirit and feeling to become more like an Aboriginal family group’ and in Opinion 4 the respondents were asked to note the ‘not-prejudiced’ while Opinion 6 was accompanied by the comment that ‘the traditional Aboriginal methods of learning were to listen and observe’.

Section 6: The introductory comment was that ‘these 9 items all follow on from Opinion 10.’ These are the values which some Aboriginal people think are important. Do you think that schools should teach and, where appropriate, practise them? Non-competitiveness was defined as ‘not being better than’ and non-materialism as ‘not worrying too much about these things (poster shown) but more about people. People are more important than things’.

Section 8: A2, B2 and C2 were explained as ‘separate in the classroom but mixed in the playground’. Concerning B3, a withdrawal school was defined as a separate school to which Aboriginal students could transfer for a few months to catch up if they have fallen behind, and then return to their old school. D1 was explained as ‘should primary school kids go to boarding school?’

The examples given in D5 and E4 were Hale, Christchurch, Aquinas, M.L.C. or some similar private school in a suburb nearby. The items in sections F and G were not answered by the Group-leaders or the Youth-group if they had no experience of tertiary or adult education.

5.11.5 Background Information The final sheet of the structured interview schedule was concerned with information on the respondents’ backgrounds. This information was required in order to form sub-groups of the sample during the analysis of the data.

The E-group respondents filled in this information as a group and therefore there are some missing responses to each of the background items. At the conclusion of the 89 interviews with the non-E-group respondents the information was asked for by the researcher and entered on the schedule by him. During this process no difficulty was experienced with name, age, sex or address and since the housing was either S.H.C. grant or rental it was not pursued further, but marital status produced some reluctance or evasion as has been indicated above.

‘Where born’, ‘Towns you have lived in in W.A.’, and ‘Where is home?’ were used conjointly to assign a locality to the respondents. Family tree was reduced to giving the names of father, mother and grandparents and simply the number of brothers and sisters since it was found that the size of the families and the number of step-brothers and step-sisters made this a difficult question to answer accurately.

5.12 Summary

This study was an enquiry into the perceptions of Perth Aborigines of the Ends, Means and Nature of the education they feel would be appropriate for them. The enquiry instrument chosen was a structured interview schedule. The schedule was prepared from the analysis of tape-recorded exploratory discussions with nine groups of adult Aboriginal students. These discussions were placed within an Aboriginal frame of reference by the use of a discussion paper issued by the National Aboriginal Education Committee. In addition, posters were prepared from Aboriginal sources to illustrate the concepts involved in the Ends of education. These measures were taken in order to remove the possible bias of a White researcher and in order to overcome the literacy problems anticipated with some of the respondents.

The structured interview schedule was tested for suitability in three pilot studies carried out with groups of adult Aboriginal students. It was subsequently administered to two other E-groups, to 74 Group-leaders and to 15 Youth-group members. The major difficulties encountered in the administration of the schedule to the Group-leaders and the Youth-group were the number of house visits required to find them at home, their initial false impression of the researcher’s role, the insecurity of many people due to the frequency of gang intrusions into their homes, the shame many felt because of the poverty or untidiness of their homes, the presence of other people, children and turned-on television sets, and the inability to grasp the concepts on the part of a small minority.

The explanations given during the response to each section of the structured interview schedule were the result of discussions held with the E-group during the pilot study of the schedule. In the following two chapters, the responses of the 140 respondents concerning the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Perth Aborigines will be analysed and discussed.

CHAPTER 6

THE ENDS AND NATURE OF EDUCATION

The views of widely ranging groups of Aborigines were sought on the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Aborigines. The research procedure used to gather these views and the sample of Aboriginal people from whom the views were obtained have been described in the two previous chapters. This chapter reports the data gathered on the Ends of education and its Nature or underlying values. The analysis of the data on the Nature of education has been included in this chapter for two reasons. First, a complete study of the cultural values which underlie Aboriginal education was seen to be beyond the scope of this study as has been noted above, and the emphasis was placed upon the Ends and Means of education. Second, it is acknowledged that the items relating to the Nature of education are really also concerned with the identification of other important Ends of education. Nevertheless, the Nature of education has been distinguished from the Ends in this study because the items relating to Nature were generated from the exploratory discussions about values which Aboriginal students thought should be stressed; because in the interview schedule these items were expressed as values and not Ends; and because these items are concerned with the spiritual, family and tribal life and to the extent that they have been endorsed as important, there is an implicit acknowledgement of the need for education to be underpinned by spiritual, family and tribal values.

6.1 The Ends of Education

In Section 1 of the interview schedule the 140 respondents were asked to assign a rating of importance from 1 to 4 to each of the 11 statements concerning Ends of education for Aborigines. The frequency distribution of the responses to the 11 statements on Ends is given in Table 32. In Table 33 the 11 Ends have been arranged in the order of importance determined by the mean response to each statement. Tables 32 and 33 indicate that overall the sample thought that each of the 11 Ends was important to very important.

6.2 Ranks of Importance assigned to the Ends of Education

Tables 32 and 33 indicate that the sample overall agreed with each of the Ends of education. Since these Ends were the result of exploratory discussions held with groups of adult Aboriginal students, this general agreement was to be expected. To identify the relative importance of the 11 Ends, the respondents were also asked in Section 3 of the schedule to rank the 11 Ends in order of importance from the most to the least important. The 11 posters prepared to illustrate the Ends

were spread out and arranged in order as the answer to this request. This forced ranking did achieve variability in responses but it did not lead to the conclusion that any of the Ends were felt to be unimportant. In Table 34 the eleven Ends have been arranged in the order of importance determined by the mean rank assigned to each.

TABLE 32
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE RESPONSES TO THE ENDS OF
EDUCATION (N = 140)

	Doesn't matter	Fairly important	Important	Very important
1. Teaching Aborigines the 3Rs (to read and write and use numbers)	0	5	23	112
2. Helping Aborigines to get out of the lower paid jobs into the skilled areas.	1	5	26	108
3. Developing in Aborigines an Aboriginal identity which makes them proud to be Aboriginal and takes away any shame they have been made to feel.	2	9	23	106
4. Helping Aborigines to get housing and mod cons of society.	2	8	33	97
5. Giving Aborigines knowledge of how the welfare system operates so they can use it to get what they want.	1	14	34	91
6. Helping Aborigines to survive and cope in White society.	4	10	40	86
7. Teaching Aborigines correct social behaviour such as avoiding drunkenness and fighting.	9	10	28	93
8. Giving Aborigines knowledge of two worlds, Aboriginal and White.	7	18	37	78
9. Opening Aborigines' eyes to the rest of the world and people in other countries.	8	26	31	75
10. Giving Aborigines knowledge in schools of Aboriginal culture	13	19	44	64
11. Making it possible for Aborigines to choose whether they wish to live like White people or an Aboriginal lifestyle.	18	18	43	61

6.3 Comparison of the Two Orders of Importance assigned to the Ends

The mean response to Sections 1 and 3 of the schedule therefore determined two different orders of importance for the 11 Ends of education. These two different orders are given in Table 35. It is noteworthy that the teaching of the 3Rs and helping to get better jobs rank first and second, respectively, on both lists; that helping to survive and cope in White society,

helping to get housing, and developing an Aboriginal identity are three of the next four in the order of importance created by each list; and that knowledge of culture, choice of lifestyle, knowledge of two worlds and opening Aborigines' eyes to the rest of the world and people in other countries are four of the last five items on each list. The correlation coefficient between the means of Table 33 and the means of Table 34 is 0.86, indicating a high degree of consistency in the responses to Sections 1 and 3 of the schedule.

TABLE 33
MEANS OF THE RATINGS ASSIGNED TO THE ENDS OF EDUCATION BY
THE 1 to 4 RATING SCALE (N = 140)

	Mean	Standard deviation
1. Teaching Aborigines the 3Rs (to read and write and use numbers)	3.76	0.50
2. Helping Aborigines to get out of the lower paid jobs into the skilled areas.	3.72	0.56
3. Developing in Aborigines an Aboriginal identity which makes them proud to be Aboriginal and takes away any shame they have been made to feel.	3.66	0.66
4. Helping Aborigines to get housing and mod cons of society.	3.61	0.67
5. Giving Aborigines knowledge of how the welfare system operates so they can use it to get what they want.	3.54	0.70
6. Helping Aborigines to survive and cope in White society.	3.49	0.75
7. Teaching Aborigines correct social behaviour such as avoiding drunkenness and fighting.	3.46	0.89
8. Giving Aborigines knowledge of two worlds, Aboriginal and White.	3.33	0.89
9. Opening Aborigines' eyes to the rest of the world and people in other countries.	3.24	0.95
10. Giving Aborigines knowledge in schools of Aboriginal culture	3.14	0.98
11. Making it possible for Aborigines to choose whether they wish to live like White people or an Aboriginal lifestyle.	3.05	1.04

TABLE 34
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF THE POSTER RANKS ASSIGNED TO THE
ELEVEN ENDS OF EDUCATION (N = 140).

End	Mean	St. D
1. Teaching 3Rs	4.14	2.94
2. Helping to get better jobs	4.46	2.56
3. Helping to survive and cope	4.92	2.83
4. Helping to get housing and mod cons	5.04	2.83
5. Developing Aboriginal identity	5.25	3.24
6. Teaching correct social behaviour	5.654	3.22
7. Giving knowledge of culture	6.55	2.92
8. Giving knowledge of the welfare system	6.72	2.88
9. Giving knowledge of two worlds	6.85	2.67
10. Choice of lifestyle	7.31	2.72
11. People in other countries	8.90	2.61

TABLE 35
IMPORTANCE ASSIGNED TO THE ENDS OF EDUCATION BY THE MEAN RESPONSES
TO SECTION 1 (1 TO 4) AND SECTION 3 (POSTERS)

Rank from Section 1 (1 to 4)	Rank from Section 3 (Posters)
1. Teaching the <u>3Rs</u>	1. Teaching <u>3Rs</u>
2. Helping to get better <u>jobs</u>	2. Helping to get better <u>jobs</u>
3. Developing Aboriginal <u>identity</u>	3. Helping to <u>survive and cope</u>
4 Helping to get <u>housing</u>	4. Helping to get <u>housing</u>
5. Giving knowledge of <u>welfare</u> system	5. Developing Aboriginal <u>identity</u>
6. Helping to <u>survive and cope</u>	6. Teaching correct <u>social behaviour</u>
7. Teaching correct <u>social behaviour</u>	7. Giving knowledge of <u>culture</u>
8. Giving knowledge of <u>two worlds</u>	8. Giving knowledge of <u>welfare</u> system
9. People in <u>other countries</u>	9. Giving knowledge of two worlds
10. Giving knowledge of <u>culture</u>	10. Making possible a <u>Choice of lifestyle</u>
11. Making possible a <u>Choice of lifestyle</u>	11. People in <u>other countries</u>

6.4 Factor Analysis

Principal factor analysis was applied to the 140 responses relating to the Ends of education. The method of factor analysis used (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner and Brent, 1975, p. 480) calculated the correlation matrix for the 11 variables and then replaced the main diagonal elements with communality estimates. The initial communality estimates were the squared multiple correlations between a given variable and the rest of the variables in the matrix. The eleven eigenvalues associated with the original correlation matrix were inspected but the number of factors was decided upon as four by the usual criterion of a minimum eigenvalue of unity. Varimax rotation was used as the iterative procedure for improving the estimates of communality, with four factors being extracted from the matrix at each of a maximum of 25 iterations. The loadings of each of the 11 Ends variables on the four principal factors extracted are given in Table 37.

TABLE 37
LOADINGS OF THE ELEVEN ENDS ON THE FOUR PRINCIPAL FACTORS
(N = 140)

End	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Helping to survive and cope	0.46	0.33	0.26	0.03
Teaching correct social behaviour	0.58	0.05	0.02	0.07
Giving knowledge of two worlds	0.61	-0.03	0.22	0.20
Helping to get better jobs	0.06	0.64	0.05	0.41
Teaching the 3Rs	0.40	0.41	-0.01	-0.002
Helping to get housing	0.04	0.44	0.22	-0.19
Choice of lifestyle	0.28	0.09	0.36	0.06
Giving knowledge of welfare system	-0.03	0.36	0.57	-0.08
People in other countries	0.13	-0.03	0.54	0.20
Giving knowledge of culture	0.05	-0.05	-0.01	0.54
Developing Aboriginal identity	0.15	0.07	0.22	0.50
<u>Eigenvalues</u>	2.72	1.44	1.22	1.13

6.5 Interpretation of the Factors

The interpretation of the factors and the naming of them necessarily involves a degree of subjectivity and inference. Nevertheless, the underlying dimensions for each of the following four factors can be clearly identified.

Factor 1 is a Two Worlds factor since it is a concern for being able to live in two worlds, Aboriginal and White; for knowledge of both worlds (Item 10); for an effective choice of which world's lifestyle is preferred (Item 7); for being able to survive and cope, particularly in the more difficult White world (Item 6); for learning the correct social behaviour needed to strengthen both worlds, drunkenness and fighting being both deterrents to acceptance into the White world (Item 8); and for the understanding of the laws and customs of the White world for which mastery of the 3Rs is a prerequisite (Item 3).

Factor 2 is a concern for Achievement particularly in the acquisition of material goods. Achievement in school or the 3Rs (Item 3) is linked with better jobs (Item 2), housing and mod cons of society (Item 4) and a thorough understanding of the welfare system which can be used to get what people want (Item 3). Significantly this concern for Achievement, which is not a concern normally attributed to Aborigines is linked with the wish to be able to survive and cope in White society.

Factor 3 is an Awareness factor, being a concern for knowledge or awareness of what the world has to offer. Whereas the concern in Factor 2 was for knowledge necessary for materialistic achievements, the emphasis in this factor is upon knowledge of alternatives or options for living. The major concerns are knowledge of the welfare system (Item 9), of the cultures of peoples in other countries (Item 1), and of both White and Aboriginal lifestyles in Australia (Item 10) so that a choice can be made between them (Item 7). But this factor is also concerned with surviving and coping in White society (Item 6) and the related Item 4 of housing as well as the development of Aboriginal identity and pride (Item 5).

Factor 4 is a concern for Aboriginality being based upon the teaching of Aboriginal culture in schools (Item 1) and the development of Aboriginal identity and pride (Item 5). This concern for identity as an Aborigine is linked with an awareness of both worlds to be found in Australia (Item 10) as well as an awareness of differences in other countries (Item 11) and pride in being an Aborigine is linked with getting out of lower paid jobs into skilled areas (Item 2) and obtaining housing and mod cons of society (Item 4).

6.6 Compilation of Factor Scores

A factor score coefficient matrix was calculated (Nie et al., p. 487) and for each of the 140 respondents four factor scores relating to the Ends of education were added to the data. These factor scores were required for the regression analysis and analysis of variance performed below.

6.7 Summary

By factor analysis of the response patterns to the eleven statements of the Ends of education for Aborigines four needs were identified. They were a need to be able to live in Two Worlds; a need for the cultural knowledge and a sense of identity which define Aboriginality; a need for the materialistic Achievement which is a characteristic of White middle-class society; and a need for the Awareness of alternative styles of living. Since all eleven Ends of education were ranked as important to very important (Section 1.1 above) it followed that each of these four needs was regarded as important to very important. It was anticipated, however, that different sub-groups of the sample had placed different emphases upon these four concerns, and the regression analysis below was intended to identify such sub-groups.

6.8 The Nature of Education for Aborigines

This section is concerned with the fourth research question of this study, namely, “What should be the Nature of education for Perth Aborigines or the values which should underlie an education system for them?” the reasons for including the answers to this question in the chapter which focusses upon the perceptions of the Ends of education have been discussed above. Two sections of the interview schedule dealt with the Nature of education. They were the items concerning culture in Section 4 and the items concerning family values in Section 6. Both sections may be regarded as concerned with Aboriginal culture, the first placing emphasis upon traditional culture and the second placing emphasis upon the sub-culture of urban Aboriginal families.

6.9 The Values of Traditional Culture

The means and standard deviations of the responses to Section 4 of the interview schedule are given in Table 38 below and the frequency distribution of the responses are given in Table 39. The section was introduced by the question “What should Aborigines know about these parts off their culture?” Table 38 shows that each item was ranked above the mean response of 2.5, and in conjunction with Table 39, this implies that the overall sample assessed each item as important to very important. In Table 38 the items have been arranged in the order of importance determined by the mean of the responses.

TABLE 38
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE RESPONSES TO THE ITEMS CONCERNED WITH
ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL CULTURE (n = 140)

Culture Item	Mean	Stan. Dev.
1. Bush survival	3.42	0.91
2. Kinship relationships	3.23	0.94
3. History before 1829	3.10	1.07
4. Sacred places	3.05	1.08
5. Language	2.94	1.16
6. Tracking	2.92	1.09
7. Legends	2.87	1.06
8. Traditional law	2.84	1.18
9. Corroborees	2.61	1.11
10. Aboriginal spirituality	2.59	1.06

TABLE 39
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONSES RELATING TO
KNOWLEDGE OF CULTURE (N = 140)

Culture Item	Doesn't matter	Fairly Important	Important	Very important
Aboriginal Spirituality	29	29	48	31
Kinship relations	10	18	40	69
Language	26	17	33	61
Sacred Places	20	18	34	65
Bush Survival	10	10	29	88
Traditional Law	29	20	32	56
Legends	19	30	38	50
Corroborees	33	23	46	35
Tracking	21	23	39	54
History before 1829	20	12	39	66

It should be noted in the order of importance given by the means of the responses that, apart from Sacred Places, the first seven items of traditional culture may all be retained and practiced

by urban Aborigines who travel often to the country for picnics, to hunt kangaroos or to visit relatives.

6.10 The Family Values

The means and standard deviations of the responses to the items in Section 6 of the schedule are given in Table 40 below and the frequency distribution of the responses is given in Table 41.

TABLE 40
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE RESPONSES TO THE ITEMS CONCERNED WITH
FAMILY VALUES (n = 140)

Family Value Item	Mean	Stan. Dev.
1. Respect for older people	1.35	0.63
2. Ready acceptance of others into the group	1.76	0.81
3. Kinship Obligations	2.09	0.97
4. Visiting others of your kin	2.12	1.00
5. Attending funerals	2.13	1.07
6. The closeness of Aboriginal groups	2.17	1.02
7. Sharing possessions	2.22	0.99
8. Non-materialism	2.35	0.98
9. Non-competitiveness	2.42	1.17

TABLE 41
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONSES RELATING TO
FAMILY VALUES (N = 140)

Family Values Item	Definitely Yes	Yes	No	Definitely No
The closeness of Aboriginal groups	42	51	25	20
Respect for older people	100	33	3	3
Sharing possessions	36	56	27	20
Non-competitiveness	41	34	27	36
Ready acceptance of others into the group	61	55	18	5
Kinship obligations	44	53	26	15
Non-materialism	27	58	29	23
Attending funerals	49	43	25	21
Visiting others of your kin	42	56	21	19

The section was introduced by the statement “I think the family vales should teach and practice are ...”. In reading these two Tables it should be noted that most agreement is expressed by a response of 1, whereas in previous sections 4 signified most agreement. Each item was ranked below the mean of 2.5, and in conjunction with the frequency distribution of Table 41 this indicates that collectively the respondents agreed or definitely agreed with each item being taught or practiced in schools. A similar conclusion was stated in the previous section concerning traditional culture and together these conclusions demonstrate that the respondents thought spiritual, tribal and family values should be stressed, giving education for Aborigines a special Aboriginal Nature.

6.11 Tables of Correlation Coefficients

Tables 42 and 43 (Appendix 4) were produced for pairs of responses to the culture and family values items, respectively. Table 42 indicates that the respondents generally treated the ten culture items globally, agreeing or disagreeing with all. On the other hand, Table 43 indicates that there were several clusters within the family values items and that factor analysis was likely to assist in the reduction of the number of variables.

6.12 Factor Analysis

Using principal factor analysis two factors were extracted for the culture items and three for the family values items. The loadings of the items on the principal factors are given in Tables 44 and 45 below.

TABLE 44
LOADINGS OF THE TEN CULTURE ITEMS ON TWO PRINCIPAL FACTORS (N= 140)

<u>Culture Item</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>
Spirituality	0.71	0.24
Language	0.66	0.29
Traditional Law	0.70	0.24
Corroborees	0.74	0.19
Sacred Places	0.68	0.38
Legends	0.66	0.33
History before 1829	0.64	0.33
Bush Survival	0.18	0.91
Tracking	0.33	0.54
Eigenvalues	5.09	1.03

TABLE 45

LOADINGS OF THE NINE FAMILY VALUES ITEMS ON THREE PRINCIPAL FACTORS (N =140)

<u>Family Value Item</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>	<u>Factor 3</u>
Visiting others of your kin	0.67	0.15	0.09
Attending funerals	0.47	0.02	0.18
Non-materialism	0.59	0.07	0.05
Non-competitiveness	0.48	0.22	0.08
Sharing possessions	0.39	0.36	0.20
Kinship obligations	0.24	0.48	0.37
The closeness of Aboriginal groups	0.08	0.73	0.06
Respect for older people	0.03	0.08	0.72
Ready acceptance of others into the group	0.30	0.19	0.51
Eigenvalues	2.99	1.25	1.03

6.13 Interpretation of the Factors

Culture Factors:

Factor 1 is a Tribal Religion factor, being concerned with aspects of tribal life such as corroborees, spirituality, sacred places, law and legends which are still the basis of the religious life of the traditional Aborigines in the tribal areas, but which are largely unknown to the uninitiated urban part-Aborigines.

The latter may, however, have knowledge from their Aboriginal parents and relatives of the environmental skills such as bush survival and tracking upon which the pre-history stories, the legends and myths of sacred places are often based. Factor 2 was therefore named a Tribal Skills factor.

Family Values Factors:

Factor 1 is a Family Values factor being concerned with the norms of behaviour of members of Aboriginal extended families. These concerns include the visiting of relatives, attending funerals, kinship obligations, sharing possessions and being neither competitive nor materialistic.

Factor 2 is a Closeness factor being based upon the feelings Aborigines experience in the kinship group, particularly the feeling of closeness generated by being together and proven by sharing possessions, practicing kinship obligations, visiting relatives, readily accepting others into the family circle and not competing with them.

Factor 3 is a Respect-Acceptance factor and embraces respect for older people, ready acceptance of others into the group and general kinship obligations.

6.14 Compilation of Factor Scores

Five factor scores for each of the respondents were computed and added to the data. The subsequent analysis was based upon these five scores rather than upon the 19 responses to the items concerned with the Nature of education for Aborigines.

6.15 Summary

By factor analysis of the 19 responses to the culture and family values items, five concerns were identified. They are concerns that Tribal Religion and Tribal Skills be given in schools as well as concerns for the teaching and practice in schools of Family Values, Closeness and Respect-Acceptance. These concerns summarize the values which the respondents generally felt should underlie education for Aborigines and give it its particular character or Nature. These values are distinct from the Ends of education, yet they give the Ends a particular Aboriginal orientation. As D. J. O'Connor noted:

"Education refers to, among other things, a set of values or ideas embodied and expressed in the purposes for which the knowledge, skills and training are imparted." (1961, p. 5)

It should be noted that the items relating to the Nature of education were concerned with knowledge and teaching in schools and not in the family. The responses do not reflect the total concern of Perth Aborigines for culture and family values, but only their concerns with the role schools should adopt. The regression analysis below describes sub-groups of the sample which give different emphases to the importance of Aboriginal values.

6.16 Regression Analysis of the Ends, Culture and Family Values Factor Scores

A regression analysis (Nie et al. 1975, p. 320) was performed on the nine factor scores relating to the Ends and Nature of education for Aborigines. The dependent variables in the analysis were the nine factors, namely, the four Ends factors of Two Worlds, Achievement, Awareness and Aboriginality; the two culture factors of Tribal Religion and Tribal Skills; and the three family values factors of Family Values, Closeness and Respect-Acceptance. The independent variables have been discussed in Chapter 4 (The subjects of this study) and were age, sex, marital status, family size, number of children, locality of the State, tribal identification, suburb, census category, level of education, knowledge of family tree, leader of Aboriginal organization, reserve or mission life experience, and membership of either

Aboriginal organizations, the E-group or the Group-leaders. The aim of the regression analysis was to discover relationships between these independent or background variables and the nine factors or dependent variables.

6.17 Regression Analysis Procedure

The method of regression analysis was step-wise inclusion of the variables. The variable which explained the greatest amount of variance in the dependent variable was entered first, the variable that explained the greatest amount of variance in conjunction with the first was entered second, and so on.

6.18 Relationships Between the Aborigines' Backgrounds and Their Scores on the Nine Factors Relating to the Ends and Nature of Education.

Tables 46 to 49 (Appendix 5) show the percentage variance explained by the background variables for each of the four factor scores on the Ends of education. Beta weights for each of these variables are also reported.

Table 46 shows that the background variables accounted for 20% of the total variance in the factor scores on the Two Worlds factor, which was the expression of a need to be able to live in both the Aboriginal and the White world. The data shows that this need was most emphasized by the members of Aboriginal organizations, by those with a non-Nyoongah identification and by the Perth locality and Armadale suburb respondents. It received least emphasis on the other hand from the leaders of Aboriginal organizations, from males and from those with few children.

The percentage of variance on the factor scores of the Achievement factor accounted for by the background variables was 35%. This factor was concerned with the need for achievement in materialistically oriented goals such as housing, jobs and the 3Rs. These goals received most emphasis from the young, from males, from the E-group members, from those with no tribal affiliation, and from respondents from the Balga and Lockridge suburbs. Least emphasis was given by the old, by females, by Group-leaders and from respondents from the North and Perth localities.

The Awareness factor summarized concerns for knowledge of what the world has to offer in the form of alternative styles of living, including White and Aboriginal lifestyles in Australia and cultures or lifestyles in other countries. The percentage of the variance accounted for by these variables was 38%. The need for this awareness was expressed most strongly by the old,

by Group-leaders, by those with little knowledge of their family tree and by respondents from the Perth and Bunbury localities. The least emphasis was given by the young, by the E-group members, by respondents from the Goldfields locality and the Kwinana, Balga and Canning suburbs.

The Aboriginality factor accounted for 34% of the variance and summarized felt needs for the teaching of Aboriginal culture and the development of an Aboriginal identity and sense of pride in being an Aborigine. The need was most strongly felt by those who had a preferred census description of Aboriginal and by respondents with a non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation. It received least emphasis from respondents from the lower south-west and North localities, from the married, separated or divorced respondents, and from the young and poorly educated.

6.19 Discussion of the Conclusions Drawn from the Regression Analysis of the Factor Scores on the Four Ends of Education

It should again be noted that all of the ideas underlying the four Ends factors were regarded overall as being important to very important (Tables 32 and 33). The regression analysis results therefore indicated sub-groups of the sample of respondents who did not necessarily disagree with the ideas underlying the factor, but rather placed less emphasis upon these ideas than they did upon others.

The Achievement factor received least emphasis from the old, females, Group-leaders whereas the Awareness factor received most emphasis from these same sub-groups. At the other end of the spectrum, the young, the males, and the E-group placed most emphasis upon Achievement and least upon Awareness, and the Balga respondents also placed themselves at this end.

The need to have knowledge of Two Worlds and to be able to live in both received most emphasis from the leaders of Aboriginal organizations and from respondents with a non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation, be it Wongai, Bardi, Yameji or some Kimberley tribe. This non-Nyoongah sub-group also placed considerable emphasis upon the development of Aboriginal identity and the teaching of Aboriginal culture in schools summarized by the word Aboriginality, but the lower south-west respondents placed little emphasis upon this factor.

Some reasons can be advanced why the respondents have given different emphases to the ideas underlying the four factors. With regard to Achievement and Awareness the reason appears to be age and E-group commitment. The old obviously need welfare to survive and for

the Group-leaders in general it is a major source of their income, whereas the E-group have placed much more emphasis upon and education which will get them housing and jobs. The Youth-group have not made such a commitment and their opinion lies between these two extremes.

There is a further division between the Nyoongahs and non-Nyoongahs with some interesting anomalies. The non-Nyoongahs placed greater emphasis upon Two Worlds, Achievement and Aboriginality and less upon Awareness whereas the Nyoongahs have taken generally opposite viewpoints. The anomalies are the emphasis placed upon Two Worlds by the Perth locality and Armadale respondents who are Nyoongahs mostly and the very small emphasis placed upon Aboriginality by the North locality respondents who are non-Nyoongahs. The minimal emphasis placed upon Aboriginality by the Lower south-west respondents is worthy of notice but no reason for this attitude can be inferred at this stage. In Chapter 8 an attempt will be made to describe more fully the differences between the various sub-groups of the respondent sample in order to resolve these anomalies.

6.20 Relationships between the Aborigines' Backgrounds and Their Scores on the Five Factors Relating to the Nature of Education.

Tables 50 to 54 (Appendix 5) show the percentage variance explained by the background variables for each of the five factor scores on the Nature of education. Beta weights for each of these variables are also reported.

Each of the four items underlying the culture factors received strong overall support from the respondents (Tables 38 and 39). Tables 50 and 51 show that the background variables accounted for 37% of the variance in the factor scores on the Tribal Religion factor and 25% of the variance in the factor scores on the Tribal Skills factor. The Tribal Religion factor was concerned with the religious aspects of traditional Aboriginal culture such as spirituality, legends, sacred places and traditional law; whereas Tribal Skills was concerned with survival skills such as bush survival and tracking which traditional Aborigines required, and still require, to survive in the environment in which they lived or live.

Most emphasis was placed upon Tribal Religion by the Upper south-west locality respondents, by those from small families, by the young, by leaders of Aboriginal organizations and by the Armadale and Belmont respondents. But most emphasis for Tribal Skills came from the old, from those with scant knowledge of their family tree, and from the

Midland and Canning suburbs respondents. In both cases the Lower south-west respondents placed little emphasis upon these culture factors, but the neighboring locality of the Upper south-west placed great emphasis upon Tribal Religion and the neighbouring locality of the Wheatfields and Bunbury only concurred with less emphasis placed upon Tribal Skills. The E-group and the young in general placed less emphasis upon Tribal Skills as did the leaders of Aboriginal organisations.

The Family Values factor dealt with concerns for the behavioural norms expected of members of the Aboriginal family such as visiting relatives, attending funerals, sharing possessions and being neither competitive nor materialistic. Table 52 shows that the background variables accounted for 30% of the variance in the factor scores on this factor. Most emphasis for the concerns summarized in the factor came from Nyoongahs, leaders of Aboriginal organisations, respondents who were no longer single, and from the Midland and Canning suburbs. Least emphasis came from respondents from the Lower south-west, Geraldton, Bunbury and the Wheatfields localities, from the Group-leaders and the E-group and from the young in general,

Table 53 shows that the background variables accounted for 29% of the variance on the Closeness factor. This factor was based upon the feelings Aborigines experience in their family groups, particularly the feelings of closeness and security. Most emphasis for these ideas came from the leaders of Aboriginal organisations, from the E-group, from respondents with a preferred census description of Aboriginal or from those from the Canning, Midland, Lockridge, Balga, Kwinana, Belmont and Armadale suburbs. Least emphasis came from respondents from the North and Lower south-west localities, and from those with few children.

Finally, the background variables accounted for 37% of the variance in the factor scores on the Respect-Acceptance factor which was concerned with respect for all, particularly the old, and the ready acceptance of others into the group. Most emphasis came for the old, from the Group-leaders, from members of Aboriginal organisations, from the poorly educated, and from respondents from the Geraldton and Wheatfields localities and the Belmont suburb. Least emphasis came from the young, from the E-group, from Armadale suburb respondents, from single people and from those with reserve or mission experience.

6.21 Discussion of Conclusions Drawn from the Regression analysis of the Factor Scores on the Five Culture and Values Factors

The overall sample of respondents rated each of the items summarised by Tribal Religion and Tribal Skills as important to very important, but whereas the old and the Group-leaders placed the emphasis in cultural knowledge upon Tribal Skills, the young and the E-group placed it upon Tribal Religion. Nyoongahs are divided on this point, with Upper south-west respondents showing strong agreement with Tribal Religion and Lower south-west respondents placing least emphasis upon both Tribal Religion and Tribal Skills. The inference is that the old and the Group-leaders have given up on the past in terms of its religious content but wish to retain the legacy of Tribal Skills while the Young and the E-group wish for full cultural revival and knowledge of all aspects of the past. People for different localities provide exceptions to this generalized statement, particularly in the case of the Lower south-west people who rate all aspects of Aboriginal culture as less important. Their Upper south-west neighbours, on the other hand, show considerable interest in acquiring all aspects of their cultural heritage.

With regard to the Respect-Acceptance factor, the concern of the old, of Group-leaders, of members of Aboriginal organizations and of married respondents for these values was predictable, as was the lesser concern of the young.

The ideas underlying Closeness are more concerned with the feeling of being with other Aborigines whereas those underlying Family Values are more concerned with the behaviour expected of other Aborigines. Closeness received strong emphasis from many sub-groups of the sample and was downgraded by only a few, mainly those from the Lower south-west and North localities. Family Values, on the other hand, received less emphasis not only from the Lower south-west respondents but from many other sub-groups, including the Group-leaders and the E-group. The conclusion appears to be that Aborigines wish to be part of the Aboriginal groups and to share in the feelings of love and security generated by such groups, but that the behavioural norms attributed to Aborigines such as sharing, non-competitiveness and visiting have been weakened by the realities of urban life.

6.22 Written Comments on the Ends and Nature of Education

The 140 respondents were invited to write their own comments in various parts of the interview schedule. These comments are valuable in that they provide additional insights into Aborigines' views on the Ends and Nature of education. They also offer support for the

interpretation and naming of the Ends and Nature factors extracted from the responses to the items in the schedule which dealt with the Ends and Nature of education for urban Aborigines. For this reason the comments have been organized under the headings of the various factors.

6.22.1 Comments on Two Worlds

The emphasis in the Two Worlds factor was upon knowledge of both the White and Aboriginal worlds, being taught the correct social behaviour, and being helped to survive and cope in White society. There was more emphasis in the comments upon the White world than there was upon the Aboriginal ones. Despair was evident in such comments as “we are outcasts” but many felt schools could help by teaching “what alcohol and tobacco can do to a person’s health so that students can make up their own minds” and by the discussion of “the effects of drink”, “criminals” and “absenteeism from school”. Education was also thought to be necessary for “Aborigines to learn the White man’s law so that they can communicate better”, but responsibility for learning how to live in two worlds was often placed upon the individual rather than the education system and respondents commented that Aborigines should “learn for themselves” rather than be helped to survive and cope in White society, and that correct social behaviour was “up to them”.

6.22.2 Comments on Achievement

The emphasis in the Achievement factor was upon material goals such as better jobs and housing, as well as achievement in school. Two members of the E-group thought that their present education course should “guarantee them a job”, another said Aborigines need “very good teachers”, and a third person emphasised the need to “teach Aborigines the importance of upper high school and tertiary studies so that this can be taught to their children so that the children themselves want to go on to higher study”. The opposition to the ideas underlying the Achievement factor was expressed by a married student at a tertiary institution. He felt great family pressure on him against the new ways (words, ideas, books) and would only talk about education out on the front lawn, away from his family who were inside the house. But this was an isolated instance and other Group-leaders felt “it’s a White man’s world and we should go along with it and keep up to the White man’s standards”, eliminate “truancy,” promote the work ethic and “being taught to work”, eliminate “the school to dole pathway”, and place more responsibility upon the individual since “the opportunities are there” for education in “the control of money”, “planning for the future” and “the managing of small farms and businesses.” Achievement in sport was frequently mentioned and some felt it was “the only way Aborigines will get ahead”.

6.22.3 Comments on Awareness

The emphasis in the Awareness factor was upon acquiring knowledge of White, Aboriginal and other countries' lifestyles and of the welfare system. One felt that it was "too late" for Aborigines to be able to exercise a real choice of lifestyle, and the emphasis was placed upon extending the opportunities available to Aboriginal children through "trades for teenagers", "follow-up after they leave high school", and a solution to the problem that the "duller kids are not worried about".

6.22.4 Comments on Aboriginality, Tribal Religion and Tribal Skills

The Aboriginality factor was concerned with the development of an Aboriginal identity and pride in being Aboriginal as well as the teaching of Aboriginal culture in schools. The items underlying the Tribal Religion and Tribal Skills factors were an extension of this teaching of culture, so the three factors will be treated together in this discussion.

A frequent comment was "Aborigines are not ethnics – ethnics are from other countries". This is indicative of a feeling of resentment on the part of many of the respondents that they have been somehow excluded from full acceptance as Australians, a title they feel they deserve more than any other cultural group, since they were the original inhabitants. The sense of pride felt by many was expressed by the comment that "White society should realize that all Aborigines are not painted with the same brush, i.e., there are many who are trying to better themselves". On the other hand, a mother of five says she does not feel free to go to the high school to talk to the teachers and one respondent commented that education should help Aborigines to 'become more confident in themselves'. Again the respondents tended to place the onus upon the individual rather than on the education system and one said "a lot are ashamed but identity cannot be taught, it is a personal private thing".

With regard to culture, there were frequent comments that culture and language should be taught, and corroborees, boomerang-throwing and tracking were often singled out. On the other hand, one respondent said "students don't want to learn about Aborigines in history, teach them about Aborigines of today and their problems".

6.22.5 Comments on Family Values

Most of the comments indicated an erosion of the behavioural norms of sharing possessions, non-competitiveness, non-materialism, visiting relatives, and attending funerals which summarized this factor. One respondent wanted education "to stop jealousy and teach them how to work

together in harmony”, another said sharing was a value which was now changing and while one person said Aborigines attended funerals because “they are a really sentimental people”, another said it was more because of “the need to be seen there”. The concern for Achievement has eroded the value of non-competitiveness and a father of seven talked at length about pushing his son in sport because a rich man’s son plays in the same team and a friendship between the two boys will lead to the rich man’s son giving the Aboriginal boy a job later on. Other family values which are behavioural norms of White middle-class society were emphasized. They include how to cope, cleanliness, discipline, respect for elders and religion and Church.

6.22.6 Comments on Closeness

The discussion on experience of life on reserves and missions and of towns in Western Australia in which people have lived for a period of time indicated that this feeling of closeness is very important to Aboriginal people. A 30 year old male student commented that “if things become too difficult for me in Perth I could always return to the Laverton reserve and I know I would have a home there”, and an 18 year old girl wrote of the reserve and mission experience, “No, but I would love to have the experience”. Another respondent stated that this feeling of Closeness is “beyond the understanding of White people”.

6.22.7 Comments on Respect-Awareness

Respect for each other, for older people and for family in particular were often stressed. But adverse comment was also made about the control of the elders over the lives of tribal members in the traditional areas and (I) would not visit there in order to escape this control.

6.23 Summary

The eleven Ends of education assessed by the respondents were obtained from the exploratory discussions with the 132 adult Aboriginal students. It was expected therefore that there would be general agreement by the 140 Group-leaders, and members of the E-group and the Youth-group about these suggestions. This proved to be the case and each of the eleven Ends was rated as important to very important. Two strategies were used to establish an order of importance for the eleven Ends. The two ranked lists were consistent with one another and on both lists the most important Ends were the teaching of the 3Rs, better jobs, housing, identity and surviving and coping in White society. The nineteen culture and family values items were also obtained from the exploratory discussions. The overall agreement with these items was not as strong as the agreement with the eleven Ends. This was to be expected since they were not mentioned as frequently in

discussions, nor was the focus in these discussions on values, but rather upon the Ends and Means of education. Each of the nineteen items received, however, general agreement, bush survival and kinship relationships being the leading culture items and respect and acceptance the leading family values.

Principal factor analysis was used to reduce the number of variables and four Ends factors, two culture factors and three family values factors were extracted. The Ends factors were interpreted as needs to Achieve materially, to be Aware of alternative ways of living, to have knowledge of Two Worlds and to develop Aboriginality. The culture factors were interpreted as concerns for knowledge of Tribal Religion and Tribal Skills, and the family values factors as concerns for Family Values, Closeness and Respect-Acceptance.

Finally a series of regression analyses were performed to establish which background variables (age, sex, marital status, etc.) were important predictors of factor scores on the nine factors and to draw conclusions on why the respondents differed in their assessments of the relative importance of the Ends and Nature of education. The older Aborigines favored the ideas underlying Awareness and Respect-Acceptance more strongly than the younger ones, but a distinct difference in the attitudes of the E-group and the Group-leaders became apparent. The former were concerned with cultural revival and knowledge of their Aboriginal past whereas the latter seemed to have resigned themselves to cultural loss in some areas but were quite concerned with the maintenance of their urban lifestyle sub-cultural differences. The weak response of the Lower south-west respondents to Aboriginality, Tribal Religion, Tribal Skills, Family Values and Closeness was more marked than that of the respondents from any other locality or any other subgroup, and was in marked contrast to the general support given these concepts by their near neighbours in the Upper south-west. These and other differences in the responses of the sub-groups of the sample of 140 respondents will be further examined in Chapter 8, following the report of the perceptions of the means of education for Aborigines in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

THE MEANS OF EDUCATION

In the previous chapter the views of the 140 respondents representing Perth Aborigines were reported on the Ends and Nature of education for Aborigines. This chapter will report the results of the survey on the Means of education. The items in section A of the interview schedule (Appendix 1) were derived for the tape-recordings of exploratory discussions with the 132 adult Aboriginal students in the pilot study. The choices in section B of the schedule on Means were in general not derived from the exploratory discussions with the students, but they were all obtained from Aboriginal sources, being descriptions of existing educational structures in Perth or other Australian cities or suggestions put forward by Aboriginal educators. As expected, this set of choices produced more variability and less overall agreement than did the survey on the Ends and Nature of education.

7.1 The Means of Education

The twelve items in Section 5 of the interview schedule were all opinions of the present school system or recommendations for changes in it. The Means and standard deviations of the responses to these opinions are given in Table 55 below and the frequency distribution of the responses to these opinions are given in Table 56. The differences in the responses to Items 2(a) and 2(b) and to 8(a) and 8(b) were so slight that Items 2(b) and 8(b) were omitted from the subsequent analysis.

In Table 55 a mean greater than 2.5 indicates that the majority of the respondents disagreed with the opinion, and a mean less than 2.5 means that the majority agreed.

The opinions that schools are too competitive and that the atmosphere of the school needs to become more like that of an Aboriginal family group were strongly rejected. The opinions that textbooks are biased and that traditional Aboriginal methods of learning such as listening and observing should be used more in schools were also rejected, but not so strongly.

Opinion was evenly divided on the ability of individual Aboriginal children to cope in classes of Whites and on the question of the prejudice of teachers. It was generally felt that teachers are not as interested in Aboriginal children as they are in White children and that schools show a generally low view of Aboriginal culture. The strongest agreement was that Aboriginal culture and language should be taught in schools.

TABLE 55
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE RESPONSES TO THE TEN OPINIONS OF THE
PRESENT SCHOOL SYSTEM (N = 140)

Opinion	Mean	St. Dev.
1. Individual Aborigines can cope in classes of Whites	2.49	0.99
2. Schools are too competitive – (a) Primary (b) High	3.04 3.03	1.04 1.02
3. Social Studies and History textbooks show bias against Aborigines	2.82	1.08
4. Teachers are not prejudiced against Aborigines	2.50	1.06
5. Schools show a generally low view of Aboriginal culture including legends	2.42	1.15
6. In schools there is too much reading and writing and not enough listening	2.70	1.14
7. Teachers are as interested in Aboriginal students as they are in White students	2.41	1.07
8. Aboriginal students should be taught Aboriginal culture in schools- (a) Primary (b) High	2.24 2.26	1.22 1.22
9. Aboriginal students should have the opportunity to learn an Aboriginal language	2.01	1.26
10. The atmosphere of the school needs to be more like that of an Aboriginal family group	3.13	1.14

TABLE 56
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONSES TO THE TEN OPINIONS OF THE PRESENT
SCHOOL SYSTEM (N = 140)

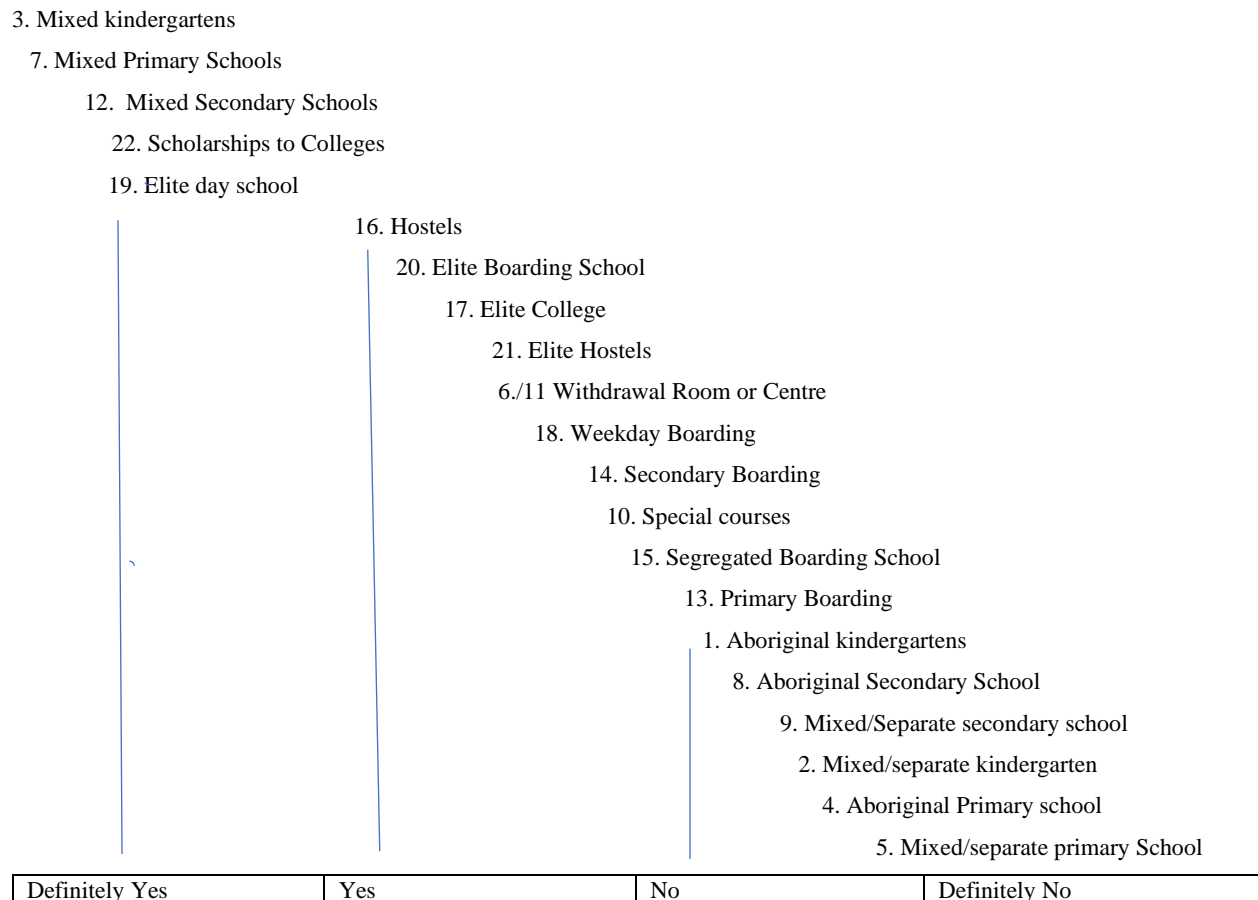
Opinion	Always True	Often True	Sometimes True	Never True
1. Individual Aborigines can cope in classes of Whites	22	21	42	14
2. Schools are too competitive	9	24	21	46
3. Social Studies and History textbooks show bias against Aborigines	16	21	29	35
4. Teachers are not prejudiced against Aborigines	24	20	37	19
5. Schools show a generally low view of Aboriginal culture/ legends	28	26	21	25
6. In schools there is too much reading/writing and not enough listening	21	22	25	33
7. Teachers are as interested in Aboriginal students as they are in White students	28	19	36	16
8. Aboriginal students should be taught Aboriginal culture in schools	42	16	19	23
9. Aboriginal students should have the opportunity to learn an Aboriginal language	56	10	12	23
10. The atmosphere of the school needs to be more like that of an Aboriginal family group	16	11	17	56

7.2 Structuring Educational Institutions for Aborigines

The thirty items in Section 9 of the interview schedule are alternatives for structuring educational institutions to cater for the development of Aboriginal identity and the learning of Aboriginal culture. The institutions range from kindergartens to universities. The first 22 items were answered by all of the 140 respondents but only those with experience of tertiary education were invited to respond to the final eight items which dealt with this kind of experience. In the event this meant that only the E-group members responded to these final eight items.

DIAGRAM 1

GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE MEAN OF THE RESPONSES TO ALTERNATIVES FOR STRUCTURING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO CATER FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ABORIGINAL IDENTITY AND TEACHING OF CULTURE



The mean responses to the first 22 items have been shown on Diagram 1. The alternatives on the left of the diagram were the most strongly favored and those on the right the least favored. Of

the 22 items, 13 received an overall Yes to Definitely Yes, and the other nine an average No to Definitely No.

Mixed kindergartens, primary schools and secondary schools were rated highest, followed by elite day schools, boarding schools and hostels. Then followed mixed schools with special consideration for Aboriginal students, weekday boarding and secondary boarding schools.

Mixed schools with the Aboriginal students separated for their classes but not in the playground were the most strongly rejected, followed by schools for Aborigines only, boarding for primary students and secondary schools where the Aboriginal students are separated for some of their courses.

None of the alternatives for structuring tertiary institutions met with the general disapproval of the E-group. Institutions for Aborigines only were favored almost as much as mixed institutions, both being more approved than any other variation. The descriptions of the courses in the technical colleges which corresponded with the experience of the Aboriginal students at Shenton Park and Midland also met with strong approval. The means and standard deviations of the responses to the 30 alternatives for structuring educational institutions are given in Table 57 below and the frequency distribution of the responses is given in Table 58.

7.3 Factor Analysis of Opinions of the Present School System

Factor analysis was used to reduce the 10 responses to the opinions of the Means used in the present school system to a smaller set of variables. As a first step a table of correlation coefficients was prepared for the responses of the 140 respondents to the 10 opinions.

7.3.1 Correlation Coefficients Table

Product moment correlations were produced for the pairs of variables or responses to the 10 opinions (Nie et al., 1975, p. 280). The correlation coefficients are given in Table 59, Appendix 4. The Table indicates clusters of variables, namely the teaching of Aboriginal culture and the teaching of an Aboriginal language; the interest of teachers in Aboriginal children, the lack of prejudice in teachers, and the ability of individual Aboriginal children to cope in classes of Whites; excessive competition in schools, bias in textbooks, the presentation in schools of a low view of Aboriginal culture, the need for the atmosphere of the school to become more like that of an Aboriginal family group, and the need for traditional Aboriginal methods of learning to be used more.

TABLE 57: MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE RESPONSES TO ALTERNATIVES FOR
STRUCTURING EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS (N = 140)

Structure	Mean	St.Dev.
Kindergartens		
1. Aborigines only	3.12	0.95
2. Mixed, but Aborigines a separate group	3.39	0.83
3. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	1.26	0.56
Primary Schools		
4. Aborigines only	3.39	0.81
5. Mixed, but Aborigines a separate group	3.40	0.74
6. Mixed but a withdrawal room for Aborigines	2.25	1.11
7. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	1.37	0.65
Secondary Schools		
8. Aborigines only	3.24	0.87
9. Mixed, but separate courses for Aborigines	3.40	0.76
10. Mixed, but some separate courses for Aborigines	2.60	1.02
11. Aboriginal room or centre but mixed for all courses	2.33	1.05
12. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	1.48	0.74
Boarding School Education		
13. Primary	3.02	1.00
14. Secondary only	2.46	0.89
15. Segregated Aboriginal boarding school	2.71	0.98
16. Aboriginal hostels to mixed high schools	2.02	0.81
17. Put about 20 Aboriginal students into each existing city boarding school	2.13	0.87
18. Boarding only on a weekday basis	2.33	0.90
Education of the more intelligent Aboriginal children – the elite		
19. A day college for them only	2.01	0.96
20. A boarding college for them only	2.07	0.93
21. A hostel for them only	2.19	0.92
22. Scholarships to existing mixed colleges	1.54	0.68
Technical Colleges (Trades)		
23. An Aboriginal technical college	1.98	1.05
24. Special courses for Aborigines in existing mixed colleges	1.77	0.73
25. Mixed	1.83	0.79
Universities, W.A.I.T., Teachers' Colleges, C.A.E.s		
26. An Aboriginal College of Advanced Education (C.A.E.)	1.83	0.88
27. Separate courses for Aborigines in existing institutions	2.30	0.88
28. Aboriginal groups within the large group but with room/centre.	2.33	0.90
29. Mixed but with a room/centre	2.02	0.83
30. Mixed at all times	1.75	0.88

TABLE 58: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONSES TO ALTERNATIVES FOR STRUCTURING
EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS (N = 140)

Structure	DefYes	Yes	No	DefNo
Kindergartens				
1. Aborigines only	14	11	54	55
2. Mixed, but Aborigines a separate group	6	11	41	74
3. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	108	26	2	2
Primary Schools				
4. Aborigines only	7	6	48	71
5. Mixed, but Aborigines a separate group	4	8	52	69
6. Mixed but a withdrawal room for Aborigines	41	41	22	26
7. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	98	98	4	3
Secondary Schools				
8. Aborigines only	8	13	49	61
9. Mixed, but separate courses for Aborigines	3	14	51	62
10. Mixed, but some separate courses for Aborigines	19	46	32	32
11. Aboriginal room or centre but mixed for all courses	30	57	17	28
12. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	87	42	5	5
Boarding School Education				
13. Primary	16	15	49	50
14. Secondary only	15	58	36	19
15. Segregated Aboriginal boarding school	14	43	38	34
16. Aboriginal hostels to mixed high schools	29	83	8	12
17. Put about 20 Aboriginal students into each existing city	30	64	25	11
18. Boarding only on a weekday basis	20	61	28	17
Education of the more intelligent Aboriginal children – the elite				
19. A day college for them only	49	42	30	10
20. A boarding college for them only	42	46	33	9
21. A hostel for them only	32	53	32	12
22. Scholarships to existing mixed colleges	73	58	2	4
Technical Colleges (Trades)				
23. An Aboriginal technical college	27	16	12	7
24. Special courses for Aborigines in existing mixed colleges	24	29	8	1
25. Mixed	23	32	6	3
Universities, W.A.I.T., Teachers' Colleges, C.A.E.s				
26. An Aboriginal College of Advanced Education (C.A.E.)	20	19	6	3
27. Separate courses for Aborigines in existing institutions	10	16	18	3
28. Aboriginal groups within the large group but with	7	26	9	7
29. Mixed but with a room/centre	14	22	11	2
30. Mixed at all times	25	18	6	3

7.3.2 Factor Analysis

Since the table of correlation coefficients indicated three clusters within the variables, principal factor analysis (Nie et al., 1975, p. 280) was therefore applied to the 140 responses to these 10 opinions of the present school system. The method of factor analysis used has been described in the previous chapter. Three principal factors were extracted and the loadings of each on the 10 opinions variables are given in Table 60 below.

TABLE 60
LOADINGS OF THE TEN OPINIONS VARIABLES
ON THREE PRINCIPAL FACTORS (N = 140)

Opinion	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Aboriginal Culture should be taught in schools	0.88	0.06	0.27
Aboriginal Language should be taught in schools	0.67	-0.11	0.12
Individual Aboriginal children can cope in classes of Whites	-0.16	0.41	-0.02
Teachers are not prejudiced	0.20	0.65	-0.21
Teachers are as interested in Aboriginal children as they are in White children	-0.03	0.75	-0.08
Schools are too competitive	0.04	-0.10	0.52
Textbooks show bias	-0.03	-0.25	0.46
Schools show a low view of Aboriginal culture	0.14	-0.23	0.33
There is too much reading and writing and not enough listening and observing	0.16	-0.01	0.41
School atmosphere should be more like that of an Aboriginal family group	0.14	0.03	0.50
<u>Eigenvalues</u>	2.46	1.74	1.23

7.3.3 Interpretation of the Factors

Factor 1 illustrates the difficulty of separating the Means of education from the Ends of education. That Aboriginal culture and language should be taught in schools would seem to be as much an End of education as it is a Means. The factor was interpreted simply as a Culture-Language factor.

Factor 2 was called a Teacher-Fairness factor since it focuses upon the non-prejudice of teachers towards Aboriginal students, the equality of interest shown both Aboriginal and White students by teachers and the ability of individual Aboriginal children to cope in classes of White students (and a White teacher).

Factor 3 was interpreted as a White Bias factor since it summarises concerns for the bias in favor of Whites implicit in the current education system. These concerns include excessive competition, bias in textbooks, a feeling that schools show Aboriginal culture in a poor light, the over-emphasis on reading and writing rather than traditional Aboriginal methods of learning,

namely listening and observing, and the need for the atmosphere of schools be become more like that of Aboriginal family groups.

7.3.4 Summary

By factor analysis of the responses to the 10 opinions of the present school system, three concerns were identified. They were a concern for the teaching of Culture-Language, a concern for Teacher-Fairness and a concern that schools exhibit a White-Bias. A comparison of the ideas underlying these factors with the mean responses and frequency distributions of Tables 55 and 56 shows that the respondents were strongly in favor of Culture-Language, evenly divided in their judgment of Teacher-Fairness and generally opposed to the criticism of the present school system implied in the White-Bias factor. The regression analysis of the factor scores described below is an attempt to discover sub-groups of the sample of respondents which gave different emphasis to these three concerns.

7.4 Factor Analysis of the Responses to the Structuring of Educational Institutions

Factor analysis as described above was used was also used to reduce the 22 alternatives for structuring educational institutions to a smaller set of variables. It was not considered necessary to consider the correlation between pairs of variables separately since the grouping of structures to which a similar pattern of responses was given has been demonstrated in Diagram 1.

7.4.1 Factor Analysis

With the selection criterion of a minimum eigen value of 1, six principal factors were extracted for the structure items. The loadings of each of the 22 items on these six principal factors are given in Table 61 below.

7.4.2 Interpretation of the Factors

Factor 1 was the most difficult factor to interpret. It was labelled a Mixed Schools factor. The loadings indicate that the respondents were able to distinguish clearly between the alternatives of mixed kindergartens, primary and secondary schools and those of either Aboriginal or mixed-but-Aborigines-a-separate-group kindergartens, primary and secondary schools. They were also able to appreciate the modifications implied in such concepts as a withdrawal room, some separate courses for secondary school Aboriginal students, and a room or centre in a mixed high school for Aboriginal students, as well as the differences between Aboriginal hostels to mixed high schools and hostels for the elite Aboriginal students.

TABLE 61:
LOADINGS OF THE 22 STUCTURE VARIABLES ON SIX PRINCIPAL FACTORS (N = 140)

Structure	Factor					
Kindergartens						
31. Aborigines only	0.18	0.04	0.12	0.13	0.10	0.67
32. Mixed, but Aborigines a separate group	0.42	0.07	0.10	0.39	0.09	0.21
33. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	-0.72	-0.02	0.20	-0.17	0.19	-0.10
Primary Schools						
34. Aborigines only	0.40	-0.03	-0.07	0.04	0.28	0.64
35. Mixed, but Aborigines a separate group	0.38	0.05	-0.01	0.77	0.10	-0.05
36. Mixed but a withdrawal room for Aborigines	0.04	0.11	0.17	0.24	0.50	0.08
37. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	-0.84	-0.02	0.06	-0.16	-0.04	-0.1
Secondary Schools						
38. Aborigines only	0.56	0.11	0.02	-0.02	0.42	0.37
39. Mixed, but separate courses for Aborigines	0.52	-0.1	0.14	0.51	0.22	-0.04
40. Mixed, but some separate courses for Aborigines	0.13	0.21	0.22	-0.07	0.49	0.02
41. Aboriginal room but mixed for all courses	0.02	0.01	-0.00	0.08	0.58	0.13
42. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	-0.86	0.06	-0.06	-0.07	-0.18	-0.17
Boarding School Education						
43. Primary	0.03	-0.06	0.21	0.43	0.03	0.20
44. Secondary only	-0.04	0.08	0.55	0.04	0.01	0.14
45. Segregated Aboriginal boarding school	0.12	0.22	0.34	0.23	0.21	0.09
46. Aboriginal hostels to mixed high schools	-0.13	0.26	0.63	0.14	0.30	0.15
47. Put about 20 Aboriginal students into each	-0.09	0.34	0.59	0.06	0.07	-0.12
48. Boarding only on a weekday basis	0.06	0.25	0.60	0.07	0.09	-0.08
Education of the more intelligent – the elite						
49. A day college for them only	0.09	0.81	0.13	-0.15	0.20	-0.16
50. A boarding college for them only	-0.05	0.77	0.29	0.07	0.14	0.05
51. A hostel for them only	0.13	0.67	0.30	0.02	0.07	0.14
52. Scholarships to existing mixed colleges	-0.21	0.32	0.19	0.08	-0.05	0.05
Eigenvalues	5.11	3.79	1.59	1.55	1.21	1.05

The complexity of the factor is due, not only to the presence within it of these ideas, but also to the ability of the respondents to distinguish between them and thus give a consistent pattern of response. The factor was called Mixed Schools because it was interpreted as a concern for mixed kindergartens, primary and secondary schools; and for hostels to mixed high schools or scholarships to existing mixed colleges, rather than a concern for modifications to these ideas implied in such structures as withdrawal rooms, or for the opposite ideas of Aboriginal only schools.

Factor 2 was interpreted as an Elite Schools factor, being a concern for the education of the more intelligent Aboriginal students either in exclusive day or boarding schools for elite Aboriginal students, or through the provision of scholarships to existing exclusive colleges.

Factor 3 was labelled a Boarding Schools factor, since it is a concern for the education of Aboriginal students in boarding schools, either for Whites and Aborigines or for Aborigines only, or in hostels attached to mixed high schools. Boarding school education was also perceived to be a form of elite education.

Factor 4 is a Mixed-Separate factor, being concerned with preferences for mixed kindergartens, primary and secondary schools but with Aboriginal students separated for their classes.

Factor 5 is a Mixed-Withdrawal factor since it is concerned with opportunities within mixed schools for Aboriginal students to withdraw from the mixed environment into Aboriginal groups, be they separate classes for some courses, an actual withdrawal school enabling Aboriginal students who have fallen behind within the mixed group to catch up, or simply an Aboriginal room or centre for the leisure-time activities of Aboriginal secondary school students. Aboriginal hostels to mixed schools are also perceived as a means of withdrawal from the mixed school society. Conceptually, these concerns would seem to related to the Ends factor of Two Worlds, an Aboriginal one and a White (mixed) one.

Factor 6 is clearly an Aboriginal Schools factor, being concerned with kindergartens, primary and secondary schools for Aborigines only.

7.4.3 Summary

Six factor scores for each of the respondents were computed and added to the data for the purpose of further analysis of the responses to alternative structures for educational institutions catering for Aborigines. The factor scores indicate the different emphases which the respondents placed upon the six concerns identified by factor analysis of the responses to the 22 items on structuring educational institutions. These were concerns for Mixed, Elite, Boarding and Aboriginal schools as well as concerns that mixed schools allow for Withdrawal and Separate treatment of Aboriginal students. The regression analysis described below is an attempt to discover which of the sub-groups of the sample of respondents placed either considerably more or considerably less emphasis upon each of these concerns.

7.5 Regression Analysis: Relationships Between Aborigines' Backgrounds and Their Scores on the Nine Factors Relating to the Means of Education

A regression analysis (Nie et al. 1975, p. 320) was performed on the nine factor scores relating to the Means of education for Aboriginal students. The dependent variables in the analysis were the nine factors, namely, the three Opinions factors of Culture-Language, Teacher-Pupil relationships and White Bias and the six structures factors of Mixed Schools, Elite Schools, Boarding Schools, Mixed-Separate, Mixed-Withdrawal and Aboriginal Schools. The independent variables have been discussed in Chapter 4 (The Subjects of This Study) and were age, sex, marital status, family size, number of children, locality of the State, tribal identification, suburb, census category, level of education, knowledge of family tree, leader of Aboriginal organization, reserve or mission experience, and membership of either Aboriginal organizations, the E-group or Group-leaders. The aim of the regression analysis was to discover relationships between these independent or background variables and the nine factors or dependent variables. The method of regression analysis has been described in the previous chapter.

7.6 Relationships Between the Respondents' Backgrounds and Their Scores on the Three Opinions Factors

Tables 62, 63 and 64 in Appendix 6 show the percentage variation explained by the background variables for each of the three factor scores on the opinions of the present school system. Beta weight for each of these variables are also reported.

Table 62 shows the background variables accounted for 32% of the total variance in the factor scores on the Culture-Language factor, which was concerned with the teaching of Aboriginal culture and language in schools. The data show this need was most emphasized by non-Nyoongahs, by respondents from the North locality, by leaders of Aboriginal organizations and by respondents from the Belmont suburb. It received least emphasis from single people, those from the Lower south-west, the young, the poorly educated and males.

The background variables accounted for 27% of the variance in the factor scores on the Teacher-Fairness factor. This factor was concerned with the ability of individual Aboriginal children to survive and cope in classes of White students, with the non-prejudice of teacher and with the equality of interest shown in Aboriginal students by teachers. Most agreement or emphasis was placed upon this factor by the Lower south-west respondents, by those with no tribal affiliation and by the old. Least emphasis came from the E-group members, from the members of Aboriginal

organizations, from the young, from people who came from the Perth or Bunbury localities and from respondents from the suburbs of Belmont, Kwinana and Lockridge.

The White-Bias factor was concerned with competition, bias in textbooks and in the presentation of Aboriginal culture, over-emphasis on reading and writing rather than listening and observing and the atmosphere of the school, all of which bis schools in favor of White students. The background variables accounted for 38% of the variance in the scores on this factor. Most emphasis for the concerns summarized by this factor came from those with an Aboriginal census description, those with reserve or mission experience, leaders of Aboriginal organizations, people from the suburbs of Canning, Armadale and Midland and the Wheatfields locality. Least emphasis came from respondents from the Goldfields, Lower south-west and North localities, the Group-leaders and members of Aboriginal organizations.

7.7 Discussion of Conclusions Drawn from the Regression Analysis of the Factor Scores on the Three Opinions Factors

Tables 55 and 56 show that the majority of respondents favored the teaching in schools of Aboriginal culture of Aboriginal Culture-Language but were opposed to the perceptions of White-Bias in schools. On the ideas underlying Teacher-Fairness, the group was evenly divided.

There is a general consistency of response indicated in the regression analysis of the factor scores on these three factors amongst respondents who placed strong emphasis upon Culture-Language and White-Bias and little (implying disagreement) upon Teacher-Fairness, and also between those who place little emphasis upon either Culture-Language or White-Bias and much upon Teacher-Fairness (implying agreement). The latter included non-Nyoongahs from the North, the Goldfields and the Geraldton localities as well as Nyoongahs from the Lower south-west, the Group-leaders and married-divorced-separated-widowed respondents, whereas the group with the opposite viewpoint are single, E-group members, males and respondents from several suburbs.

Concerning opinions of the present school system, therefore, the opposing positions are taken by respondents who do not think that there is a bias in favor of White students either on the part of the teachers or of the schools, nor should there be bias in favor of Aboriginal children through the teaching of Language and Culture courses, and those who believe the opposite.

It might be expected that the sub-groups identified above would have adopted contrary positions, not only in their emphasis or agreement with these three factors, but also with the four Ends, two culture and three family values factors, and particularly with the Aboriginality, Tribal

Religion, Tribal Culture, Family Values and Closeness factors. These are the factors on which the regression analysis has shown most division of opinion exists. Significantly, they are the factors which allow for an acceptance or rejection of Aboriginality and either past or present culture. The hypothesis that such contrary positions have been adopted by sub-groups will be explored in Chapter 8.

7.8 Relationships Between Aborigines' Backgrounds and Their Scores on the six Structures Factors

Tables 65 to 70 (in Appendix 6) show the percentage variation explained by the background variables for each of the six factor scores on the alternatives for structuring the educational institutions. Beta weights for each of these variables are also reported.

The background variables accounted for 38% of the variance in the factor scores on the Mixed Schools factor which was a preference for mixed schools rather than for Aboriginal schools or separate classes for Aboriginal students (Table 65). Least emphasis came from respondents who preferred a census description of Aboriginal, from leaders of Aboriginal organizations, from Nyongahs and from Kwinana suburb people. Most support for this factor came from the Lower south-west, North, Bunbury and Upper south-west localities and from people living in the Lockridge and Midland suburbs.

Elite Schools to really push ahead the clever Aboriginal children received strong overall support. Most of this came from the married-separated-divorced-widowed respondents and from those living in the Balga, Midland, Kwinana and Belmont suburbs, with least emphasis being given by the young, single, E-group members and respondents from the Goldfields and Wheatfields localities. The background variables accounted for 28% of the variance in the factor scores on this factor (Table 66).

Most emphasis was placed on Boarding Schools by the poorly educated and the Group-leaders, with little emphasis coming from the E-group members, the Lower and Upper south-west respondents and people living in the Midland, Kwinana, Canning and Armadale suburbs. These and other background variables accounted for 23% of the variance in the factor scores on this factor (Table 67).

The Mixed-Separate factor was concerned with the provision of separate classes for Aboriginal students attending mixed educational institutions. The background variables accounted for 36% of the variance on the factor scores on this factor (Table 68). Least emphasis was placed

upon these factors by the Group-leaders, those with census description of Aboriginal and people from the Belmont suburb. Most emphasis came from the E-group members, the young and respondents from the Upper and Lower south-west, Perth and the Wheatfields localities.

Table 69 shows the background variables accounted for 27% of the variance in the factor scores on the Mixed-Withdrawal factor, which was concerned with opportunities for Aboriginal students attending mixed schools to be able to withdraw into an Aboriginal group. Suggestions for such withdrawal opportunities included an actual withdrawal centre, some separate courses for Aboriginal secondary school students, and a room set aside within mixed high schools for an Aboriginal student centre. Most support for these suggestions came from members of Aboriginal organisations, those with a census description of Aboriginal, and respondents from the Canning, Kwinana and Belmont suburbs. Least emphasis was placed upon this factor by the leaders of Aboriginal organisations, the young, those with no tribal affiliation and the Wheatfields locality respondents.

Finally, the Aboriginal Schools factor summarised concerns for segregated Aboriginal schooling. Most emphasis was placed upon these concerns by the Wheatfields and Upper south-west respondents, by the young, by members of Aboriginal organisations, and by those with a census description of Aboriginal. Least emphasis was given by the leaders of Aboriginal organizations and the E-group members. Overall the background variables accounted for 26% of the variance in the factor scores on this factor (Table 70).

7.9 Discussion of Conclusions from the Regression Analysis of the Factor Scores on the Structures Factors

The variables associated with most overall variance in the factor scores on these six structures factors were age, census description, member and leader of Aboriginal organisations, Group-leader and E-group membership as well as the Upper and Lower south-west and Wheatfields localities and the Kwinana, Belmont and Midland suburbs.

Kwinana respondents place little emphasis upon Mixed Schools, but otherwise the Kwinana, Belmont, Canning and Midland respondents placed heavy emphasis upon Mixed Schools, Elite Schools and Mixed-Withdrawal opportunities and little emphasis upon Boarding Schools. This appears to be consistent with an Achievement emphasis in the goals of education which will be examined in the next Chapter.

The Lower south-west respondents were united in their emphasis upon Mixed or Mixed-Separate schools and their lack of emphasis upon Boarding Schools. In other regression analyses described above, these two groups of respondents have been in contrary positions. The Wheatfields respondents appear to agree in general with the Upper south-west people and this is true also of this regression analysis.

Predictably, respondents with a census description of Aboriginal have placed little emphasis upon Mixed Schools and a great deal upon Aboriginal and Mixed-Withdrawal Schools. The young, and to a lesser extent the E-group members, have adopted similar positions whereas the old and the Group-leaders hold opposite views. Interestingly, the members of Aboriginal organizations have also sided with those with an Aboriginal census description and aligned against the leaders of such organizations, it appears that the leaders and members of Aboriginal organizations have some very different goals.

7.10 Written Comments on the Means of Education

The 140 respondents were invited to write their own comments in the various sections of the interview schedule. These comments are valuable in that they provide additional insight into Aborigines' views on the Means of education. They also provide support for the naming of some of the Means factors and for this reason have been organized under the headings of these factors.

7.10.1 Comments on Teacher-Language

Frequent mention was made of the teaching of Aboriginal culture and languages in schools, but the idea of separate schools was queried because "some people might want to learn Aboriginal culture" and because they could help "teach White people to live with Aborigines".

7.10.2 Comments on Teacher-Fairness

Some general comments were made about teachers with praise for the Aboriginal Adult Education teachers and a plea for "teachers who teach you how to learn things. Not like schools nowadays. Teachers don't really teach in high schools." The person who wanted "half White and Aborigines in classes" clearly felt individual Aboriginal students could not cope on their own in classes of Whites, and there were many comments about the discrimination experienced by Aboriginal children at school prompted by such motives as jealousy "because Aboriginal kids are good at basketball" and sport in general. Name-calling was the most frequently mentioned problem and it was felt that "teachers should tell White kids not to call Aborigines 'boongs, etc. – happens every day" and that this name-calling "when you are older means more" and is a cause of poor

achievement and wishing to leave school, and one parent lamented “my boy was doing well until high school – now called names”.

7.10.3 Comments on White-Bias

A request was made that “everything possible be done to train more Aboriginal teachers” and that the present teachers should “teach the Aboriginal kids in extra time if they don’t understand, because Aboriginal children are shy”. It was also felt that the present teachers “don’t listen to the child’s story enough” and that “Aboriginal parents don’t go to the school” and “leave their children to cope on their own”. Other respondents focused their comments upon the physical facilities and organization of the school (and its White bias) and would “throw out the classroom structure, regimented desks”, “9.30 to 3.30” and other restrictions”.

7.10.4 Comments on the Structuring of Educational Institutions

The separate education of Aborigines was emphasized by such comments as “the W.A.I.T. bridging course should be separate from Whites” and “more Aboriginal children socializing as groups would be better”, and the possibility of alternatives is requested – “if an Aborigine begins a course with mixed students and feels left out or cannot cope, then he should be able to attend another institution, maybe an all-Aboriginal school”.

7.11 Summary

The ten opinions of the present school system were obtained from exploratory discussions with 132 adult Aboriginal students divided into nine groups. The 30 items on structuring educational institutions were obtained partly from the discussions with the students, partly from discussions with other Aboriginal people and partly from descriptions of existing educational facilities for Aborigines in Australia found in magazines and journals.

There was overall strong agreement with the opinions that Aboriginal culture and language should be taught in schools, and a general feeling that Aboriginal culture is shown in a poor light in schools at the present time. Although it was felt that teachers are as interested in Aboriginal students as they are in White students, opinion was equally divided on the prejudice of teachers towards Aboriginal students and on the ability of individual Aboriginal children to cope in classes of Whites. There was general disagreement with the opinions that traditional Aboriginal methods of learning such as listening and observing should be used more in schools and reading and writing used less, and that text books show bias towards Aborigines. There was strong disagreement with

the opinions that schools are too competitive and that the atmosphere of schools needs to become more like that of Aboriginal family groups.

The most favored educational institutions were the mixed ones, but elite schools for gifted Aboriginal children “to really push them ahead” were also strongly approved. Boarding schools and mixed schools with facilities for Aboriginal students to withdraw into Aboriginal groups received a neutral response. Schools for Aborigines only or mixed schools in which the Aboriginal students are taught in separate classes were strongly rejected, but the E-group members favored tertiary institutions of either of these two kinds almost as strongly as they favored mixed institutions.

Principal factor analysis reduced the 10 opinions of the present school system to three factors and the 22 structure items to six factors. The three opinions factors were interpreted as concerns for Culture-Language, Teacher-Fairness and White-Bias, and the six structures factors were named Mixed Schools, Elite Schools, Boarding Schools, Mixed-Separate, Mixed Withdrawal and Aboriginal Schools. The overall group strongly favored the ideas underlying Culture-Language, Mixed Schools and Elite Schools, and strong rejected the ideas White Bias, Mixed Separate and Aboriginal Schools and was evenly divided in its responses to the ideas underlying Teacher-Fairness, Boarding Schools and Mixed-Withdrawal Schools.

Regression analysis was applied to the factor scores on these nine Means factors in order to distinguish subgroups of the respondents whose background characteristics accounted for significant percentages of the variance in the scores. Among the general variables, age and marital status were found to be important predictors of factor scores. Amongst the locality variables the Upper and Lower south-west and the Wheatfields were found to be the most important. Amongst the suburbs, Kwinana, Belmont, Midland and Armadale were found to be the ones responsible for the variance in the factor scores. Finally, amongst the more specifically Aboriginal background variables, most variance in the factor scores was associated with census description, leadership and membership of Aboriginal organisations and membership of the E-group and Group-leaders.

In the regression analysis of the factor scores on the opinions factors it was observed there is a general consistency of response between subgroups that placed strong emphasis upon Culture-Language and White-Bias and little (implying disagreement) upon Teacher-Fairness, and subgroups which have adopted the opposite position and place little emphasis upon little emphasis upon Culture-Language and White-Bias and much (implying agreement) upon Teacher-Fairness,

The latter subgroups include non-Nyoongahs from the North, the Goldfields and Geraldton localities as well as Nyoongahs from the Lower south-west locality, the Group-leaders; and the married-separated-divorced-widowed respondents, whereas the former subgroups include the single, the E-group members, males and respondents from several suburbs. In the regression analysis of the structures factors' scores contrary positions were observed for the members and leaders of Aboriginal organisations, for the young or E-group members and the old or Group-leaders; and for the Lower south-west and Wheatfields respondents.

Similar patterns of opposing viewpoints were noted in the previous chapter on the Ends and Nature of education. In the next chapter, therefore, the factor scores for the Ends, Means and Nature of education will be examined together in order to distinguish groups of Perth Aborigines which differ in their overall opinions of the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Perth Aborigines. The regression analysis reported in this chapter and the previous one indicate that such groups can be isolated in terms of their differences in such characteristics as age, sex, marital status, locality, suburb, census description, tribal affiliation, level of education, membership and leadership of Aboriginal organisations, and membership of either the E-group, the Youth-group or the Group-leaders.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS OF THE ENDS, MEANS AND NATURE OF EDUCATION FOR ABORIGINES

The two previous chapters reported the results of a series of factor analyses which reduced the interview responses to 18 factors. This chapter is concerned with the further analysis of these original 18 factors. The first concern is to whether the respondents' answers to the Ends, Means and Nature of education were related to one another. The factor scores of all the respondents across the 18 factors were therefore pooled and subjected to a further principal factor analysis. This further analysis sought to identify a smaller set of secondary factors which could clarify the Nature of the relationships between the Ends, Means and Nature questions. In addition, the regression analyses of the factor scores on the original 18 factors were considered in order to relate selected background characteristics of the sample to the original factors grouped according to the secondary analysis.

8.1 Overview of the Respondents' Perceptions to the Ends, Means and Nature of Education for Aborigines.

It was expected that the respondents would answer items in the Ends, Means and Nature of the schedule in a consistent manner and that the patterns of their responses would therefore indicate items from the various sections which they perceived as being related. The purpose of this further analysis is to group such items together. The original 18 factors indicate only items within each section to which the respondents gave a similar response, so for this analysis the 18 factor scores of the 140 respondents were pooled and subjected to further factor analysis to yield a set of secondary factors. These secondary factors were expected to be mixtures of the Ends, Means and Nature factors to which the respondents had given a similar amount of emphasis.

8.1.1 Factor Analysis

With the selection criteria of a minimum eigenvalue of one, six secondary factors were extracted from the factor scores of the respondents on the original 18 factors. The method of factor analysis used was described in Chapter 6 and the loadings of each of the original 18 factors on these six secondary factors are shown in Table 71.

TABLE 71
LOADINGS OF THE FACTOR SCORES OF THE ORIGINAL 89 FACTORS ON THE SIX SECONDARY
FACTORS (N = 140)

Original Factor	Type*	Factor 1 Aborig- inality Bias	Factor 2 Aborig- inal Social- isation	Factor 3 Two Worlds	Factor 4 Tribal Skills	Factor 5 Achieve- ment	Factor 6 Unnamed
Aboriginality	End	-0.68	-0.13	0.08	0.28	0.11	0.12
Tribal Religion	Culture	-0.63	-0.12	0.05	0.10	-0.11	0.00
White Bias	Opinion	0.57	0.03	0.10	-0.02	-0.02	0.08
Teacher Fairness	Opinion	-0.30	0.15	-0.28	-0.04	0.05	-0.15
Closeness	Value	0.57	0.17	0.01	0.13	-0.13	-0.11
Mixed Schools	Structure	0.26	0.04	0.16	0.10	0.11	0.14
Culture-Language	Opinion	0.27	0.55	0.00	-0.24	0.11	0.06
Family Values	Value	0.08	0.52	0.01	-0.24	0.11	0.06
Elite Schools	Structure	-0.10	0.34	0.02	0.00	-0.01	-0.27
Mixed-Withdrawal	Structure	0.16	0.42	-0.07	0.07	-0.09	0.10
Two Worlds	End	-0.03	-0.04	0.90	0.02	0.02	0.12
Tribal Skills	Culture	-0.07	0.01	0.01	0.75	0.08	0.16
Awareness	End	0.07	-0.04	0.08	0.14	0.12	0.50
Respect-Acceptance	Value	0.14	0.08	-0.09	-0.03	0.09	-0.049
Aboriginal Schools	Structure	0.21	0.08	0.23	-0.04	-0.07	0.23
Achievement	End	-0.10	0.14	0.04	0.14	0.73	0.05
Boarding Schools	Structure	-0.20	0.19	0.15	-0.06	-0.24	-0.04
Mixed-Separate	Structure	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.17	-0.26	0.21
Eigen Values		2.62	2.3	2.48	1.27	1.03	1.02

Type* indicates whether the original factor was an Ends factor, a Means factor (either Opinion or Structure) or a Nature factor (either culture or value)

8.1.2 Interpretation of the Factors

Factor 1 is an Aboriginal Bias factor since each of the original six (of 18) factors which loaded heavily onto this secondary factor relate to either bias towards White culture in schools or are a preference for Aboriginality. Three of the original factors were Ends and Nature factors (Aboriginality, Tribal Religion and Closeness) which indicated concern for the survival and revival

of Aboriginal culture, identity and values. The other three of the original 18 values were Means factors concerned with bias (White Bias, Teacher Fairness and Mixed Schools) but, again, they were concerns for the lack of emphasis upon Aboriginal culture due to the bias towards White culture. In summary, the means associated with the attainment of the educational Ends of Aboriginality, Tribal Religion and Closeness are the removal of the bias in schools towards White culture, including the bias towards White pupils.

Factor 2 also reveals important links between the Ends and Means of education. It is an Aboriginal Socialization factor. The two (original) Nature factors of Culture-Language and Family Values are linked to the Structure factors of Elite Schools and Mixed-Withdrawal Schools. An appropriate interpretation would seem to be that the concern in this factor is for Aboriginal children to be able to socialize together, separate from the White children, either in Elite schools for the gifted, or in withdrawal facilities within Mixed schools in order that the goals of teaching and practicing culture, language and family values may be attained. It was expected that the Aboriginal schools factor would also load heavily onto this secondary factor. This was not the case, however, and the reason appears to be that in this enquiry the respondents rejected any overt suggestions of Aboriginal only schools, meaning the total segregation of the Aboriginal child, but did not give such complete rejection to any other idea.

Factors 3, 4 and 5 were similar to the Two Worlds, Tribal Skills and Achievement factors. These three factors related to the Ends of education and retained their separate identities in this secondary analysis.

Factor 6 was difficult to interpret and has not been named. The original factors which loaded heavily onto it were the Awareness Ends factor and the Respect-Acceptance values factor.

8.1.3 Summary

The factor analysis of the scores on the original 18 Ends, Means and Nature factors yielded six secondary factors. One factor was not interpreted, three remained primarily concerns for the Ends of education summarized by Two Worlds, Tribal Skills and Achievement, and the other two revealed important links between the Ends, Means and Nature of education desired by Perth Aborigines. The first of these linkage factors was an Aboriginality-Bias factor in which the means associated with the attainment of the education Ends of Aboriginality, Tribal Religion and Closeness are the removal of the bias in schools towards White culture including the teacher bias towards White students. The second factor which showed these linkages was concerned with

Aboriginal Socialization or the need for Aboriginal children to be able to socialize together either in withdrawal facilities or in elite schools in order that the goals of teaching and practicing culture, language and family values may be attained.

8.2 Relationships between the Secondary Factors and the Background Characteristics of the Sample of Respondents

Although each of the regression analyses reported in Appendix 6 has been discussed in the two previous chapters, no attempt was made to give an overview of the relationships between the background characteristics and the whole array of factors. That is done in this section, but the 18 original factors are not considered separately, but rather within the umbrella provided by the six secondary factors. Further the discussion is limited to those independent or background variables which regression analyses identified as being significant predictors of the factor scores on the majority of the 18 factors. These variables are age, sex, marital status, census description, tribal affiliation, membership and leadership of Aboriginal Organizations, locality, suburb and membership of either the E-group or the Group-leaders. The variables which have been omitted are: number of children, level of education, family size, knowledge of family tree, reserve or mission experience and membership of the Youth group.

8.2.1 Age

Tables 46 to 54 and 62 to 70 (Appendix 6) show that the young respondents placed great emphasis (positive relationships) upon the secondary factors of Achievement and Aboriginality-Bias and little (negative relationships) upon Two Worlds, Tribal Skills and Aboriginal Socialization. In other words, the emphasis of the young was upon the educational goals of housing, jobs and the 3Rs summarized by Achievement and upon the need to remove the current bias towards White culture and White students in schools in order to attain the educational Ends of Aboriginality, Tribal Religion and Closeness. The older respondents, on the other hand, stressed the ideas underlying Two Worlds (knowledge of the White and black worlds, being taught correct social behavior and how to cope in White society), Tribal Skills (bush survival and tracking) and Aboriginal Socialization (the concern for Aboriginal children to be able to socialize together in order that culture will be learned).

8.2.2 Sex

Sex was not related to the Tribal Skills factor. However, males tended to place more emphasis upon Achievement and Aboriginality and females to place more emphasis upon the other three secondary factors. This division mirrors that between the old and the young.

8.2.3 Marital Status

Unmarried respondents placed a significant emphasis upon Aboriginality Bias and Tribal Skills whereas the remainder of the sample (married, widowed, divorced, separated or living in a de facto relationship) emphasized Aboriginal Socialization. There was no significant difference in the other factors.

8.2.4 Census Description

Respondents who preferred a census description of Aboriginal stressed Aboriginality Bias whereas the Aboriginal Australians and Australians placed the emphasis upon Aboriginal Socialization, there being no significant difference on the other factors.

8.2.5 Membership of the E-group or the Group-leaders

The E-group stressed Achievement and the Group-leaders stressed Two Worlds, but on the other three secondary factors there was not found to be any significant difference between these two major subgroups of the study.

8.2.6 Aboriginal Organizations – Leaders and Members

It was anticipated that the leaders and members of Aboriginal Organizations would have similar perceptions of the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Perth Aborigines, but surprisingly, this was not found to be the case. Leaders strongly emphasized Aboriginality and Aboriginality Bias and Aboriginal Socialization whereas the members stressed Two Worlds and placed a significant lack of emphasis upon Aboriginality Bias and Aboriginal Socialization.

8.2.7 Tribal Affiliation

The non-Nyoongahs emerged as a subgroup which placed very strong positive emphasis upon almost all of the ideas considered in this study. The only secondary factor to which they did not attach a strong positive emphasis was Achievement. On the other hand, those with no Tribal affiliation attached a strong emphasis to this Achievement factor only. Nyoongahs took an intermediate stand and placed a strong positive emphasis upon Aboriginality-Bias and Aboriginal Socialization only, attaching a strong negative emphasis to Achievement.

8.2.8 Locality

The Lower southwest respondents were referred to many times in the discussion of the regression analyses in the two previous chapters. They placed a significant lack of emphasis upon Aboriginality Bias, Aboriginal Socialization and Tribal Skills and stressed positively only the importance of being able to survive and cope in Two Worlds, particularly the White one. Goldfield respondents also followed this general pattern as did the Geraldton respondents, except the latter also placed negative emphasis upon Two Worlds. In other words, the Geraldton respondents were the only subgroup which did not place heavy emphasis upon ANY of the concepts underlying this study. This oddity is pursued further in Section 2.10 below.

8.2.9 Suburbs

Aborigines in all suburbs placed heavy emphasis upon Achievement, Tribal Skills, Aboriginality Bias and Aboriginal Socialisation, with the exception of Kwinana in the case of Achievement, Balga in the case of Aboriginality Bias and Lockridge and Midland in the case of Two Worlds.

8.2.10 Summary and Conclusions

Table 72 gives the relationships between the background variables or characteristics of the Aborigines in the survey sample. None of the correlation coefficients is sufficiently large to warrant the substitution of two or more related background characteristics by the more dominant one. Some trends are indicated, however, such as the tendency for Group-leaders to be older people and married- divorced-etc. Notwithstanding these trends, in the following discussion, the background characteristics have been treated as separate variables. In addition, each background variable is the basis for the division of the sample into two or more subgroups of the respondents. In turn, the correlations in Table 72 do not warrant the merging of any of these subgroups with any other subgroup, e.g., the non-Nyoongahs with the Unmarrieds.

When the original 18 factors were grouped according to the framework of the six secondary factors, two major sets of relationships emerged between the background variables and the factor scores. The first set of relationships was that between the factor scores and the background variables of age, sex, marital status, census description, locality, Group-leaders and membership of the E-group. Table 73 shows the subgroups which tended to give little emphasis to the original factors (and concepts) underlying each of the secondary factors. Subgroups A (the younger

respondents for instance) tended to stress the Achievement and Aboriginality Bias concepts and to put a significant lack of emphasis upon the other three concepts.

TABLE 72: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR PAIRS OF THE INDEPENDENT OR BACKGROUND VARIABLES CHARACTERISING THE RESPONDENTS IN THE SAMPLE

	Age	Sex	Mar- ital Status	Cen- sus descp	Nyoon- gahs	No tribe	Non- Nyoon- gah	Member Abor- Org	Leader A.Org	E- group	Group Lead- ers
Age											
Sex	0.16										
Marital status	-0.32	-0.07									
Census description	-0.10	0.16	-0.11								
Nyoongah	0.09	0.26	0.03	0.02							
No tribal affiliation	-0.10	-0.25	-0.04	-0.17	-0.69						
Non- Nyoongah	0.24	-0.08	0.01	0.16	-0.63	-0.12					
Member Abor Org	-0.22	0.02	0.08	0.07	0.04	-0.03	-0.01				
Leader Abor Org	-0.26	0.01	0.16	0.11	-0.09	-0.01	0.13	0.61			
E-group members	0.29	0.03	-0.29	0.04	0.00	0.06	0.06	0.01	-0.13		
Group- leaders	-0.46	-0.17	0.41	-0.13	-0.04	0.15	-0.10	0.09	0.19	-0.60	
<u>Localities</u>											
Geraldton	-0.15	-0.27	0.13	-0.01	-0.27	0.21	0.15	-0.06	0.08	-0.08	0.18
Wheatfields	-0.05	0.04	0.10	0.06	0.17	-0.13	-0.10	0.07	-0.09	-0.08	-0.21
Lower s-w	-0.00	0.00	-0.10	-0.07	0.17	-0.11	-0.10	-0.07	0.02	-0.13	0.19
Bunbury	0.00	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.02	0.10	-0.14	0.06	-0.30	0.07	0.13
Goldfields	0.17	0.17	-0.02	0.08	0.38	-0.07	0.61	0.02	0.11	0.07	-0.11
Perth	0.26	0.26	-0.33	-0.09	0.12	-0.08	-0.08	-0.12	-0.07	0.17	-0.27
North	0.10	0.10	-0.16	-0.01	-0.07	-0.02	0.11	-0.17	0.10	-0.04	0.05
Upper s-w	-0.10	-0.10	0.03	0.03	0.08	0.05	-0.16	0.17	0.11	0.09	-0.04

Subgroups B (the older respondents for instance) tended on the other hand to stress Two Worlds, Tribal Skills and Aboriginal Socialization and to place a significant lack of emphasis upon the other two concepts. The two sets of subgroups were therefore opposite in their views or perceptions of the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Perth Aborigines.

The second major set of relationships was between the secondary factor scores and the background variables of locality, leader of an Aboriginal Organization and Tribal affiliation. The regression analyses indicate that the leaders of Aboriginal organizations, Nyoongahs and non-Nyoongahs stressed Aboriginality Bias, Tribal Skills and Aboriginal Socialisation whereas the Lower south-west, Geraldton and Goldfields respondents placed a significant lack of interest upon these concepts. This observation is important because these three secondary factors overtly refer to aspects of Aboriginal culture, whereas Achievement and Two Worlds refer to educational Ends, Means or values desirable for any sub-cultural group.

TABLE 73
SUBGROUPS FORMED FROM THE BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE WHICH
PLACED OPPOSITE EMPHASES ON THE SECONDARY FACTORS

Variable	Subgroups A	Subgroups B
Age	Young	Old
Sex	Males	Females
Marital Status	Unmarried	Married, etc
Census description	Aboriginal	Aboriginal-Australian or Australian
Locality	Perth Bunbury Wheatfields Upper south-west	North
Group-leader members	Non-Group leaders	Group-leaders
E-group members	E-group	Non E-group

The conclusions which may be drawn from the first set of relationships indicated in Table 73 is that the preference of the young, the males and any of the other subgroups labelled A is for Achievement in White terms but allied to a strong cultural and identity revival, and they seek changes in the school system to accommodate this. The old, females, or any of the B subgroups,

on the other hand, are more concerned with the acceptance by the dominant society of their present alternative lifestyle and with educational changes which will support that lifestyle. The changes they seek in the educational system are less demanding and imply no criticism of that system.

The second set of relationships discussed above suggest a very different conclusion. Whereas the leaders of Aboriginal organisations, the Nyoongah and tribal-but-non-Nyoongahs were prepared to stress any of the Ends, Means and values which were overtly Aboriginal, the Lower south-west, Geraldton and Goldfields respondents as well as the members of Aboriginal organisations and those with no tribal affiliation were not only quite unsympathetic to the integration into Aboriginal education of all the overtly Ends, Means and values concepts but their low assessment of nearly all the concepts (despite the fact that some are opposites) suggests they were generally unconcerned with an enquiry into the Ends, Means and values of Aboriginal education.

Finally, the Suburb variable was not included in the above discussion because it appears to have added little to the general picture. Each of the suburban subgroups with the exception of Balga, stressed the three secondary factors overtly concerned with Aboriginal culture. Further, Kwinana and Belmont respondents did not stress Achievement and only Midland and Lockridge did not place significant emphasis upon Two Worlds. The Armadale and Canning respondents emerged as the subgroups which placed strong emphasis overall upon the six secondary factors and these subgroups therefore stand in marked contrast to the Lower south-west, Geraldton and Goldfields respondents as well as those with no tribal affiliation and the members of Aboriginal organizations. Support for initiatives in Aboriginal education could therefore be presumed to be most forthcoming in the Armadale and Canning suburban areas. Significantly they are adjacent.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was an enquiry amongst Aborigines into the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Perth Aborigines. In question form this enquiry became:

- (1) What do Perth Aborigines perceive as the Ends of education and what do they think education should achieve for Aborigines?
- (2) What are the Means of education which Perth Aborigines prefer, or how do they think education should be carried out, and how do they think the various educational services should be organized?
- (3) What differences exist in the perceptions of the Ends and Means of education between groups of Perth Aborigines distinguished by differences in age, sex, level of education, locality of the State in which they have generally lived, tribal affiliation, perceived role of group leadership, preferred census description and experience of reserves and missions?
- (4) What should be the Nature of education for Aborigines as defined by the values they say should underlie an education system for Aborigines?

The motivation for this study was the current Government policies of self-determination and self-management in Aboriginal affairs. It was seen as imperative that Aborigines, thus defined by Government as sharers in the power to make educational changes, should make statements about the Ends, Means and Nature of the education appropriate to their region. In various well-knit, isolated communities this has been done, but there is no precedent for the expression of such opinions by an urban part-Aboriginal community. This study has focused upon such an urban, part-Aboriginal community, namely Perth Aborigines who have migrated to Perth from all areas of Western Australia, and who have become part of a diffused and divided, sub-cultural urban population. In this final chapter a summary will be given of the findings of this study and a number of recommendations will be made.

9. Research Findings

9.1 Concerning Government Policies

In Chapter 2 it was pointed out that the Government policies in Aboriginal affairs of the past 150 years can be separated out into two comparable cycles, one for the full-blood 'problem', the other for the part-Aboriginal 'problem.' The colonization-dispossession-extermination era for the

full-bloods compares with the more civilized but equally destructive, approach of separation and assimilation for part-Aborigines. Similarly, the protection era for the full-bloods compares with the equally brief period of integration for the part-Aborigines. Finally, the current policies of self-determination and self-management compare, at least in theory with the Aboriginal lifestyle of the pre-colonisation era (before the White man came).

Briefed and empowered by these policies, the N.A.E.C. has stated that the aim of education should be “to acquire the academic and technological skills required today, but in harmony with the Aborigines own cultural values, identity and choice of lifestyle” (National Aboriginal Consultative Committee, 1978, p.5). The educational services offered to Aborigines still, however, offer no evidence that any Government has accepted this aim. Assimilation remains the policy practiced since all the skills required to be part of the economy can only be acquired if the cultural values and lifestyle of the general Australian society are also accepted. As this thesis demonstrates there is a refusal on the part of most Aborigines to do this.

9.2 Some General Conclusions from the Literature and Related Research

The review of the literature and related research in Chapter 3 revealed a deep concern at the present time for the Aboriginalisation of schools through the employment of Aboriginal teachers and aides, the use of Aboriginal liaison officers and the involvement of Aboriginal parents in the decision-making process of the school their children attend. The dismal achievements of Aboriginal students and the poor retention rates of the current schools for Aborigines have been summarized in recent research. It is also clear that teachers do not expect Aboriginal students to do well at school and that many teachers consider that Aboriginal students might just as well not be going to school at all. The blame for the poor achievements and poor retention has been placed upon this attitude as well as the culture-clash in schools which, in general, trade the acquisition of skills for the adoption of White cultural values and lifestyle. Such a trade is directly contrary to the aim of education expressed by the N.A.E.C. as quoted above.

9.3 Concerning the Subjects of this Study

The subjects of this study were adult Perth Aborigines. In the main they were found to be south-west Nyoongahs, but many had also migrated to Perth from other localities. Of the adult students in the various tertiary educational institutions, almost half came from localities other than the south-west as did one-third of the respondents identified as Group leaders. The heavy migration of non-south-west Aborigines to Perth and their relative dominance in leadership, education and

employment was the cause of frequent comment by the Nyoongahs, the original metropolitan inhabitants. There has been a general tendency, however, for these migrants from the non-Nyoongah areas to identify as 'Nyoongahs' and to reject any affiliation with their former tribes. Accordingly, for both the Group leaders and the Education group, it was found that the majority call themselves 'Nyoongahs'.

Only a few of the respondents younger than 35 years of age claimed no tribal affiliation at all, but a significant number of those over 35 fell into this category. This suggests that the younger people were more concerned with Aboriginality identity than were the old and may also be a result of the younger migrants wanting to 'fit in' to the local inhabitants' groups by calling themselves 'Nyoongahs' a word that means simply 'man'. It was found that all the respondents who claimed no tribal affiliation at all were female, suggesting that females were less than concerned with their Aboriginal identity, but also that the word 'Nyoongah' literally does not fit their femininity.

Based on kinship and cultural similarities, it was expected that migrants from the same region of the State would have endeavored to settle in the same suburb despite the limitations imposed by the 'pepper-and-salt' policy of the State Housing Commission. Some evidence was found for this hypothesis in the case of the Bunbury respondents found in the suburbs of Kwinana and Fremantle, the Upper south-west migrants heading for the suburbs of Canning and Armadale, the Lower south-west respondents located in Armadale, Canning and Balga.

The N.A.E.C commented "we wish to be identified as Aboriginal citizens in a changing Australia" (N.A.E.C., 1978, p.3). This was found to be a correct picture of the census description sought by most of the respondents to this study. Most wished to be identified as Aboriginal Australians but some still claimed to be simply Aboriginal and an equal number to be simply Australian. The picture was the same with both the Group-leaders and the adult students in the tertiary educational institutions.

The observation by Berndt (Merrilees & c, 1973, p. 52) that women had considerable say in tribal matters in the South-west before colonization lends weight to the present-day situation. There was found to be a distinct female bias in the sample (2:1 females to males). This includes their dominance of both the E-group and the Group-leaders as well as their majority position in the number of Aborigines who have migrated to Perth from more distant localities.

The most significant element in this migration of Aboriginal people to the Perth locality has been the entrance of the State Housing Commission, backed by Commonwealth grants, into the

field of Aboriginal housing. Their “pepper-and-salt” distribution policy has sprinkled Aboriginal households all over the S.H.C. estates within the metropolitan area. The City of Perth and the inner suburbs of East and West Perth in particular were the centres of the Aboriginal population before 1970, but now the outlying shires of Wanneroo and Swan, the Cities of Stirling and Freemantle and Melville and the Towns of Canning, Gosnells and Cockburn hold the great bulk of the Aboriginal population.

The majority of the homes of the people interviewed were visibly ‘Aboriginal’ being without floor coverings within or gardens without, over-crowded with adults, children and dogs. The plight of the unemployed teenagers was obvious and often discussed. The people were found to be highly mobile and visits to their homes after 11 a.m. were often fruitless or were interrupted by the arrival of visitors. The size of the Aboriginal family appears to be much lower in this generation than in the last. For the families visited the mean number of children per family has been almost halved in the two generations and there was a marked absence of the large families of ten or more children of the previous generation.

In the families visited it was found that more Aborigines than in the past have had secondary education, but there were large numbers of young adults who had not gone beyond primary school. There was also solid evidence that large numbers of urban Aborigine children do not attend school at all. For the respondents over 40 years of age, nearly all have had only primary education. Part of the reason for this lack of education was due to the high mobility of the family from town to town, and the lack of stability of the relations between father and mother of the children, as well as the large numbers of children with whom the parents had to cope. There was strong evidence, however, of very strong kinship bonds within the Aboriginal community, helped in the case of many respondents by an experience of reserve and mission life. Comments about the Aboriginal reserves indicated that many people continue to regard these places as ‘home’ and to feel a strong sense of security in the knowledge that if all else failed, they would still have a home on one of the reserves. Some, maybe many, of the respondents – and this includes both the Group-leaders and the Education group – saw themselves as desperately trying to survive and cope in White society whilst acknowledging that they have a fall-back position available to them on the reserves.

9.4 The Difficulties Experienced by the Researcher

The major difficulties encountered in the administration of the interview schedule were the number of home visits required to find the Group-leaders at home (none seemed to have a

telephone), their initial false impression of the researcher's role, the insecurity that many felt due to the frequency of gang intrusions into their homes, the shame they felt because of the poverty or untidiness of their homes, the noise due to the presence of other people, children-at-play and turned-on television sets, and inability to grasp the concepts on the part of a quite small minority.

The introductory discussions with the tertiary students revealed deep hostility to White society and their treatment by Whites. When asked "What do you like about White society?" an immediate answer of "Nothing!" was generally given by at least one member of the group. On the other hand, there was a general ignorance of traditional Aboriginal culture and values and a lack of confidence in their applicability to the present situation which was perceived as controlled by the European-Australian culture and its general disapproval of anything Aboriginal. This lack of confidence, amounting at times to hostility or at least complete disregard towards any reference to past culture, which was most evident in respondents from the Lower south-west locality which includes the towns of Albany, Mount Barker and Gnowangerup.

9.5 Concerning the Ends of Education

All of the Ends of education gleaned from the introductory discussions with groups of tertiary Aboriginal students were assessed by the overall sample as being at least important. The most important Ends were found to be the teaching of the 3Rs, helping Aborigines to get better jobs and housing, helping them to survive and cope in White society and the development of Aboriginal identity.

Factor analysis of the response patterns to the eleven statements of Ends of education revealed four major concerns. The first was a concern for being able to live in both the Aboriginal and the White world, for an effect choice between the lifestyles of each world, for learning the correct social behaviour required by both worlds and for surviving and coping in the more difficult White world. The second was a concern for Achievement, specifically in the schools in the 3Rs, in obtaining better jobs, and in obtaining housing and the mod cons of society. The third concern dealt with lifestyles. The link was between the knowledge of the welfare system, of the cultures of other peoples and of the ability to choose between a White and an Aboriginal lifestyle. Fourth and finally, a concern was expressed for Aboriginality which includes the development of Aboriginal identity and the teaching of Aboriginal culture.

An analysis was performed to determine which characteristics of the backgrounds of the respondent were the most important influence on the amount of concern expressed for these four

themes. The knowledge of two worlds was most emphasized by members of Aboriginal organisations and respondents with a non-Nyoongah tribal identification, and least emphasized by leaders of Aboriginal organizations and males. Achievement in the 3Rs, jobs and housing was most strongly expressed by the young, by males, by the student group and by those with no tribal affiliation, with least support coming from the old, from the Group-leaders, from females and from respondents from the North locality. The need for awareness of alternative lifestyles was most strongly expressed by the old, by the Group-leaders and by the Perth and Bunbury respondents, with least support coming from the student group, the Goldfields respondents and from people living in the suburbs of Kwinana, Balga and Canning, finally, the concern for Aboriginality was most strongly felt by those with a preferred census description of Aboriginal and by respondents with a non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation. Least support for this concept, at times amounting to complete rejection, came from the Lower south-west respondents, from the North respondents, from the married-separate-divorced and from the poorly educated.

With regard to Awareness and Achievement, the reason for the different emphasis appears to be age and active involvement in educational programs. The old obviously need welfare in order to survive and for the Group-leaders this is their major source of income, whereas those in educational institutions have placed much more emphasis upon the education that will get them obtain jobs and housing.

9.6 Concerning the Nature of Education

The interview schedule included items on culture and family values. Factor analysis identified two major concerns for culture and three for family values. The first concern for culture was a widely held view of the importance of such tribal skills as bush survival and tracking. The second was a concern for the knowledge of such aspects of tribal religion as sacred places, tribal law, legends and history. The three concerns relating to family values dealt with respect (for older people) and acceptance (of others into the family group), closeness (as a feeling experienced within a kinship group) and family values themselves such as visiting, sharing, non-materialism and non-competitiveness. All five of these concerns deal with spiritual, family and tribal life and to the extent to which they were endorsed as important by the respondent, there is an implicit acknowledgement of the need for education to be underpinned by spiritual, family and tribal values, giving education for Aborigines a special Aboriginal Nature.

Regression analysis was used to determine which of the background variables were important predictors of the amount of emphasis placed upon these five themes dealing with the Nature of education and certain conclusions may be drawn from these results. With regard to culture, whereas the old and the Group-leaders emphasized tribal skills, the young and the student group emphasized knowledge of the various aspects of tribal religion. The conclusion is that the former subgroups (predominately old) have given up on the past in terms of its religious content but wish to retain the legacy of tribal skills as being distinctively Aboriginal, but the latter (predominately young) wish for full cultural revival and knowledge of all aspects of the past. People from different localities provided exceptions to this generalized statement, particularly in the case of the Lower south-west respondents who rated all aspects of Aboriginal culture as quite unimportant.

With regard to respect and acceptance, the concern of the old, the Group-leaders, the members of Aboriginal organisations and the married-separated-divorced-widowed respondents was predictable as was the lesser concern of the young and the student group.

The ideas underlying closeness were more concerned with the feeling of being with other Aboriginals, whereas those included in family values were concerned with the behaviour expected of one by other Aborigines. Closeness received strong emphasis from many of the subgroups of the sample but this did not include the Lower south-west or North respondents. Family values on the other hand, received little emphasis from any of the subgroups, including both the Group-leaders and the student group. The conclusion would seem to be that Aborigines wish to be part of Aboriginal groups and to share in the feelings of security and love generated by such groups, but that the behavioural norms attributed to Aborigines such as sharing, non-materialism and non-competitiveness have been weakened by the realities of urban life.

9.7 Concerning the Opinions of the Present School System (Means of education)

There was strong rejection of the opinions that schools are too competitive and that the atmosphere of the school needs to become more like an Aboriginal family group. In general, also, the respondents did not agree that social studies textbooks show bias against Aborigines, nor did the respondents think that in schools there is too much reading and writing and not enough listening and observing (of traditional Aboriginal methods of learning). Opinion was evenly divided on the statements that individual Aborigines can cope in classes of Whites and that teachers are not prejudiced against Aborigines. Nevertheless, the respondents did agree that teachers are not as interested in Aboriginal students as they are in White students and that schools show a generally

low opinion of Aboriginal culture. There was very strong agreement with the opinions that Aboriginal students should be taught Aboriginal culture and language in schools.

Principal factor analysis identified three major concerns from the responses to the opinions of the school system. The first was a concern for the teaching of culture and language, the second a concern for the bias in the school system towards the White culture, and the third a concern for teacher bias towards the White pupils. Further regression analysis identified a general division of the respondents into subgroups (based on the background characteristics of the respondents) which favored the teaching of Aboriginal culture and language, thought that the schools were biased towards White culture and considered that teachers were either prejudiced or displayed more interest in the White students, and subgroups which held the opposite three viewpoints and did not agree with these criticisms. The subgroups which were critical along these lines included the unmarried, the student group, males and respondents from many suburbs. Those who thought the school system fair, on the other hand, were the non-Nyoongahs from the north, Goldfields and Geraldton localities as well as Nyoongahs from the Lower south-west, the Group-leaders, and the married-separated-widowed-divorced respondents.

9.8 Concerning the Structuring of Educational Institutions

The respondents very strongly favored mixed kindergartens, primary and secondary schools and very strongly rejected segregation in schools, with the exception of segregation for educational reasons. Such reasons were an elite school for clever Aboriginal students and all forms of special treatment for Aboriginal students in mixed schools, ranging from a withdrawal school to an Aboriginal centre at the school. Scholarships to independent schools were strongly favored.

Only the student group (who have had experiences of these kinds) were asked to respond to the items which dealt with tertiary educational institutions and none of the items met with their overall disapproval whether they concerned mixed institutions or ideas for the special treatment of Aboriginal students. There are three reasons which can be advanced for this change from the responses to the structuring of primary and secondary schools. The first is that the adult students were treated as a separate group at W.A.I.T. and to some extent at Mt. Lawley while they are also housed separately at Shenton Park and Midland. All of these structures operate effectively as far as they are concerned. The second reason is that the separation involved in the structuring of courses for adult Aboriginal students is the only experience of adult education available to them and therefore is the only situation with which they are familiar. The third reason stems from the

strong sense of group pride evident in the student groups. As a group they feel they can ‘make it’ and they often referred in discussions to the help and support they gave to one another. This group feeling of pride, and the help they can give each other might be dissipated in a mixed institution and the students were aware of this.

Factor analysis on the other items in the Means table reduced the structure items to six concerns, namely, mixed schools, elite schools, boarding schools, mixed-separate schools, mixed-withdrawal schools and Aboriginal schools. This was a predictable division. Regression analysis identified only a few background characteristics which divided the overall group assessment of these concerns. Predictably, this included the little emphasis placed by the respondents with a census description of Aboriginal on mixed schools, but the strong emphasis they put upon Aboriginal schools and mixed-withdrawal schools. The young, and to a lesser extent, the student group, also favored mixed-withdrawal schools rather than mixed schools as such, but, as in the earlier sections, the old and the Group-leaders did not agree with this implied criticism of the status quo.

9.9 Concerning the Overview of the Respondents’ Perceptions of the Ends, Means and Nature of Education for Aborigines.

It was expected that the respondents would answer the items in the Ends, Means and Nature sections of the interview schedule in a consistent manner and that the patterns of their responses would therefore reveal items in the various sections which they perceived to be related. The analysis to test this hypothesis revealed six sets of relationships or secondary factors. One factor was not interpreted, the remained concerns for the Ends of education summarized by achievement (3Rs, jobs, housing), a knowledge of two worlds, Aboriginal and White, including the behavioral norms and survival skills of each, and the revival or survival of ancient tribal skills such as bush survival and tracking, and the other two revealed some important linkages in the thinking underlying the Ends, Means and Nature assessments. The first of these identified the Means associated with the attainment of the Ends of Aboriginality (culture and identity), knowledge of aspects of traditional tribal religion and the sustenance of the feelings of closeness engendered by Aboriginal family groups as being the removal of the bias in schools towards White culture and the bias towards White students. The second emphasized the need for Aboriginal students to be able to socialize together either in withdrawal facilities or in elite schools in order that the goals of

teaching and practicing culture, language and general family values (sharing, etc.) might be attained.

9.10 Concerning Subgroup Differences in the Concerns of the Six Secondary Factors

Analyses of the differences in the emphases placed upon these six secondary factors due to the different background characteristics of the respondents led to two major conclusions. The first was that the preference of the young, the males, those with a census description of Aboriginal, the student group, the unmarrieds and the Perth, Bunbury, Wheatfields and Upper south-west respondents was for achievement in White terms but allied to a strong cultural and identity revival and these subgroups sought changes in the school system to accommodate this. Such changes referred to the removal of the White bias in schools, be it institutional or teacher-centred. Their opposite number, the old, females, etc. or in the case of localities, those from the North, appear, on the other hand, to be more concerned with the acceptance by the dominant society of their present alternative lifestyle and with not drawing attention to themselves. Such attention could come from any criticism of the present schools.

The second conclusion was that the leaders of Aboriginal organizations, the Nyoongahs and non-Nyoongahs (in the sense of having a different tribal affiliation) in general were prepared to stress any of the ideas in the survey which were overtly Aboriginal, but the Lower south-west, Geraldton and Goldfields respondents as well as the members of Aboriginal organisations and those with no tribal affiliation were not only opposed to the introduction into Aboriginal education of any of the overtly Aboriginal Ends, Means and values, but their low assessment of nearly all the concepts in the interview schedule (despite the fact that some are opposites) suggests they were generally unconcerned with and enquiry into the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Aborigines.

9.11 Recommendations

9.11.1 Government Policy

Recognition needs to be made of the profound differences in thinking to be found within the urban part-Aboriginal population. Integration, self-determination and self-management all imply separate treatment for Aborigines and such policies appear to be of little concern to the truly assimilated Aborigine or the groups characterized by the attitude of Lower south-west respondents. This study suggests that such groups have nothing to say, either because they are not interested (which could be a result of a collective depression referred to in Chapter 1) or because they do not

wish to initiate change. A suitable evolution of Government policy would seem to be a policy of community self-reliance. In its application this policy should allow for the emergence of any particular Aboriginal group which seeks to implement an educational change without the agreement of the full population of Perth because the influence of a large group's negativity may well doom any positive strategy at its birth. That would be a policy of community self-reliance.

9.11.2 Skills-Culture Distinction

This study clearly demonstrates that the majority of Perth's Aboriginal people fully agree with one of the major tenets expressed by the N.A.E.C.. this statement was:

“The educational services offered to Aboriginal people must aim for and be capable of developing Aborigines who are at ease in the knowledge of, and pride in, their own cultural heritage as well as obtaining the academic and technological skills required of Aboriginal Australians today. To ensure effective learning, we believe the latter must be acquired in harmony with the Aborigines; own cultural values, identity and choice of lifestyle. (N.A.E.C., 1978, p. 4)

9.11.3 Aboriginal Students in Mixed Schools

This study demonstrates that many Aboriginal groups wish to have culture courses, changes in the bias of teachers towards Aboriginal students and the removal of White bias in schools. It is difficult to implement some of these changes in Perth schools, particularly since the Aboriginal population of most schools is quite small and the students are dispersed throughout the classes. The task of the school might rather be to educate the parents involved in these Aboriginal groups to a community state of readiness to make decisions. The decisions could involve the provision of a withdrawal school or a room within the school to act as centre for the Aboriginal students (with counselling and help available) or even a suggestion that students in neighbouring schools be grouped together into a central school. Such decisions should not be imposed upon parents, but should be the fruit of their own community deliberations.

This study does not indicate widespread acceptance of the need for segregated schools for Aboriginal students but neither does it offer a solution to the expressed concerns for the removal of the White bias in schools in order that the goals of Aboriginality, Tribal Religion and Closeness might be achieved. Nor does it offer a range of solutions to the expressed concerns that Aboriginal students be able to socialize together in order that the goals of teaching and practicing culture, language and family values might be attained. The only suggestions along these lines are for an elite school for gifted Aboriginal students and withdrawal rooms for the underachievers in the

present mixed schools. Extensive consultation and research by and with the urban Aborigines communities are required to establish solutions to these concerns. It may well be there is some degree of acceptance of segregated Aboriginal schools or at least schools with a majority Aboriginal population. The difficulty noted constantly in this study was the lack of awareness amongst the Aboriginal population of a range of alternatives and the identification of segregation with the repression and loss of freedom of the Government reserves.

9.11.4 The Role of the Independent Schools

There are many Aboriginal parents in Perth who would welcome the opportunity for their children to be able to study in independent schools. It is recommended that these schools consider ways in which this might happen. The Aboriginal parents have suggested about 20 enrolments per school. The concern of the schools should be to select students on the right grounds. Prospective students should, on the basis of this study, be selected from families which are not deterred by the skills-culture clash in the White schools, a clash which the independent schools drive for excellence and competition may accentuate. The survey results show that achievement, in White terms, is a very important educational goal of nearly all the respondents so that it would not form a sufficient basis for the selection of Aboriginal students wishing to attend independent schools. Rather it is recommended that such schools base their selection upon the importance of the educational Ends of Aboriginality and Awareness to the families of prospective students.

9.11.5 Adult Education

The continuing evidence that many young Aboriginal adults have had only primary school education indicates that facilities for adult education will be required in the long term. The researcher also found that many Aboriginal children of school age do not attend school at all. The solution to the basic problem, namely why the children do not go to school or why they leave school at an early age, would seem to involve a massive restructuring of the school system in collaboration with the parents. The key to this is the interest of the parents in the problem and their ability to share in the decision-making process. It is recommended that adult education programs focus upon such issues. In a practical way there would seem to be an opportunity in the small adult education facilities which exist for adults to be involved in administration, policy-making and curriculum development. Educated adults with this kind of experience are not to be found in sufficient numbers in the Perth Aboriginal community and the adult education facilities would seem to be a suitable environment for training in the requisite skills.

9.11.7 Elite Schools

One radical school initiative which is assured of a great deal of support by the Aboriginal community is an elite, independent school for the clever Aboriginal students who wish to 'get ahead'. A site within the Armadale-Canning suburban area is recommended as offering most potential for a development of this kind. A research group of several Aborigines could be funded to promote, devise and help build such an institution and to recruit teachers and students and form a school board. Alternatively, extensive publicity in the area could lead to the emergence of a group of parents willing to form such a Board, and once formed and funded, the research could proceed from there. Without the publicity no such group is likely to come forward because the people are educationally unaware of alternatives and because they shy away from being seen as implied critics of the present system and because they are simply shy.

9.11.8 The Creation of Choices in Education

The above recommendations, if implemented, would present Aborigines in Perth with some degree of choice, albeit a fairly limited one. It is clear from this survey that the Aboriginal community of Perth is capable of postulating a range of choices in education in theory, but it is also clear that many of the people are restrained in their educational demands because of their basic insecurity both in their own society and in the wider White one. It is recommended that Aboriginal people be invited not only to consider a range of options of educational structures and programs but also to implement them. The emphasis therefore should be upon adult education and the responsibility of the adult population. Adult education has been discussed above, and a recommendation has been made. But the adult education referred to above is a system under the control of the state Education Department, and as such, it has limited flexibility. A major recommendation of this report therefore, based upon the widespread acceptance of the ideas in the schedule which deal with tertiary education, is that the complete spectrum of adult education options available be explored by the Perth Aboriginal community assisted by suitable resource persons.

The recommendation of this research is that the exploratory process best be done within the environment of an Aboriginal College of Advanced Education. This would seem to be the ideal situation for Aboriginal adults to consult with other knowledgeable people and mount a concerted attack upon the areas which concern them in their lives – an attack which is no mere corrective device, but which positively points their endeavors at such educational goals of Achievement,

Awareness, Knowledge of Two Worlds, and Aboriginality which they identified in this study. Such a College could be based on the cultural and family values, on closeness, respect and awareness and be a model for the removal of the bias of the institution and its staff against any sub-cultural group. Questions relating to segregation are irrelevant in the climate which such a College of Advanced Education could create.

9.12 Conclusion

The questions are often put “what do Aborigines want?” and “Do they know what they want?”. Based on this study such questions can be answered as far as education is concerned.

What Perth Aborigines want from education is the attainment of the goals of Achievement (in the 3Rs at school and later in jobs and housing), Aboriginality (a sense of identity and a knowledge of culture), a knowledge of Two Worlds, Aboriginal and White, including the help required to achieve the behavioural norms of each and to acquire the skills pertinent to each, and an Awareness of alternative lifestyles, be they Aboriginal or those of other countries. But Aborigines also wish these goals to be underpinned by spiritual, tribal and family values which give these goals a special Aboriginal Nature. Examples of such values are the survival of traditional tribal skills such as knowledge of kinship relationships, bush survival and tracking, a knowledge and revival of aspects of aspects of traditional tribal religion such as legends, language, law and sacred places, the feelings of closeness, security and love developed within an Aboriginal group, respect for older people and the acceptance of others into the group and traditional family values such as sharing, non-competitiveness and non-materialism.

It is difficult for Aborigines to specify the means by which such goals may be attained because they are educationally deprived and unaware of a range of possibilities beyond the present school system, be it the State system they sample or the seemingly unattainable independent school system. But they feel strongly about the school system of which they have had experience. They want Aboriginal culture and language courses to be available to Aboriginal students and indeed to all students; they are concerned about the quality of teacher-pupil relationships, feeling many teachers are prejudiced and are not as interested in Aboriginal students as they are in White students; and they are concerned that individual Aboriginal students (the norm in metropolitan schools) cannot cope in classes of Whites (and this is a teacher-related problem); and they are also concerned about the White bias exhibited by the current school system, by its over-competitiveness and denigration of Aboriginal culture and values.

Despite these misgivings about the present Means of education, there is a marked reluctance on the part of most Aborigines to opt for any kind of educational institution other than the present system of racially mixed schools. Many allow their children to drop out at a very early age or do not attempt to send them to school but there are no constructive attempts to set up alternatives to the current system. Certainly, consistent with the goal of Achievement, they would opt for elite schools for the clever children, but they shy away from 'ordinary', segregated Aboriginal schools. Within the mixed schools, opportunities for Aborigines to withdraw from the general melee into an Aboriginal environment for social reasons are not strongly favored, but again, consistent with Achievement, withdrawal for educational reasons is favored.

Although the Aboriginal respondents to this survey have not recommended radically innovated educational measures, they have nevertheless taken an overview of the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Aborigines which an innovative educationalist could use as a basis for initiatives. In this overview the respondents linked together the various Ends, Means and values statements formulated from the introductory discussions with the adult student groups. Thus the Means associated with the educational Ends of Achievement, Tribal Religion and Closeness were seen to be the removal of the White bias and teacher prejudice present in the schools and a preference for mixed-withdrawal schools rather than mixed schools or boarding schools. In addition, the respondents showed a concern for Aboriginal children to be able to socialize together either in elite schools or in withdrawal rooms attached to mixed schools in order that the goals of teaching and practicing language and culture might be attained.

Finally, because of the dispersed nature of the urban Aboriginal population, its sub-cultural and experiential differences, as well as the ever-present differences in age, sex, level of education and marital status, the answers to such questions as 'What do Aborigines want?' will differ from one individual to another. This survey suggests that these suggestions are not so much contradictory opinions as differences in the amount of emphasis placed upon agreed goals and the means of achieving these goals. Thus the young, the males, the 'Aborigines', the student group and Nyoongahs in general have indicated a strong preference for Achievement in White terms, but allied to a strong and identity revival and a demand for changes in the school system to accommodate this revival. The old, females, the married (etc.) people, the 'Aboriginal Australians' and 'Australians', Group-leaders and the North locality people are more concerned, on the other

hand, with their acceptance by the dominant White society and with educational structures which support them as they are. Such differences in emphasis are not irreconcilable.

But the contradictory positions adopted by the leaders of Aboriginal organizations, Nyoongahs and non-Nyoongahs (of a different tribe) as against the Lower south-west, Geraldton and Goldfields respondents, members of Aboriginal organizations and those with no tribal affiliation do not admit of an easy compromise. The former have stressed all educational Ends and Means overtly connected with aspects of traditional Aboriginal culture whereas the latter not only placed a significant lack of interest upon such overtly Aboriginal proposals, but displayed a general lack of interest in the very idea of a separate enquiry into the Ends, Means and Nature of education for Aborigines. Nevertheless, these apathetic, even hostile, subgroups are subgroups and are a minority of the Perth Aboriginal population. The general consensus is reflected by the National Aboriginal Education Committee statement that “to ensure effective learning we believe academic and technological skills must be acquired in harmony with the Aborigines’ own cultural values, identity and choice of lifestyle”.

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Appendix 1

The Interview Schedule

General Information Required

Interview Number _____

Name _____ Age _____ Sex _____

Address _____ (Suburb)

Housing (circle one) Own Private SHC Grant SHC Rented Staying with others

Marital status _____

Children Number _____ Ages/Grades/Occupations (separate sheets if necessary)

Where Born? _____

Towns you have lived in _____

Suburbs you have lived in or have close relatives in _____

Census description: Aboriginal __ Aboriginal Australian __ Australian __

Tribal area or affiliation (Nyoongah, Wongai, Yameji, Bardi, etc.) _____

Level of education _____

Family Tree: Father _____ Mother _____

Father's Parents: Father _____ Mother _____

Mother's Parents: Father _____ Mother _____

Self/Brothers/Sisters _____

Wives/Husbands _____

Number of children _____

Membership of an Aboriginal Organization (name) _____

Leadership position/ Number representing _____

Where is 'home'? _____

Have you ever lived on an Aboriginal reserve or mission (which) _____

Data collection:

Interview site: _____

Interview Atmosphere: _____

Interest in education: _____

Other people present: _____

Distractions: _____

Length of Interview: _____

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: ENDS OF EDUCATION

2. Education can help Aborigines in different ways. You may think some of these things mentioned here are important and that others don't matter. For each statement of what education can do, mark a circle around the number (1,2,3 or 4) which is your opinion.

	Doesn't matter	Fairly important	Important	Very important
12. Giving Aborigines knowledge in schools of Aboriginal culture (see 4. Below)	1	2	3	4
13. Helping Aborigines to get out of the lower paid jobs into the skilled areas.	1	2	3	4
14. Teaching Aborigines the 3Rs (to read and write and use numbers)	1	2	3	4
15. Helping Aborigines to get houses and mod cons of society.	1	2	3	4
16. Developing in Aborigines an Aboriginal identity which makes them proud to be Aboriginal and takes away any shame they have been made to feel.	1	2	3	4
17. Helping Aborigines to survive and cope in White society.	1	2	3	4
18. Making it possible for Aborigines to choose whether they wish to live like White people or an Aboriginal lifestyle.	1	2	3	4
19. Teaching Aborigines correct social behaviour such as avoiding drunkenness and fighting.	1	2	3	4
20. Giving Aborigines knowledge of how the welfare system operates so they can use it to get what they want.	1	2	3	4
21. Giving Aborigines knowledge of two worlds, Aboriginal and White.	1	2	3	4
22. Opening Aborigines' eyes to the rest of the world and people in other countries.	1	2	3	4

2. What other Ends of education do you think are important? _____

3. What do you think is the order of importance for the 11 Ends listed above. Pick out the four most important, the four least important, leaving a middle three. Then place the top four in order of importance, the middle three and finally the bottom four. Write your opinion here:

Most important _____ Least important

4. What should Aborigines know about these parts of their culture? (Circle one of the numbers 1,2,3 or 4 where 1 = Doesn't matter; 2 = Is fairly important; 3 = Is important; 4 = Is very important.)

6. Aboriginal spirituality	1 2 3 4	6. Traditional law	1 2 3 4
7. Kinship relationships	1 2 3 4	7. Legends	1 2 3 4
8. Language	1 2 3 4	8. Corroborees	1 2 3 4
9. Sacred places	1 2 3 4	9. Tracking	1 2 3 4
10. Bush survival	1 2 3 4	10. History before 1829	1 2 3 4

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: MEANS OF EDUCATION

5. Opinions of the present school system

Mark a circle around the number which states what you think these statements are always true, often true, sometimes true or 'I don't think this statement is true.;

	Doesn't matter	Fairly important	Important	Very important
1. Individual Aborigines can cope in classes of Whites	1	2	3	4
2. Schools are too competitive - Primary	1 1	2 2	3 3	4 4
- High				
3. Social Studies and History textbooks show bias against Aborigines	1	2	3	4
4. Teachers are not prejudiced against Aborigines	1	2	3	4
5. Schools show a generally low view of Aboriginal culture including legends	1	2	3	4
6. In schools there is too much reading and writing and not enough listening and observing	1	2	3	4
7. Teachers are as interested in Aboriginal students as they are in White students.	1	2	3	4
8. Aboriginal students should be taught Aboriginal culture in schools.	1	2	3	4
9. Aboriginal students should have the opportunity to learn an Aboriginal language.	1	2	3	4
10. The atmosphere of the school needs to become more like that of an Aboriginal family group.	1	2	3	4
	1	2	3	4

6. I think the family values schools should teach and practice are:

	Definitely Yes	Yes	Maybe	No
The closeness of Aboriginal people	1	2	3	4
Respect for older people	1	2	3	4
Sharing possessions	1	2	3	4
Non-competitiveness	1	2	3	4
Ready acceptance of others into the group	1	2	3	4
Kinship obligations	1	2	3	4
Not-materialism	1	2	3	4
Attending funerals	1	2	3	4
Visiting others of your kin	1	2	3	4

‘7. What other opinions of the present school system would you like to add?

.8 What other Aboriginal family values do you think schools should teach and practice?

10. Structuring schools and educational institutions to cater for the development of Aboriginal identity and the learning of Aboriginal culture. (Put a circle around the number which is your opinion.)

	Definitely Yes	Yes	No	Definitely No
A. Kindergartens				
4. Aborigines only	1	2	3	4
5. Mixed but Aborigines a separate group	1	2	3	4
6. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	1	2	3	4
B. Primary Schools				
5. Aborigines only	1	2	3	4
6. Mixed, but Aborigines a separate group	1	2	3	4
7. Mixed but with a withdrawal room available to Aborigines	1	2	3	4
8. Mixed Whites and Aborigines	1	2	3	4
C. Secondary schools				
6. Aborigines only	1	2	3	4
7. Mixed, but Aborigines a separate group for all courses.	1	2	3	4
8. Mixed, but Aborigines separate for some courses (which?.....)	1	2	3	4
9. Aboriginal room or centre, but mixed for all courses.	1	2	3	4
10. Mixed Whites and Aborigines all the time	1	2	3	4
D. Boarding school education				
9 Primary and secondary	1	2	3	4
10 Secondary only	1	2	3	4
11 Segregated Aboriginal boarding school	1	2	3	4
12 Aboriginal hostels to mixed high schools	1	2	3	4
13 Put about 20 Aboriginal students into each existing city boarding school	1	2	3	4
14 Boarding only on a weekday basis	1	2	3	4
E. Education of the more intelligent Aboriginal children – the elite				
5. A day college for them only	1	2	3	4
6. A boarding school for them only	1	2	3	4
7. A hostel for them only	1	2	3	4
8. Scholarships to existing mixed colleges	1	2	3	4
F. Technical Colleges (Trades)				
4. An Aboriginal technical college	1	2	3	4
5. Special courses for Aborigines in existing colleges (What?.....)	1	2	3	4
6. Mixed	1	2	3	4
G. Universities				
6. An Aboriginal College of Advanced Education	1	2	3	4
7. Separate courses for Aborigines in existing institutions	1	2	3	4
8. Aboriginal groups within the bigger groups but with a withdrawal room/center	1	2	3	4
9. Mixed but with a room or centre	1	2	3	4
10. Mixed at all times	1	2	3	4

11. Any further comments? _____

Appendix 2

Maps

APPENDIX 2 : MAPS

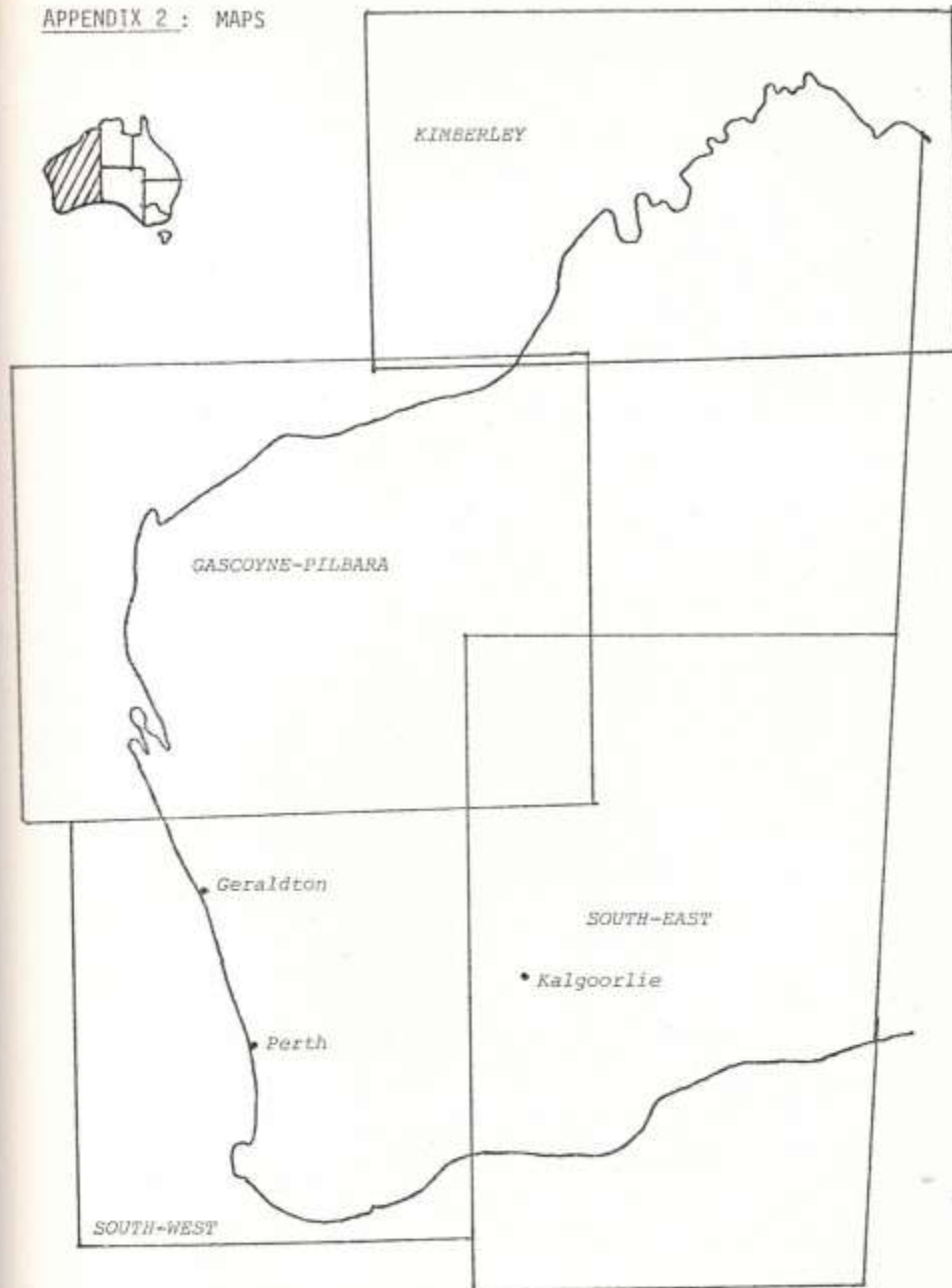


Figure 1: The four major regions of Western Australia
(Source: Jarvis, 1979, p.10)

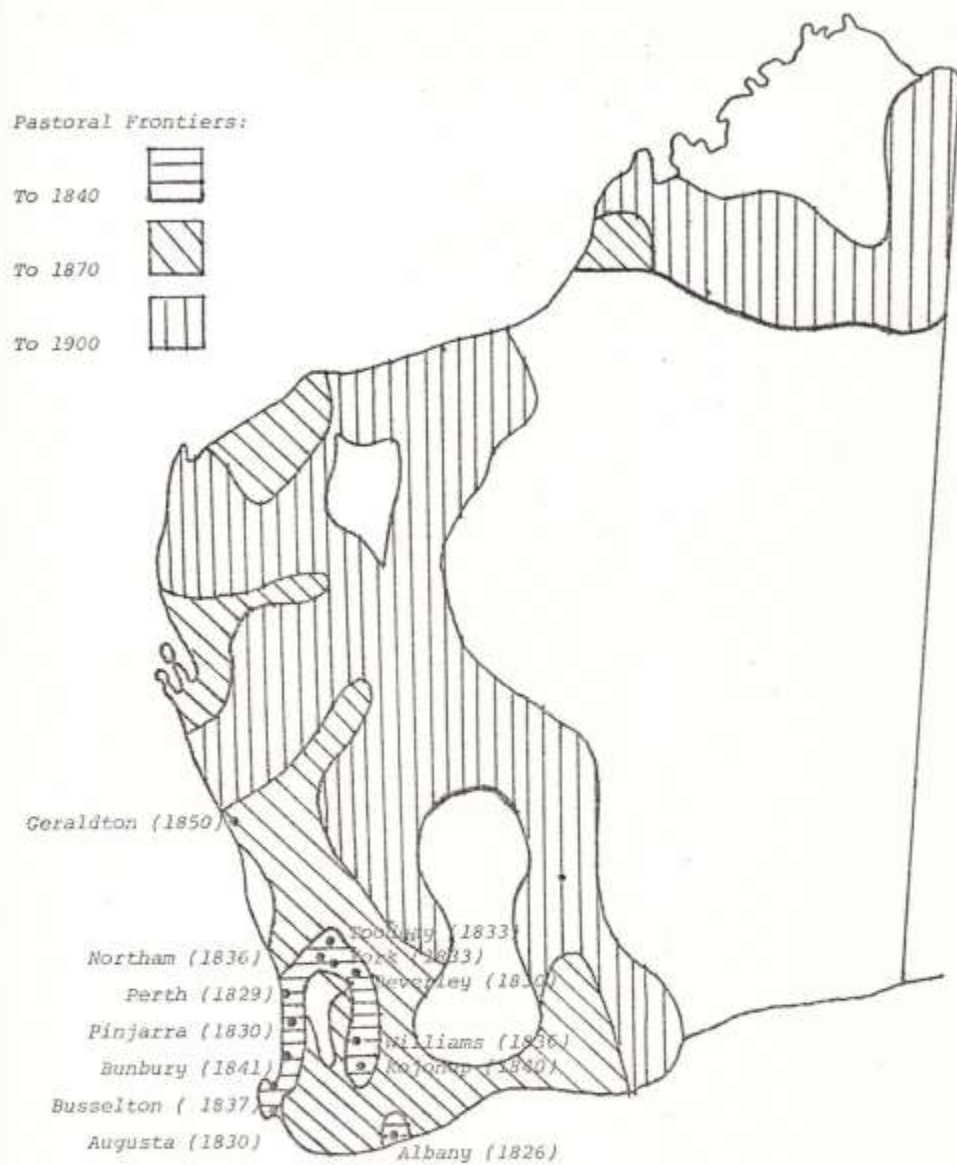


Figure 2: Spread of the pastoral frontiers and
the founding dates of the first south-west towns.
(Source: Jarvis, 1979, p. 44)

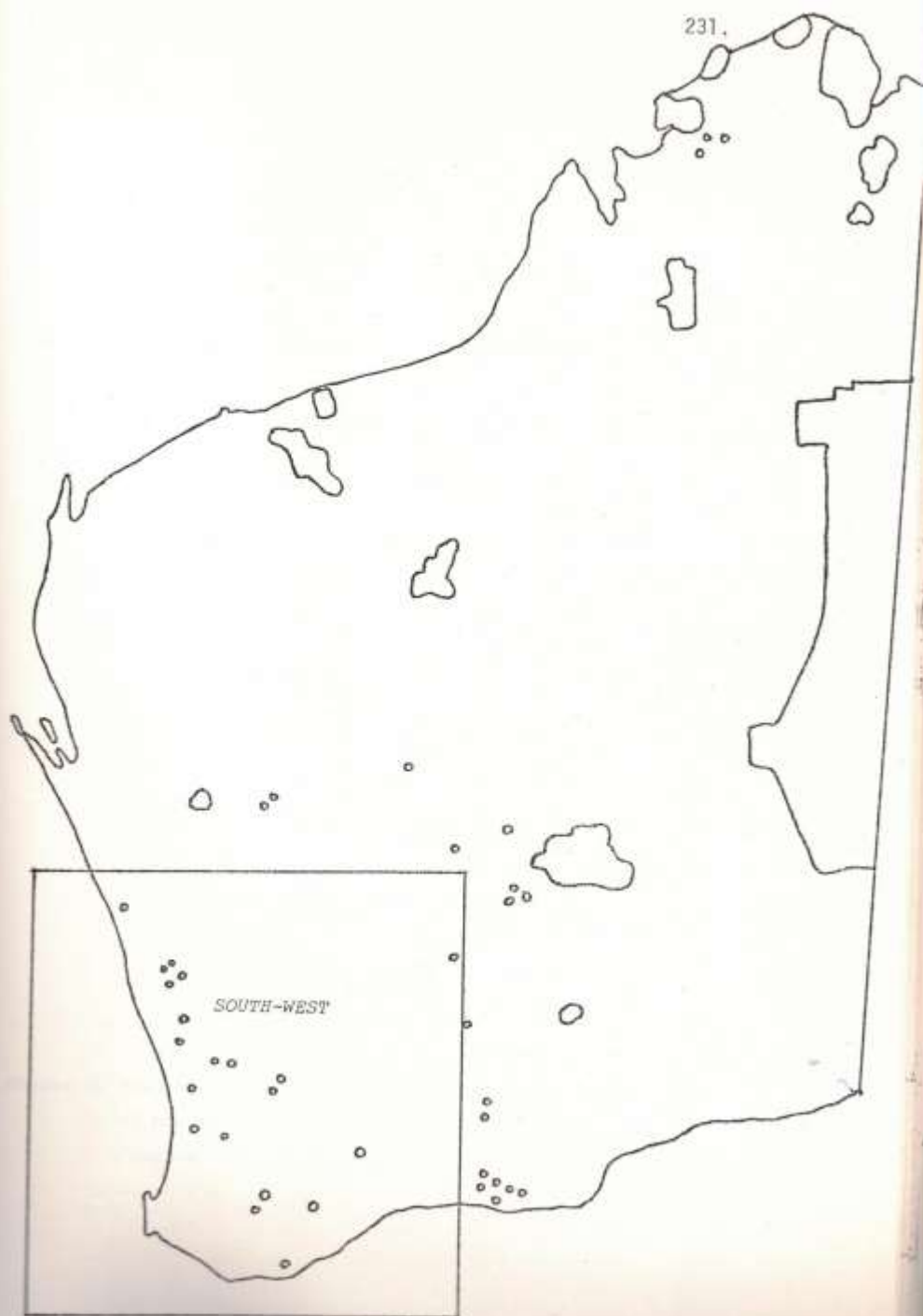


Figure 3: Aboriginal reserves in Western Australia.
(Source: Jarvis, 1979, p.36)

..... = Western extremity of the sub-incision line



Figure 4: Traditional Aboriginal Societies of the South-west of Western Australia.

(Source: Jarvis 1979, p.32)

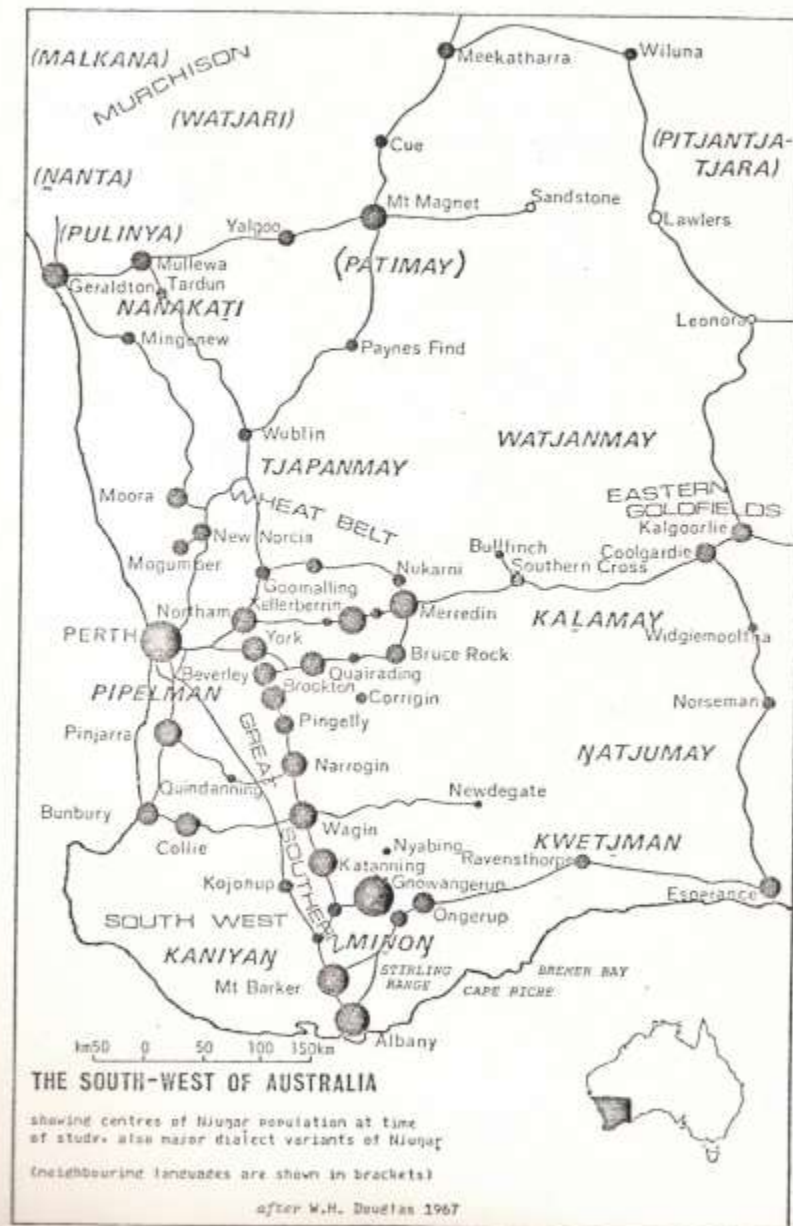


Figure 5: Major centres of Nyoongah Population in 1967.

(Source: Douglas, 1968, p. ii)

----- = Tribal divisions

Sub-cultural types:

A= Wadjari type

B= Bibbelmun type

C= Perth type

D= Nyaginyagi type

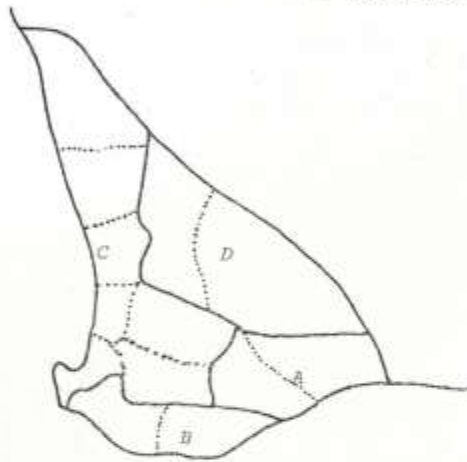
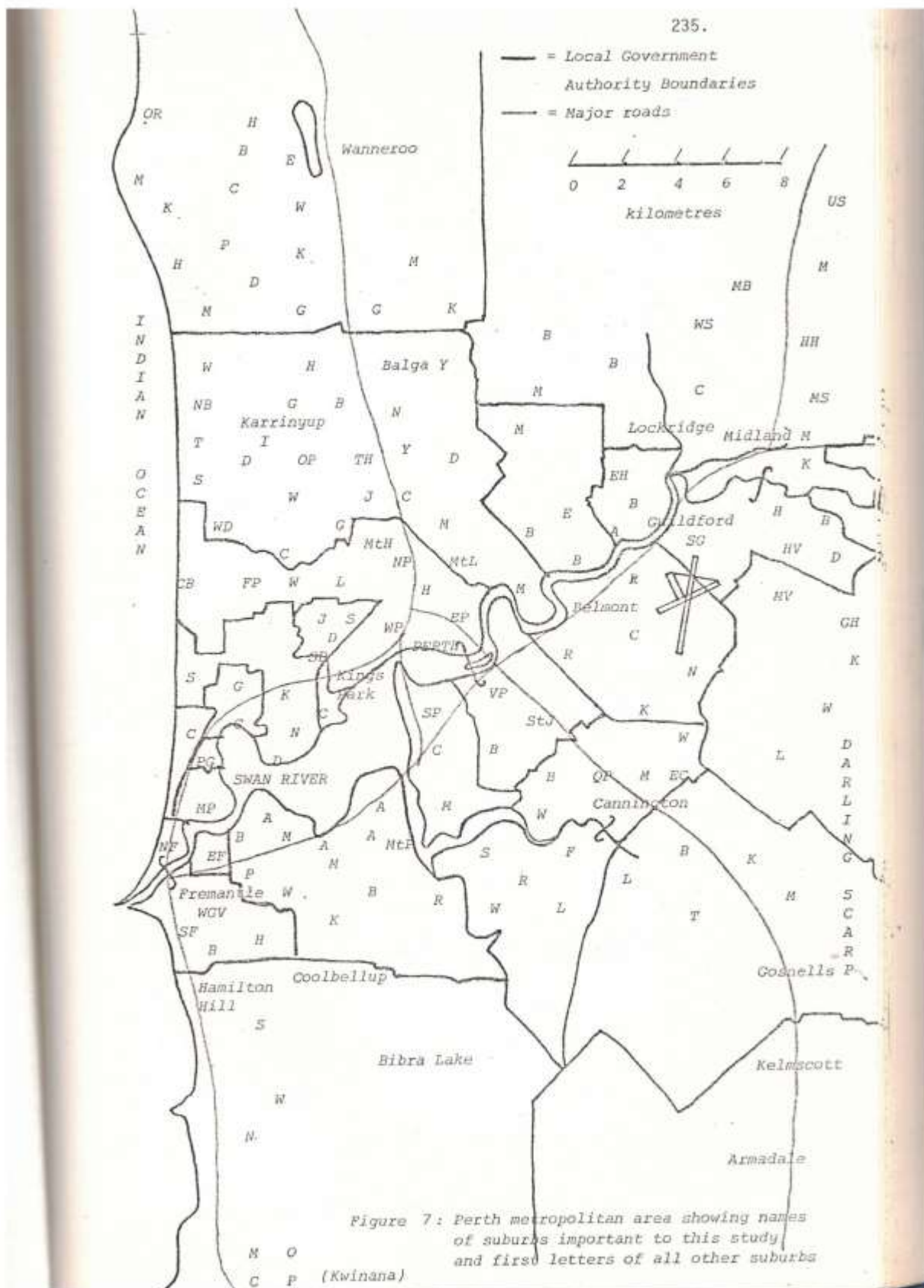


Figure 6: The four sub-cultures distinguishing Aboriginal societies of the South-west.

(Source: Jarvis, 1979, p.32 and Berndt, 1979, p.82)



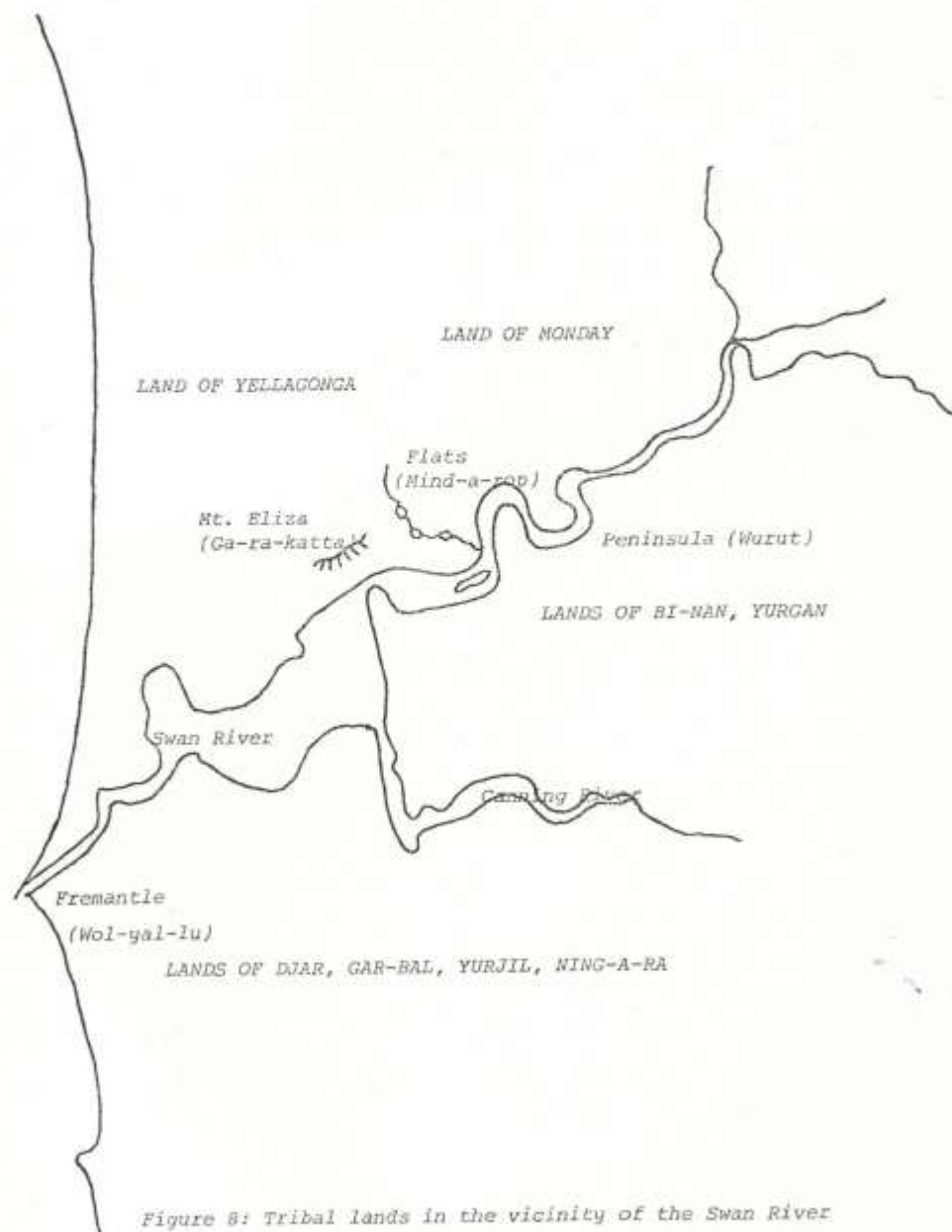
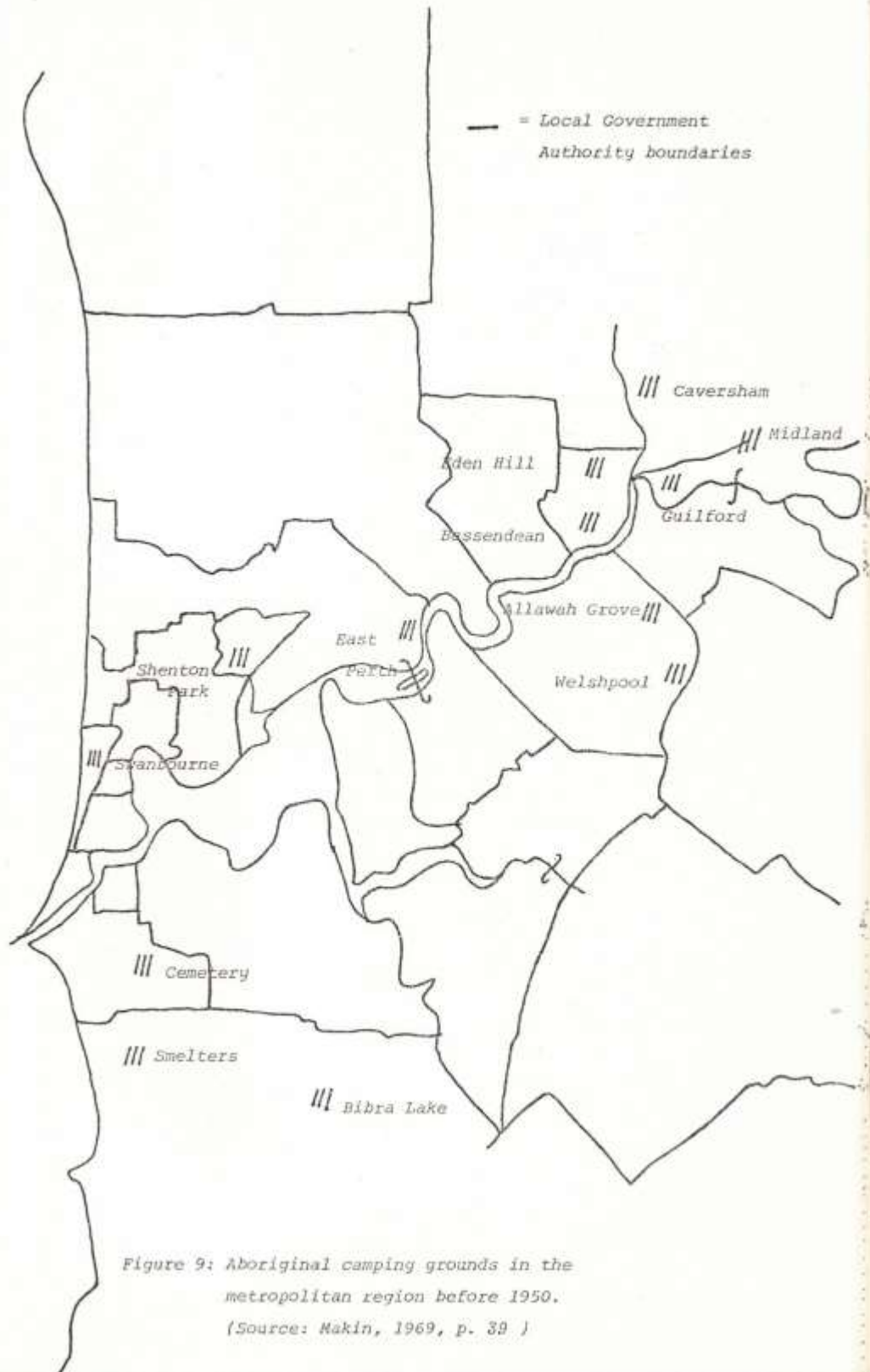


Figure 8: Tribal lands in the vicinity of the Swan River
c. 1829
(Source: Makin, 1969, p. 30)



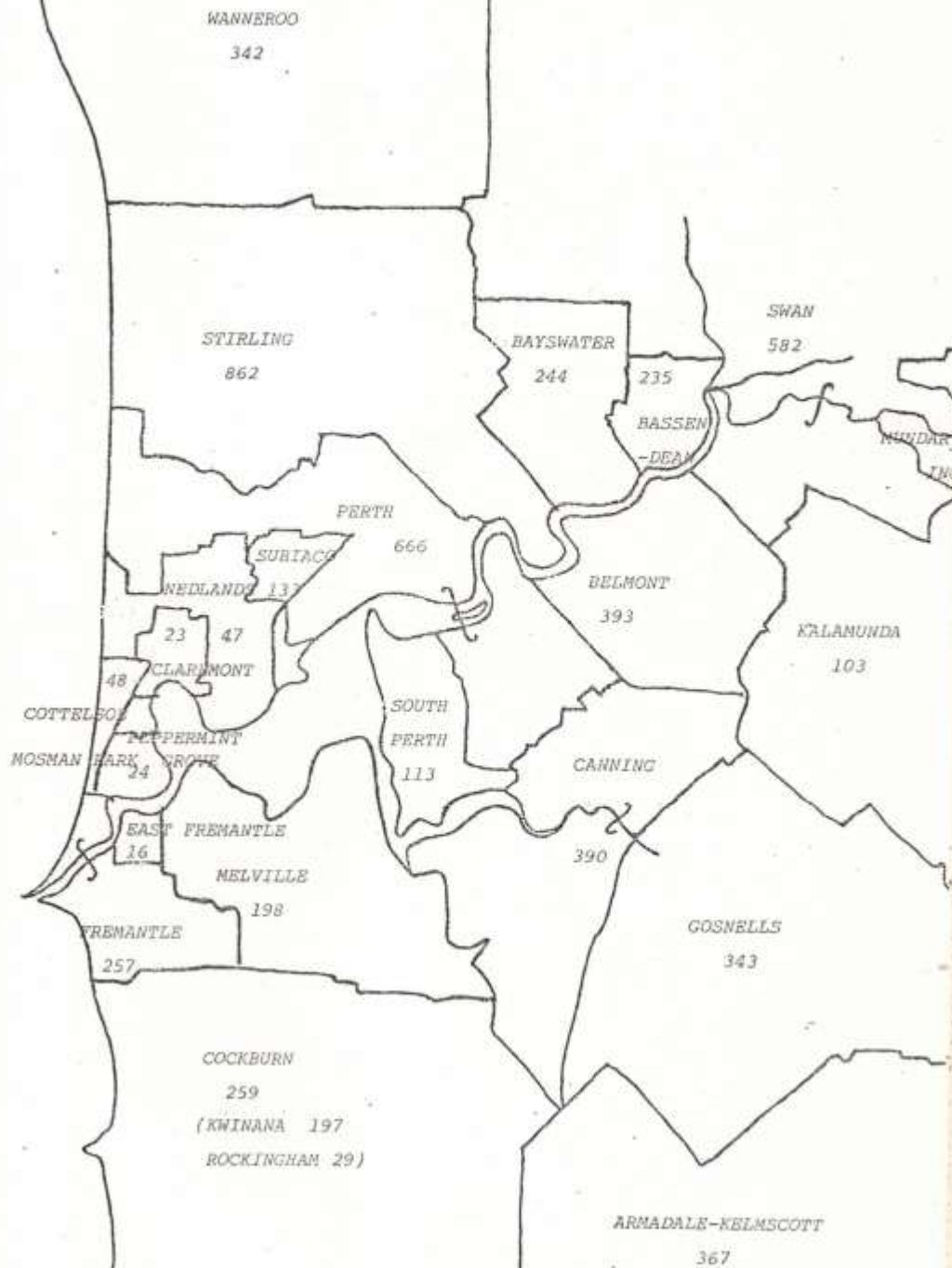


Figure 10: Aboriginal population of Perth Metropolitan Local Government Authorities, June, 1976.

Figure 11: Aboriginal children in metropolitan
State primary schools

(. = 1 Aboriginal child in a primary school in
that area in March, 1979)

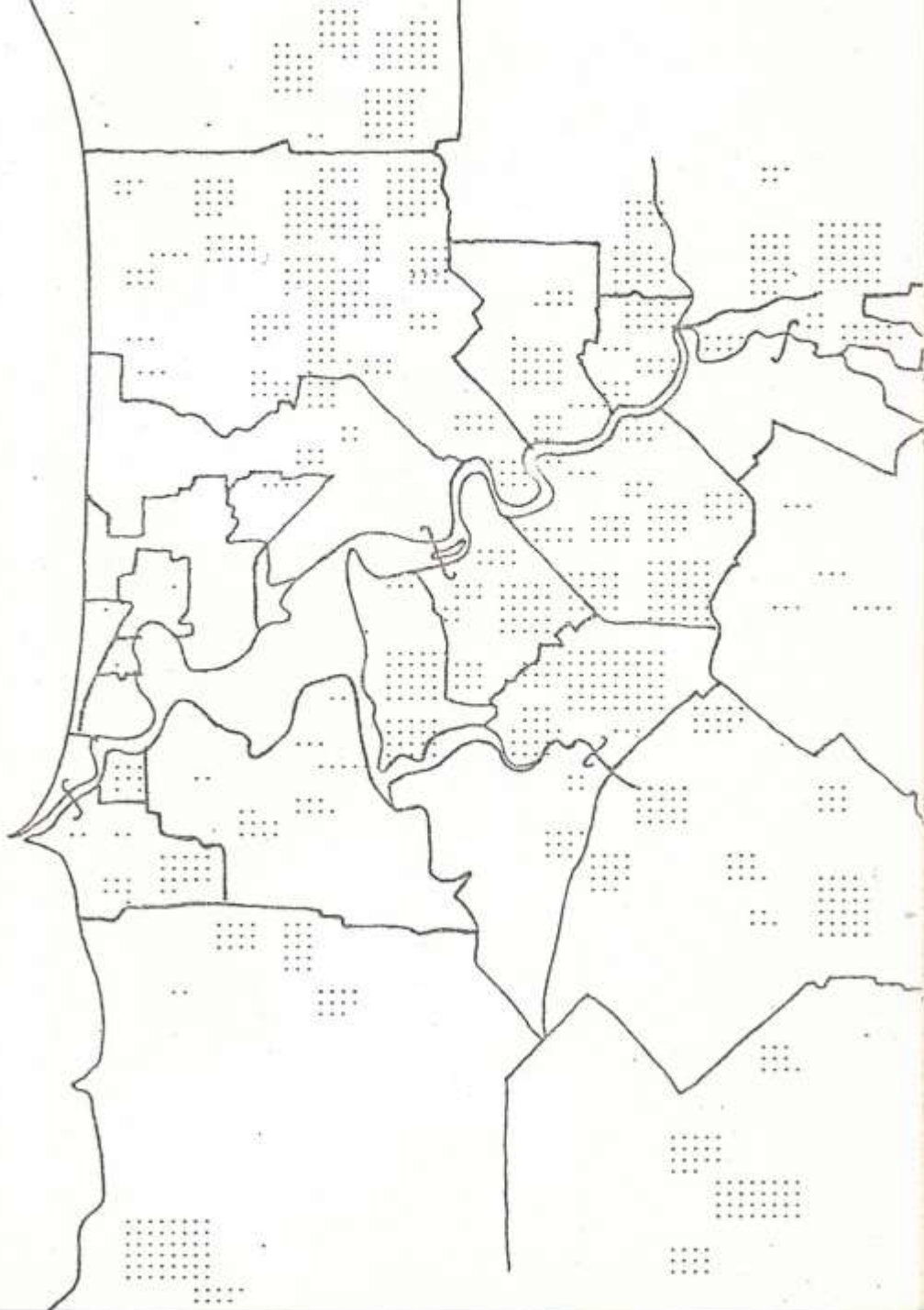


Figure 12: Number of Aboriginal secondary school children
attending metropolitan Government High Schools
March 1979.
(omitting schools with less than 5 Aboriginals)

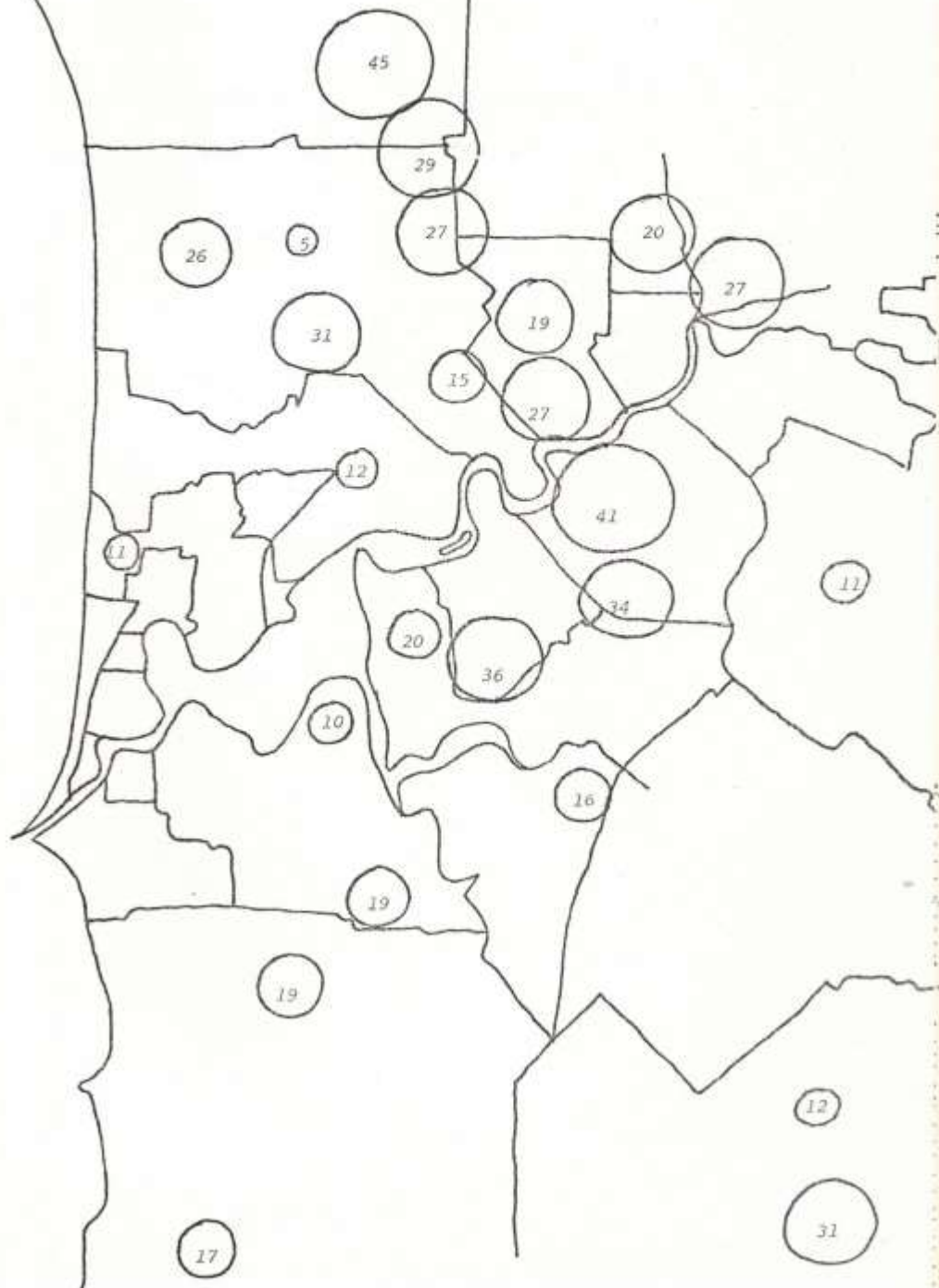


Figure 13: S.H.C. Estates and date of commencement
(Source: S.H.C. of Western Australia)

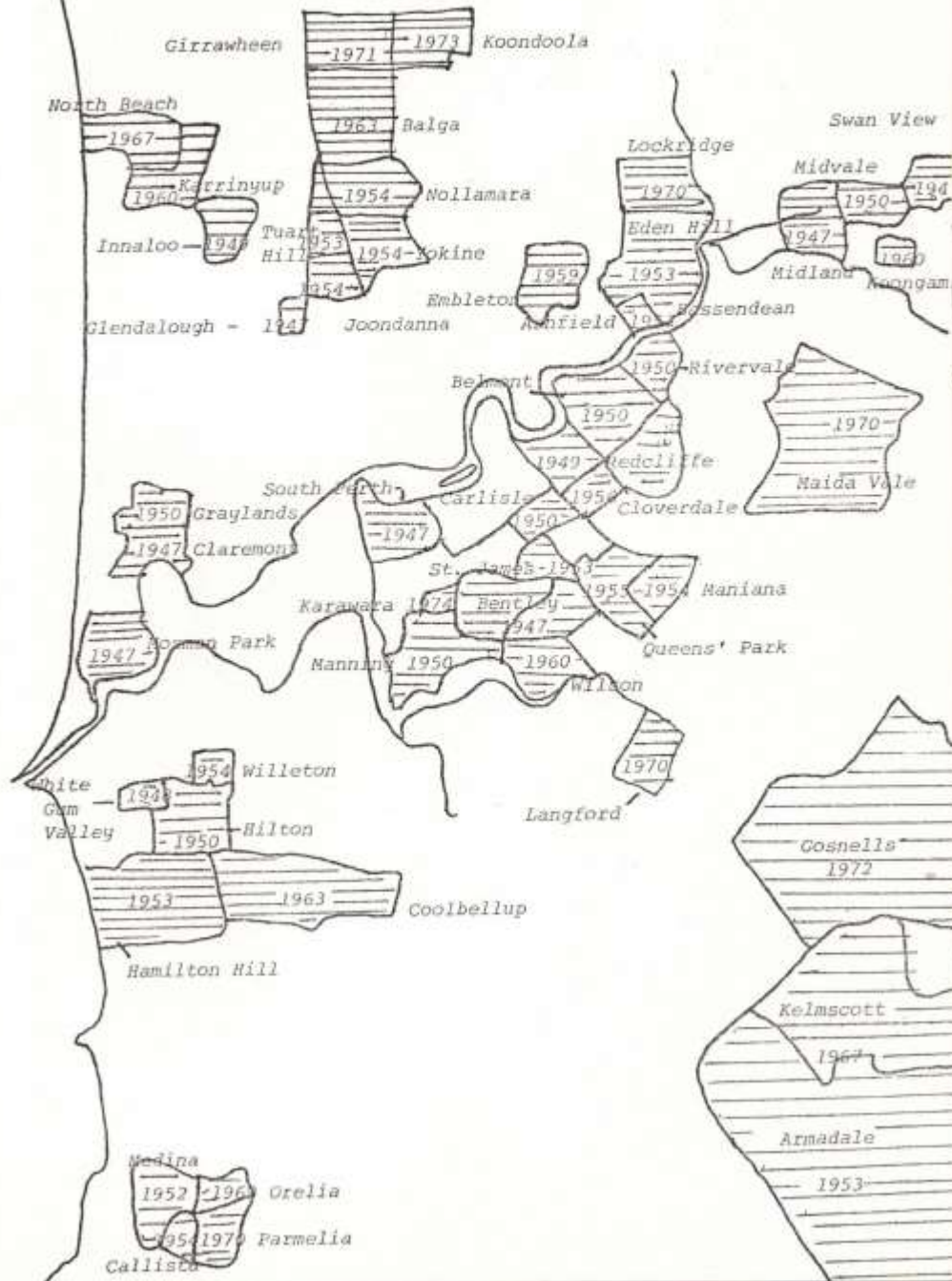
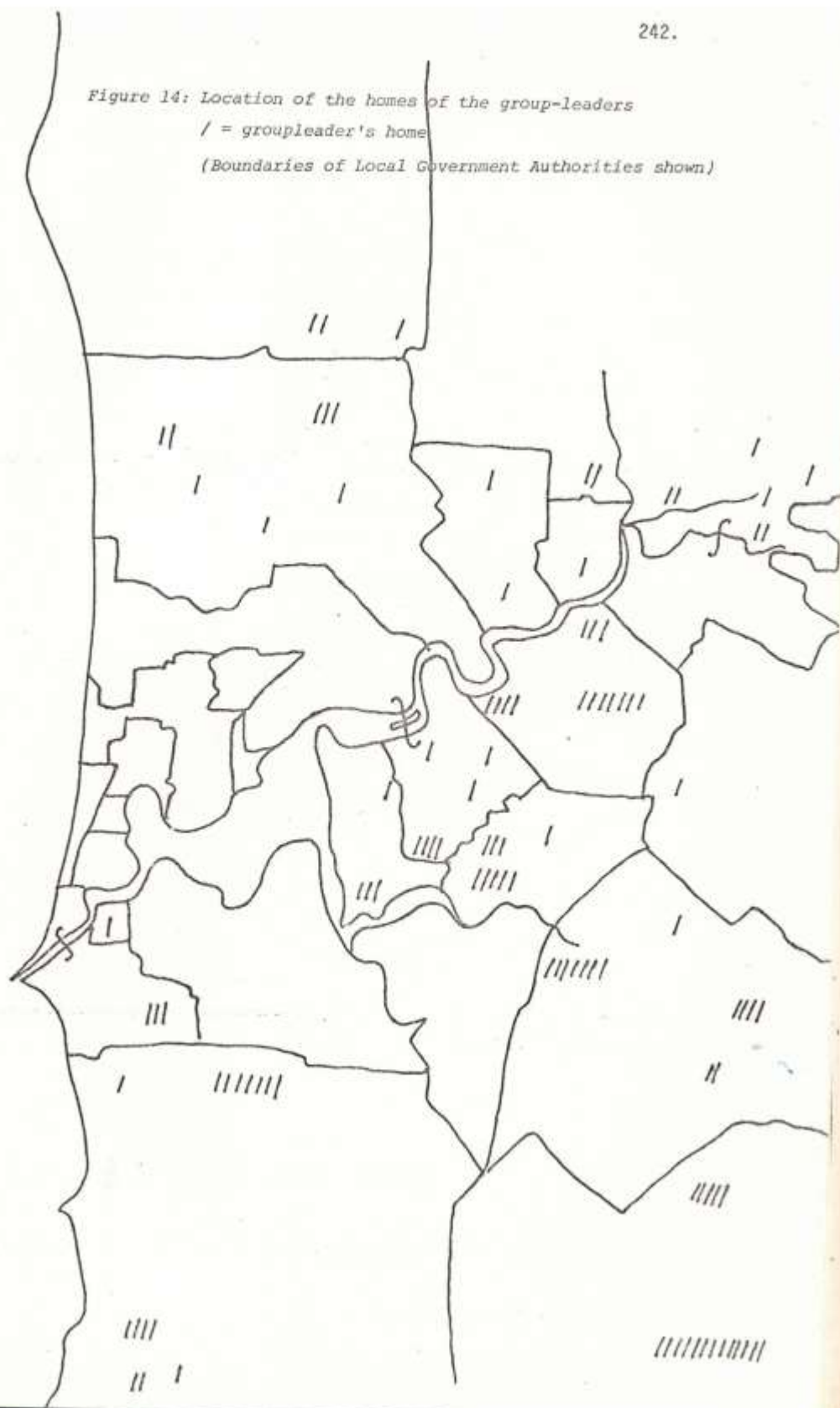


Figure 14: Location of the homes of the group-leaders
/ = groupleader's home
(Boundaries of Local Government Authorities shown)



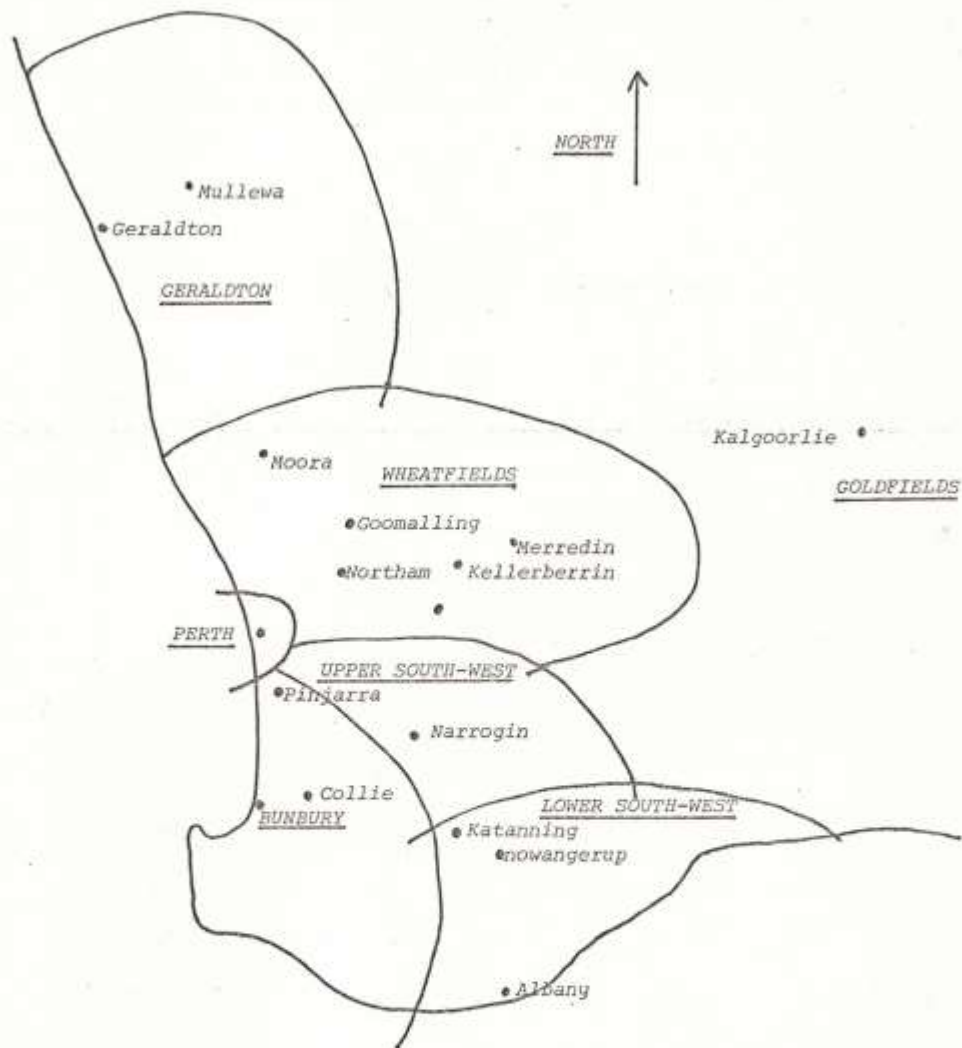


Figure 15: The localities into which the State was divided.

Figure 16: The 10 Suburban areas into which Perth was divided
- named by the most populated suburb, or the Local
Government Authority.

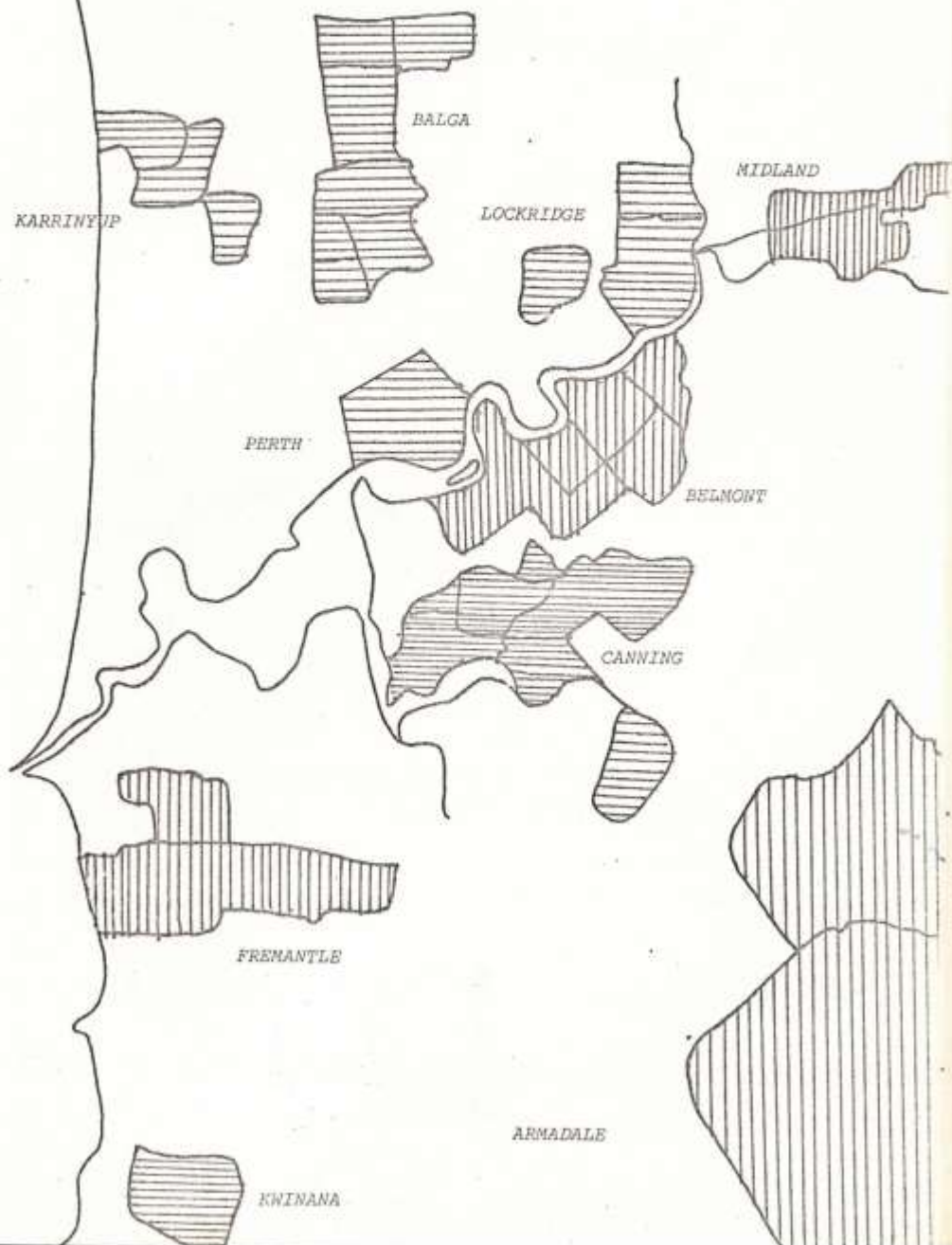
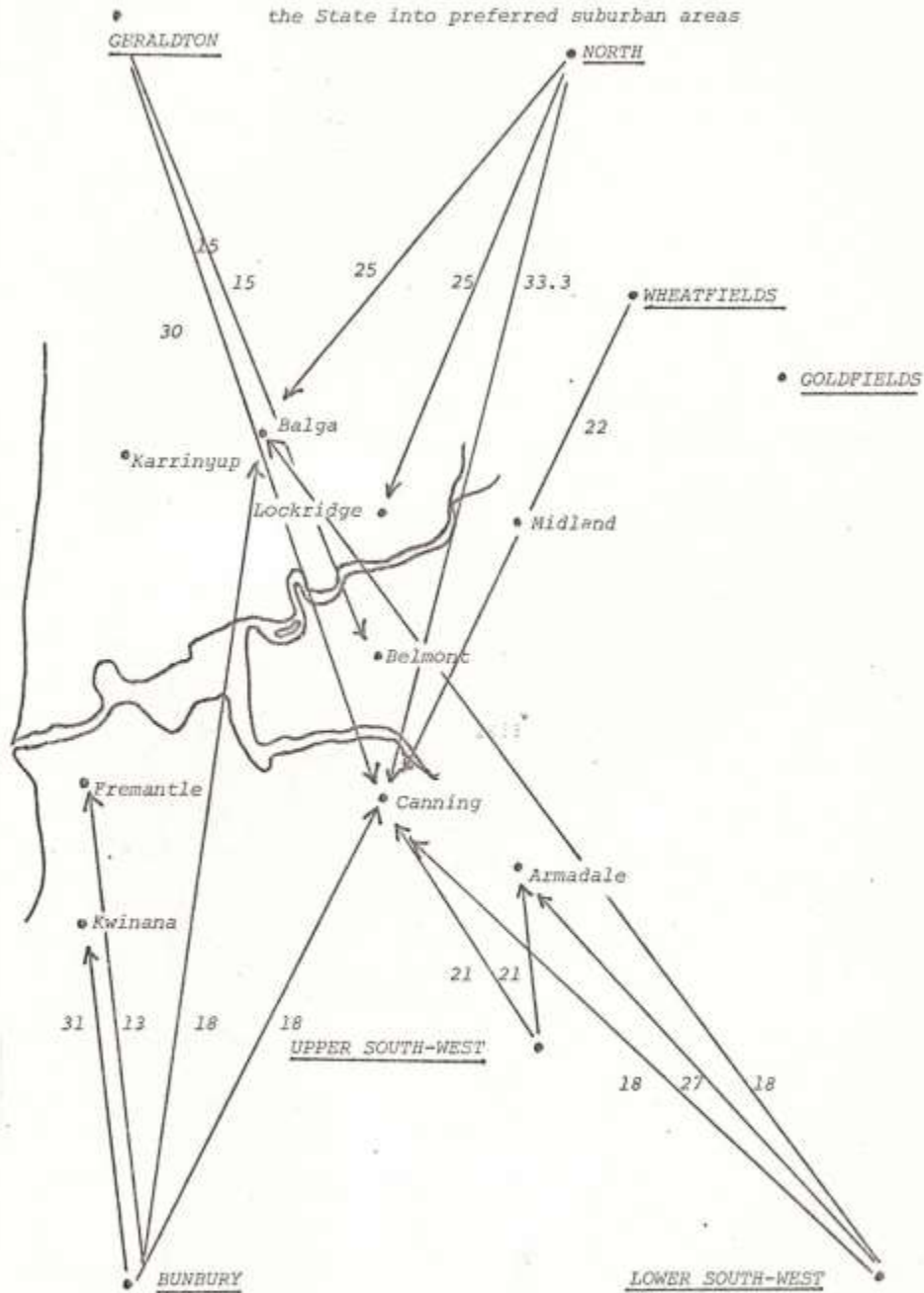


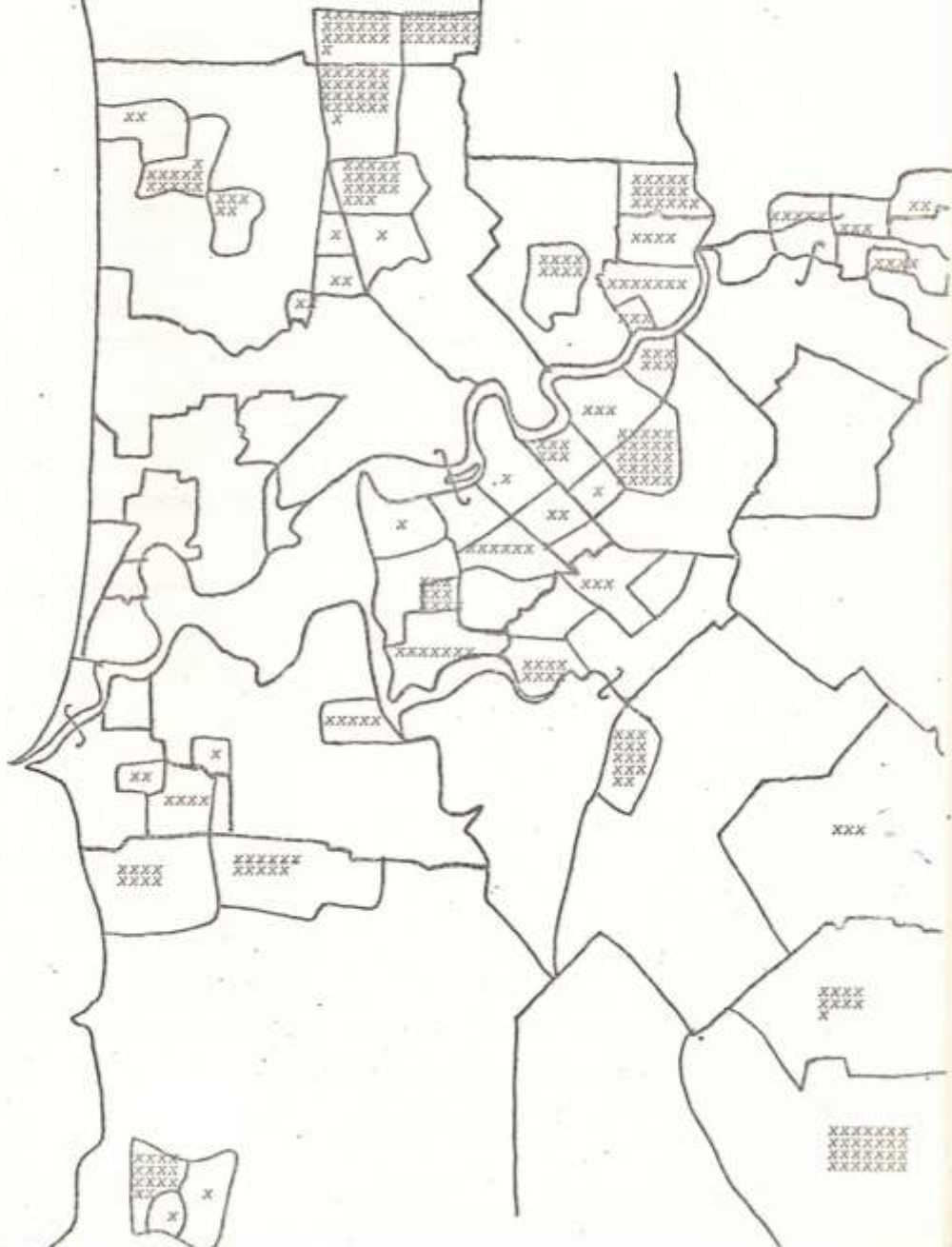
Figure 17: Movement of Aboriginal migrants from localities of the State into preferred suburban areas



The numbers on the arrows indicate the percentage of respondents from that locality who have migrated to the suburb.

Figure 18: Location of S.H.C. grant homes for Aborigines within the S.H.C. estates.

x = One Aboriginal grant home.



Appendix 3

Posters



legends:

THE JAKARI AND THE PINTOOMI

There was a jakari (dingo) lived in friendship with a small kangaroo, the kangaroo known to the dark men as Pintoomi. They lived in a cave on the side of a hill, and the dingo was the hunter and the kangaroo kept house. The dingo brought home food that he enjoyed but the kangaroo could not eat it, and when the kangaroo went to search for food the dingo could not eat the grass and leaves he brought.



SACRED SITES



GIVING ABORIGINES KNOWLEDGE IN
SCHOOLS OF ABORIGINAL CULTURE



HELPING ABORIGINES TO GET OUT OF THE
LOWER PAID JOBS INTO THE SKILLED
AREAS



TEACHING ABORIGINES THE THREE R'S
(TO READ WRITE AND USE NUMBERS)

3

This poster is based on a picture of a linguist and scholar from the Yirrkala area.



Selecting a
home style ?



Phone
111 6 p.m.
383 9988



HELPING ABORIGINES TO GET HOUSING
AND THE MOD CONS OF SOCIETY





**HELPING ABORIGINES
TO SURVIVE AND COPE IN WHITE SOCIETY**

6



**MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR ABORIGINES
TO CHOOSE WHETHER THEY WISH A
WHITE OR AN ABORIGINAL LIFESTYLE**

7



WA 26
Death

15/1/79
in a

slum

**EAST
PERTH
MAY
1979**

PERTH

COURT HEARS OF MOB FIGHTING AT SHELTER

**JAN
1979**

RACIAL TALKS CUT BY DRUNKENNESS

**WILUNA
JULY
1979**

From
ZOLTAN KOVACS

WILUNA: A meeting at Wiluna yesterday between the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Senator Chaney, and the towns Aboriginal community was cancelled because many of the Aborigines were drunk.

Members of the Wiluna Shire Council and other white residents told Senator Chaney that drinking by Aborigines had led to extreme community problems.

In a tense and sometimes angry meeting they said that the drinking Aborigines were abusive and aggressive.

was the big problem against Aborigines. But blanket rules could not be made to force all people of a race not to drink, regardless of their individual circumstances.

Aboriginal communities were worried about drinking and were trying to control it.

This was a hopeful sign and should be encouraged.

aged. The council and Aborigines should get together for a joint approach.

Senator Chaney said after his visit that he would continue to try to bring the two sides together.

He was very disappointed with what he found at the Aboriginal settlement.

**TEACHING ABORIGINES CORRECT SOCIAL
BEHAVIOUR SUCH AS
AVOIDING DRUNKENNESS AND FIGHTING**

8

SOCIAL SECURITY

D.A.A. D.C.W.

LEGACY

CHILD ENDOWMENT DOLE

COMMUNITY WELFARE

INVALID PENSIONS UNSUPPORTED MOTHERS

A.B.S.E.G. WAR PENSIONS

AB. STUDY GRANTS WORKERS COMPENSATION

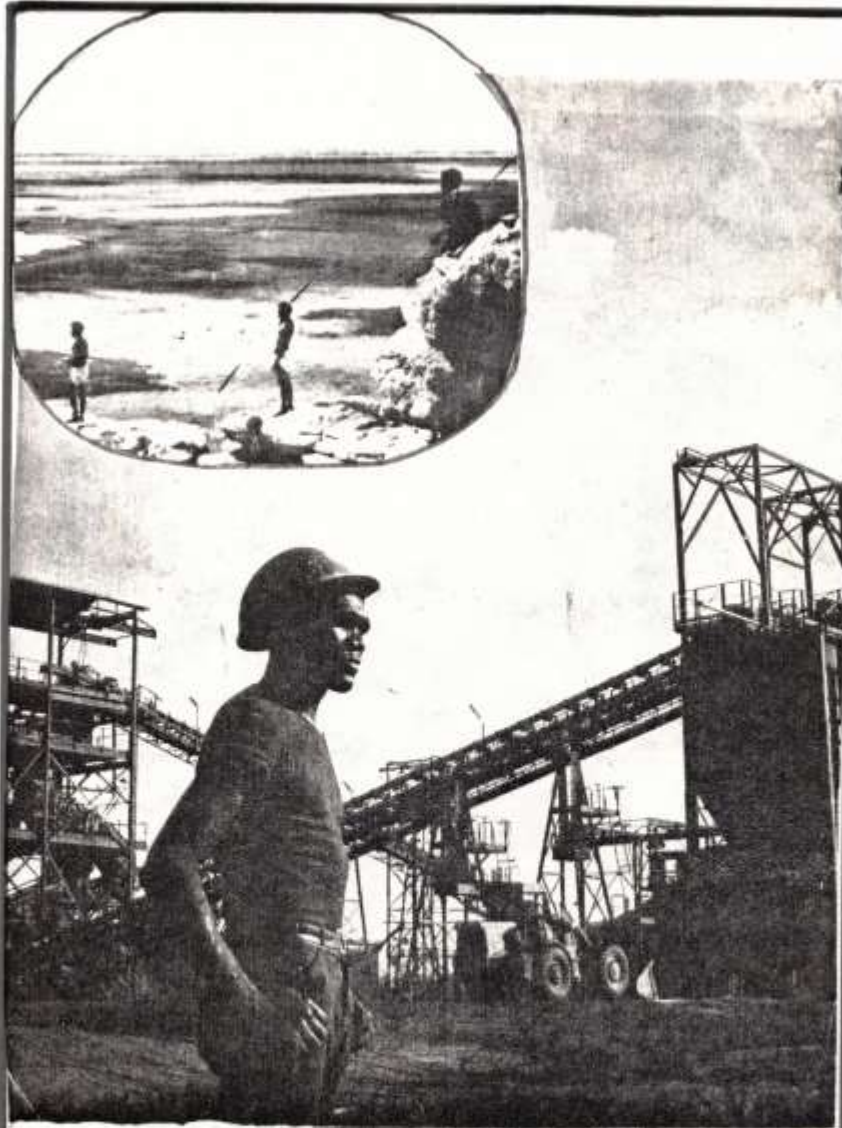
WIDOW PENSIONS

AGE PENSIONS

IF YOU CAN ANSWER 'YES' TO THESE THREE QUESTIONS
YOU COULD BE ENTITLED TO AN AGE PENSION

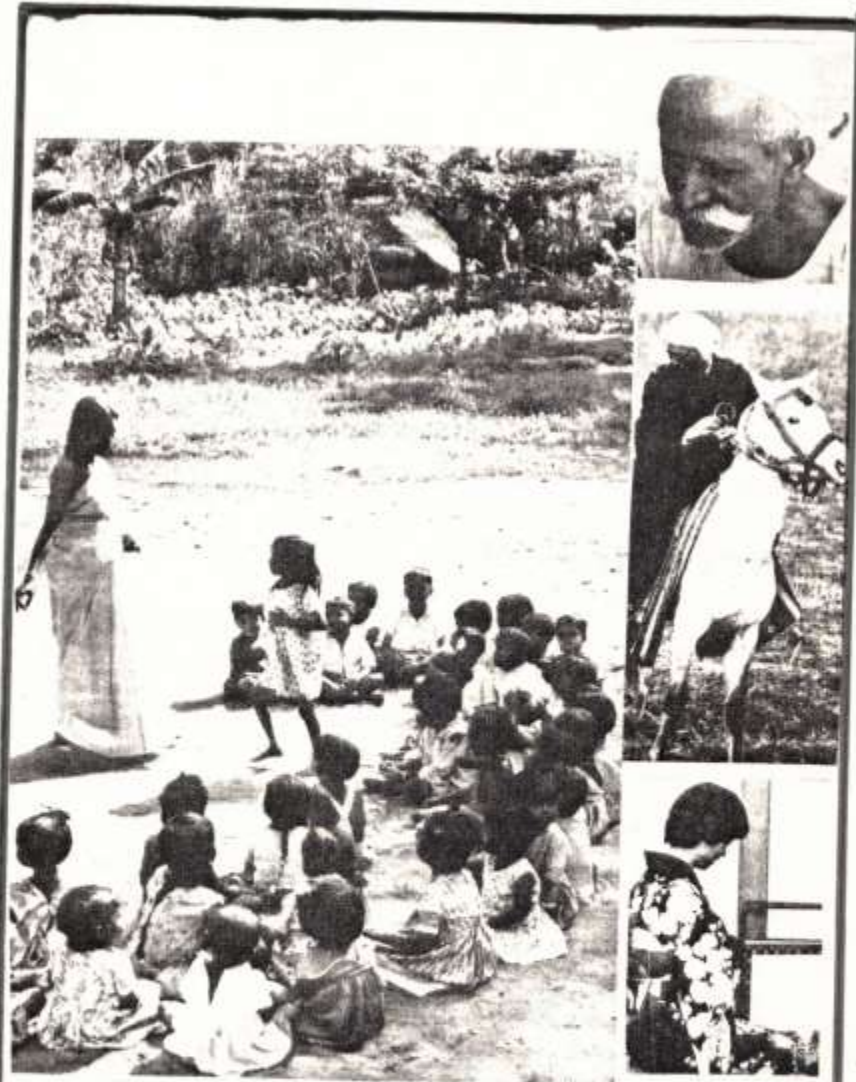
GIVING ABORIGINES KNOWLEDGE OF HOW
THE WELFARE SYSTEM OPERATES SO
THEY CAN USE IT TO GET WHAT THEY WANT

9



GIVING ABORIGINES KNOWLEDGE OF
TWO WORLDS, ABORIGINAL AND WHITE

10



OPENING ABORIGINES' EYES TO THE
REST OF THE WORLD
AND PEOPLES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

11

APPENDIX 4

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

TABLE 36
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR PAIRS OF RESPONSES TO THE 11 ENDS OF
EDUCATION (N = 140)

End	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Culture										
2. Jobs	0.20									
3. 3Rs	-0.01	0.30								
4. Housing	-0.13	0.22	0.19							
5. Identity	0.28	0.27	0.08	-0.01						
6. Survive and cope	0.01	0.27	0.30	0.18	0.18					
7. Choice of lifestyle	0.08	0.07	0.20	0.16	0.16	0.26				
8. Social behaviour	0.08	0.10	0.22	0.06	0.10	0.33	0.14			
9. Welfare	-0.06	0.22	0.12	0.30	0.11	0.29	0.20	0.00		
10. Two worlds	0.11	0.11	0.26	0.01	0.26	0.31	0.24	0.38	0.10	
11. Other countries	0.09	0.14	0.01	0.06	0.22	0.17	0.27	0.12	0.28	0.25

TABLE 42
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR PAIRS OF RESPONSES TO THE TEN CULTURE
ITEMS (N = 140)

Culture Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1, Spirituality									
2, Kinship relationships	0.34								
3, Language	0.61	0.30							
4, Sacred Places	0.60	0.37	0.60						
5, Bush survival	0.37	0.45	0.41	0.48					
6, Law	0.51	0.39	0.56	0.58	0.33				
7, Legends	0.48	0.44	0.46	0.52	0.40	0.66			
8, corroborees	0.62	0.30	0.51	0.59	0.29	0.50	0.51		
9, Tracking	0.34	0.33	0.38	0.46	0.55	0.34	0.39	0.38	
10, History before 1829	0.42	0.31	0.41	0.46	0.39	0.40	0.55	0.54	0.39

TABLE 43
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR PAIRS OF RESPONSES TO THE NINE FAMILY
VALUES ITEMS (N = 140)

Family Value	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1, Closeness								
2, Respect								
3, Sharing	0.30							
4, Non-competitiveness	0.23		0.33					
5, Acceptance		0.40	0.26	0.24				
6, Kinship obligations	0.39	0.27	0.36		0.37			
7, Non-materialism			0.29	0.33	0.26	0.21		
8, Attending funerals			0.25	0.20		0.24	0.26	
9, Visiting relatives	0.21		0.25	0.37	0.30	0.27	0.39	0.42

TABLE 59
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR PAIRS OF RESPONSES TO THE TEN OPINIONS OF
THE PRESENT SCHOOL SYSTEM (N = 140)

Opinion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1, Individuals can cope									
2, Schools too competitive	-0.08								
3, Textbooks are biased	-0.08	0.27							
4, Teachers are not prejudiced	0.24	-0.17	-0.30						
5, Schools show low view of culture	-0.13	0.10	0.27	-0.18					
6, Too much reading and writing	0.04	0.18	0.18	-0.01	0.29				
7, Teachers as interested in Aborigines	0.29	-0.10	-0.20	0.47	-0.21	-0.13			
8, Culture	-0.15	0.15	0.10	0.15	0.18	0.25	0.03		
9, Language	-0.13	0.10	0.05	0.05	0.16	0.10	-0.12	0.62	
10, School atmosphere	-0.08	0.27	0.19	-0.08	0.19	0.24	0.02	0.25	0.17

Appendix 5

Regression Analysis Tables

TABLE 46

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE TWO WORLDS FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Armadale	3.66	-0.216
Leader of Aboriginal Organisation	2.58	0.361
Number of children	3.00	0.037
Lockridge suburb	1.33	0.062
Sex	1.32	0.061
Non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation	1.00	-0.191
Perth locality	1.1	-0.145
Member of Aboriginal Organisation	1.38	-0.188
*****	*****	*****
Knowledge of family tree	0.97	-0.083
Lower south-west locality	0.83	-0.100
Age	0.88	0.199
Family size	0.49	0.068
Census description	0.38	0.040
Kwinana suburb	0.23	-0.119
Belmont suburb	0.18	-0.113
Level of education	0.20	0.035
Group-leader	0.08	-0.045
Reserve or mission experience	0.08	0.041
North locality	0.04	0.041
Geraldton locality	0.06	0.037
Wheatfields locality	0.03	0.031
E-group member	0.04	-0.024
Goldfields locality	0.03	0.024
Midland suburb	0.02	0.024
Canning suburb	0.02	-0.071
Balga suburb	0.04	-0.044
Marital status	0.01	0.015
TOTAL	19.99	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 47

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE ACHIEVEMENT FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
No tribal affiliation	4.86	-0.19
North lopecality	4.25	0.32
Balga suburb	3.22	-0.26
Group-leader	3.09	0.04
Sex	2.06	-0.21
Kwinana suburb	1.72	0.05
Perth locality	1.71	0.17
Member of an Aboriginal organization	1.42	0.11
Knowledge of family tree	1.78	0.09
E-group member	1.55	0.19
Number of children	1.81	0.29
Age	1.23	-0.21
Lockridge suburb	1.31	-0.21
Census description	0.75	-0.06
Midland suburb	0.62	-0.16
Canning suburb	0.68	-0.20
Reserve or mission experience	0.44	-0.04
Goldfields locality	0.31	0.16
Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.54	0.21
Armadale suburb	0.27	-0.09
Marital status	0.29	0.06
Family size	0.17	0.07
Wheatfields locality	0.17	0.05
*****	*****	*****
Leader of an Aboriginal organization	0.15	0.04
Geraldton locality	0.09	-0.05
Level of education	0.08	-0.03
TOTAL	34.61	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 48

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE AWARENESS FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Age	13.06	0.29
Kwinana suburb	4.26	0.45
Bunbury locality	3.77	-0.19
Pert locality	2.94	-0.14
Group-leader	3.11	-0.15
Goldfields locality	1.72	0.24
Balga suburb	1.43	0.24
Nyoongah tribal affiliation	1.37	0.06
Knowledge of family tree	1.11	-0.14
Canning suburb	0.77	0.20
Marital status	0.57	0.10
E-group membership	0.46	-0.11
Wheatfields locality	0.41	0.12
Midland suburb	0.42	-0.01
Sex	0.27	0.09
Lower south-west locality	0.33	0.10
Geraldton locality	0.18	0.06
Armadale suburb	0.22	0.13
Non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.11	-0.05
Census description	0.14	0.07
Belmont suburb	0.13	0.08
Level of education	0.14	-0.04
Reserve or mission experience	0.08	-0.05
Number of children	0.08	0.03
Leader of an Aboriginal organization	0.07	-0.07
*****	*****	*****
Member of Aboriginal organization	0.18	0.06
Lockridge suburb	0.03	0.03
Family size	0.02	0.02
TOTAL	37.55	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 49

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE ABORIGINALITY FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Lower south-west locality	7.28	0.28
North locality	5.22	0.27
Marital status	4.84	0.26
Census description	3.38	-0.17
Non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation	2.27	-0.25
Age	1.56	0.21
Level of education	2.59	0.15
Balga suburb	1.20	0.08
Bunbury locality	1.05	-0.09
Family size	0.72	-0.11
Canning suburb	0.68	-0.11
Perth locality	0.63	-0.08
Member of Aboriginal organization	0.44	-0.09
Sex	0.30	0.08
Knowledge of family tree	0.27	-0.06
Wheatfields locality	0.24	0.07
Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.23	-0.08
Group-leader	0.21	-0.07
Goldfields locality	0.06	0.04
Kwinana suburb	0.04	-0.04
Belmont suburb	0.41	-0.03
Geraldton locality	0.03	0.03
*****	*****	*****
Midland suburb	0.01	-0.01
Number of children	0.01	-0.02
TOTAL	33.72	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 50
REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON
THE TRIBAL RELIGION FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Lower south-west locality	9.80	0.28
Armadale suburb	4.89	-0.03
Family size	3.79	-0.23
Upper south-west locality	3.07	-0.15
Belmont suburb	2.33	-0.02
Leader of an Aboriginal organization	2.20	-0.18
Age	2.37	-0.20
Census description	1.22	-0.09
Perth locality	1.38	-0.08
Knowledge of family tree	0.69	0.09
North locality	0.78	0.16
Sex	0.86	-0.09
Number of children	0.51	.09
Marital status	0.37	0.10
Group-leader	0.30	-0.07
No tribal affiliation	0.28	0.08
Reserve or mission experience	0.37	0.05
Midland suburb	0.14	0.14
Balga suburb	0.11	0.17
Kwinana suburb	0.09	0.19
Canning suburb	0.10	0.18
Lockridge suburb	0.43	0.12
Geraldton locality	0.03	0.02
E-group membership	0.02	-0.02
Member of an Aboriginal organization	0.01	0.02
TOTAL	37.12	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables in this table is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 51

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE TRIBAL SKILLS FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Nyoongah tribal affiliation	4.27	0.08
Age	3.33	0.29
Knowledge of family tree	2.40	-0.19
Canning suburb	2.00	-0.300
Lower south-west locality	1.78	0.17
Bunbury locality	1.51	0.18
E-group membership	0.99	-0.19
Number pf children	1.17	-0.19
Wheatfields locality	0.53	0.16
Midland suburb	0.62	-0.18
Leader of an Aboriginal organization	0.47	0.10
*****	*****	*****
Non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.60	-0.26
Goldfields locality	1.09	0.22
North locality	1.04	0.17
Family size	0.72	-0.12
Belmont suburb	0.40	-0.06
Sex	0.34	-0.06
Marital status	0.18	0.08
Reserve or mission experience	0.17	0.07
Geraldton locality	0.12	0.03
Kwinana suburb	0.10	-0.02
Balga suburb	0.09	-0.16
Lockridge suburb	0.12	-0.13
Armadale suburb	0.42	-0.14
Member of an Aboriginal organization	0.04	0.03
Group-leader	0.03	-0.03
TOTAL	24.55	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 52
REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE FAMILY VALUES SKILLS
FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Lower south-west locality	5.15	-0.32
Geraldton locality	3.87	-0.35
Marital status	2.58	0.28
Perth locality	3.69	0.06
Bunbury locality	1.72	-0.22
Midland suburb	1.17	0.24
Canning suburb	1.20	0.36
Wheatfields locality	1.15	-0.27
Group-leader	1.09	-0.29
Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.98	0.14
E-group membership	1.00	0.12
Leader of Aboriginal organisation	0.77	0.10
Census description	0.78	-0.07
Knowledge of family tree	0.58	0.09
Lockridge suburb	0.57	0.02
Age	0.42	-0.18
Balga suburb	0.37	0.24
***** **	***** *	***** *
Reserve or mission experience	0.35	0.05
Number of children	0.31	0.12
Family size	0.53	-0.09
Belmont suburb	0.28	0.23
Armadale suburb	0.10	0.23
Kwinana suburb	0.74	0.24
Upper south-west locality	0.22	-0.10
Sex	0.10	-0.04
TOTAL	29.96	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 53

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE CLOSENESS FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
North locality	5.48	-0.27
Marital status	4.43	-0.32
Lower south-west locality	3.02	-0.14
Leader of Aboriginal organization	2.88	0.18
Number of children	1.75	-0.33
E-group membership	1.80	-0.18
Knowledge of family tree	1.14	0.08
Family size	0.84	0.18
Census description	0.97	0.14
Canning suburb	0.56	0.49
Midland suburb	0.42	0.26
Age	0.41	0.07
Lockridge suburb	0.53	0.29
Balga suburb	0.36	0.34
Kwinana suburb	0.36	0.38
Belmont suburb	0.80	0.35
Armada suburb	1.46	0.27
Member of Aboriginal organization	0.33	-0.08
***** **	***** *	***** *
Reserve or mission experience	0.22	-0.07
Goldfields locality	0.17	0.03
Group-leader	0.12	0.06
Geraldton locality	0.11	-0.05
Upper south-west locality	0.07	-0.03
Sex	0.04	-0.02
TOTAL	28.50	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 54
REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE RESPECT-ACCEPTANCE
FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Armadale suburb	9.20	-0.36
Age	7.57	-0.15
Member of Aboriginal organization	3.18	0.26
Belmont suburb	2.29	0.15
Goldfields locality	2.76	0.24
Marital status	2.11	-0.17
Level of education	1.34	0.17
Reserve or mission experience	1.46	-0.10
Census description	0.77	-0.04
Wheatfields locality	0.79	0.12
Group-leader	0.91	0.17
Perth locality	1.03	0.13
Geraldton locality	0.39	-0.07
Sex	0.58	-0.09
Knowledge of family tree	0.53	0.10
North locality	0.26	0.06
Number of children	0.25	-0.10
E-group membership	0.27	-0.06
Leader of Aboriginal organization	0.20	-0.06
Midland suburb	0.17	0.05
Upper south-west locality	0.18	0.02
Family size	0.08	0.04
Bunbury locality	0.04	-0.04
Lockridge suburb	0.02	-0.02
*****	*****	*****
**	*	*
TOTAL		

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 62
REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE CULTURE-LANGUAGE
FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Lower south-west locality	5.69	-0.30
Marital status	3054	-0.31
Belmont suburb	3.29	0.10
Non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation	2.84	0.19
Geraldton locality	2.11	-0.16
Age	1.71	-0.20
Level of education	1.15	-0.13
North locality	1.00	0.12
Leader of Aboriginal organization	1.00	0.15
Knowledge of family tree	0.73	0.09
Census description	0.73	-0.10
Reserve or mission experience	0.86	0.08
Upper south-west locality	0.58	0.04
Sex	0.43	-0.10
Midland suburb	0.40	0.25
Canning suburb	0.47	0.44
Armadale suburb	0.69	0.40
***** **	***** *	***** *
Kwinana suburb	0.35	0.37
Group-leader	0.39	-0.08
Perth locality	0.39	-0.10
Lockridge suburb	0.29	0.22
Balga suburb	0.29	0.25
Family size	0.29	0.08
Member of Aboriginal organization	0.27	-0.07
Geraldton locality	0.24	-0.08
E-group membership	0.03	0.03
Wheatfields locality	0.02	-0.03
No tribal affiliation	0.02	-0.02
TOTAL	31.68	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 63
REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE TEACHER-FAIRNESS
FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
E-group membership	6.48	0.08
Lower south-west locality	4.38	0.17
No tribal affiliation	5.30	0.29
Belmont suburb	1.66	-0.19
Member of Aboriginal organization	1.81	-0.20
Perth locality	2.20	-0.17
Bunbury locality	1.11	-0.12
Age	0.83	-0.11
Goldfields locality	0.90	0.12
Kwinana suburb	0.65	-0.20
Lockridge suburb	0.73	-0.15
Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.34	0.10
Census description	0.24	0.05
Leader of Aboriginal organization	0.18	0.06
Geraldton locality	0.21	-0.07
Wheatfields locality	0.10	-0.04
Group-leader	0.06	0.03
*****	*****	*****
**	*	*
Midland suburb	0.05	-0.02
Balga suburb	0.03	-0.09
Canning suburb	0.03	-0.10
Armada suburb	0.12	-0.08
Marital status	0.03	0.02
TOTAL	27.42	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 64

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE WHITE BIAS FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Census description	7.39	0.18
Wheatfields locality	5.15	0.07
Canning suburb	3.24	0.45
Goldfields locality	1.94	-0.32
Group-leader	2.31	-0.01
Reserve or mission experience	2.22	0.22
Lower south-west locality	2.09	-0.23
Leader of an Aboriginal organization	1.90	0.29
Member of an Aboriginal organization	1.75	-0.19
North locality	1.66	-0.25
Armadale suburb	1.17	0.25
Midland suburb	1.16	0.22
Number of children	1.17	0.17
Sex	0.68	0.14
Family size	0.65	0.10
Kwinana suburb	0.64	-0.02
Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.90	-0.12
Geraldton locality	0.25	-0.08
Level of education	0.25	0.06
Knowledge of family tree	0.26	0.06
Balga suburb	0.14	0.14
Lockridge suburb	0.16	0.12
Belmont suburb	0.21	0.10
Marital status	0.24	-0.08
Perth locality	0.16	-0.05
E-group membership	0.02	0.02
*****	*****	*****
**	*	*
Age	0.01	-0.03
Non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.01	0.02
TOTAL	37.83	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 65

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE MIXED SCHOOLS FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Census description	10.60	0.23
Leader of an Aboriginal organization	5.06	0.15
Lockridge suburb	2.05	-0.15
Nyoongah tribal affiliation	1.93	0.26
Kwinana suburb	1.84	0.22
Bunbury locality	1.65	-0.14
Lower south-west locality	1.70	-0.14
North locality	0.97	-0.08
Upper south-west locality	1.27	-0.10
Midland suburb	0.95	-0.11
Goldfields locality	0.30	-0.09
Non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.47	0.12
Armada suburb	0.33	0.08
Group-leader	0.21	-0.16
E-group member	0.39	0.08
Belmont suburb	0.23	-0.04
Age	0.15	-0.09
Level of education	0.18	-0.05
Wheatfields locality	0.12	0.01
Member of an Aboriginal organisation	0.07	0.04
*****	*****	*****
**	*	*
Marital status	0.05	0.03
Perth locality	0.04	0.05
Geraldton locality	0.02	0.05
TOTAL	30.46	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 66

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE ELITESCHOOLS FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Balga suburb	4.92	0.42
Age	4.37	-0.09
Geraldton locality	5.53	-0.23
Wheatfields locality	2.19	-0.25
Marital status	1.85	0.14
Midland suburb	2.47	0.27
Kwinana suburb	1.33	0.31
E-group membership	0.99	0.18
Belmont suburb	1.19	0.14
Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.57	0.09
Level of education	0.38	0.10
Member of an Aboriginal organization	0.39	0.13
Leader of an Aboriginal organization	0.74	-0.12
Bunbury locality	0.33	-0.05
Census description	0.22	-0.07
Group-leader	0.28	-0.11
Perth locality	0.28	-0.06
Armadale suburb	0.32	0.14
***** **	***** *	***** *
Canning suburb	0.21	0.12
Lower south-west locality	0.05	0.03
Lockridge suburb	0.05	0.03
Upper south-west locality	0.03	0.03
TOTAL	28.67	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 67
REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE BOARDING SCHOOLS
FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
E-group membership	4.10	0.20
Lower south-west locality	4.82	-0.40
Midland suburb	1.98	-0.36
Age	1.63	0.00
Belmont suburb	1.15	-0.40
Level of education	0.77	0.12
Upper south-west locality	0.68	-0.05
Kwinana suburb	0.65	-0.50
Canning suburb	0.94	-0.48
Armadale suburb	1.33	-0.39
*****	*****	*****
**	*	*
Balga suburb	1.16	-0.28
Lockridge suburb	1.16	-0.12
Bunbury locality	0.39	-0.11
Marital status	0.36	-0.07
Group-leader	0.50	0.15
North locality	0.23	-0.18
Census description	0.21	0.07
Geraldton locality	0.21	-0.19
No tribal affiliation	0.14	0.05
Wheatfields locality	0.10	-0.17
Member of an Aboriginal organization	0.01	0.03
Leader of an Aboriginal organization	0.04	-0.02
Perth locality	0.01	-0.06
Goldfields locality	0.04	-0.04
TOTAL	22.61	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 68

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE MIXED-SEPARATE FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Group-leader	12.38	-0.16
Census description	3.62	-0.22
Belmont suburb	5.44	-0.11
E-group membership	3.18	-0.22
Upper south-west locality	2.51	0.27
Age	2.05	0.22
Midland suburb	1.34	0.23
Perth locality	0.84	0.15
Wheatfields locality	0.98	0.16
Lower south-west locality	0.56	0.13
Canning suburb	0.56	0.28
Kwinana suburb	0.41	0.22
Member of an Aboriginal organization	0.23	0.07
Level of education	0.25	0.06
Goldfields locality	0.19	-0.05
Non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.23	0.07
Lockridge suburb	0.19	0.13
Geraldton locality	0.12	0.02
Armadale suburb	0.11	0.15
Balga suburb	0.42	0.13
North locality	0.05	0.06
Leader of an Aboriginal organisation	0.05	-0.03
No tribal affiliation	0.03	-0.02
Bunbury locality	0.01	0.04
TOTAL	35.70	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 69
REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE MIXED-WITHDRAWAL
FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Leader of an Aboriginal organization	3.08	-0.50
Member of an Aboriginal organisation	8.23	0.35
Census description	2.58	0.10
No tribal affiliation	1.68	-0.28
Belmont suburb	2.18	0.11
Wheatfields locality	1.42	-0.13
Age	1.67	-0.19
Marital status	1.38	-0.17
Kwinana suburb	0.72	0.41
Canning suburb	0.84	0.41
North locality	0.44	0.03
Balga suburb	0.20	0.28
Lockridge suburb	0.26	0.21
Armadale suburb	0.50	0.25
Midland suburb	1.28	0.18
Group-leader	0.19	0.09
*****	*****	*****
**	*	*
Bunbury locality	0.09	-0.08
Goldfields locality	0.11	-0.08
Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.23	-0.11
Geraldton locality	0.06	-0.07
E-group membership	0.06	-0.03
Upper south-west locality	0.02	-0.04
Lower south-west locality	0.02	-0.03
TOTAL	27.24	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 70
REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE FACTOR SCORES ON THE ABORIGINAL SCHOOLS
FACTOR

Background Variable	% variance	Beta weight
Wheatfields locality	5.69	0.94
Age	5.26	0.17
Census description	2.62	0.13
Upper south-west locality	1.30	0.74
Leader of an Aboriginal organization	1.15	-0.25
E-group membership	1.08	0.15
Member of an Aboriginal organization	1.15	0.14
Lockridge suburb	1.51	0.17
Armada suburb	0.96	0.21
Bunbury locality	0.51	0.69
Non-Nyoongah tribal affiliation	0.80	0.17
Goldfields locality	1.22	0.13
Canning suburb	0.38	0.05
Perth locality	0.25	0.38
*****	*****	*****
**	*	*
Midland suburb	0.15	-0.04
North locality	0.11	0.50
Geraldton locality	0.35	0.60
Lower south-west locality	1.44	0.41
Level of education	0.18	-0.07
No tribal affiliation	0.19	-0.06
Marital status	0.20	-0.06
Kwinana suburb	0.05	0.05
Group-leader	0.04	-0.03
Balga suburb	0.02	0.02
TOTAL	26.54	

**The percentage variance of each of the background variables above the starry line is significant at least at the 0.05 level.