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Dunwich: A Study of Aboriginal and European Integration

BY
J. A. KEATS, HAZEL M. SMITH,
CAROLE C. ROGERS, and G. P. ROWE

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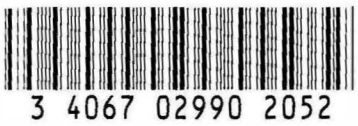
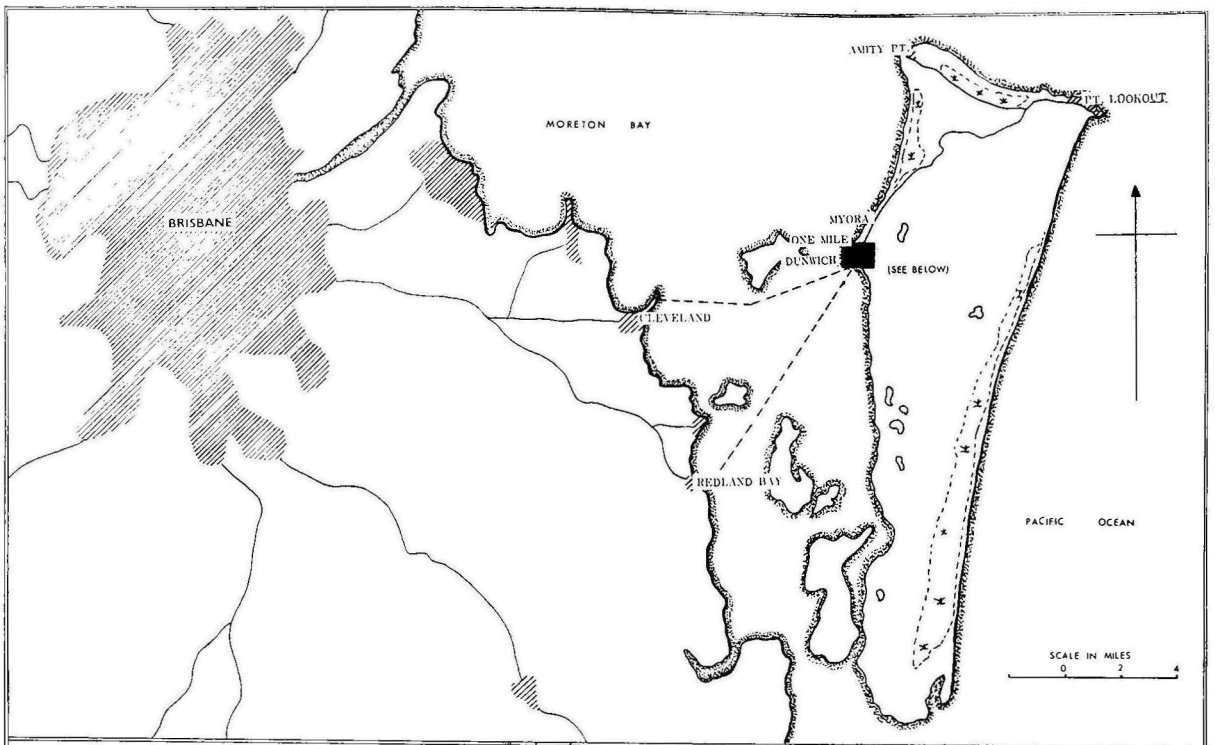


DUNWICH: A STUDY OF ABORIGINAL AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION


AMITY PT.
PT. LOOKOUT
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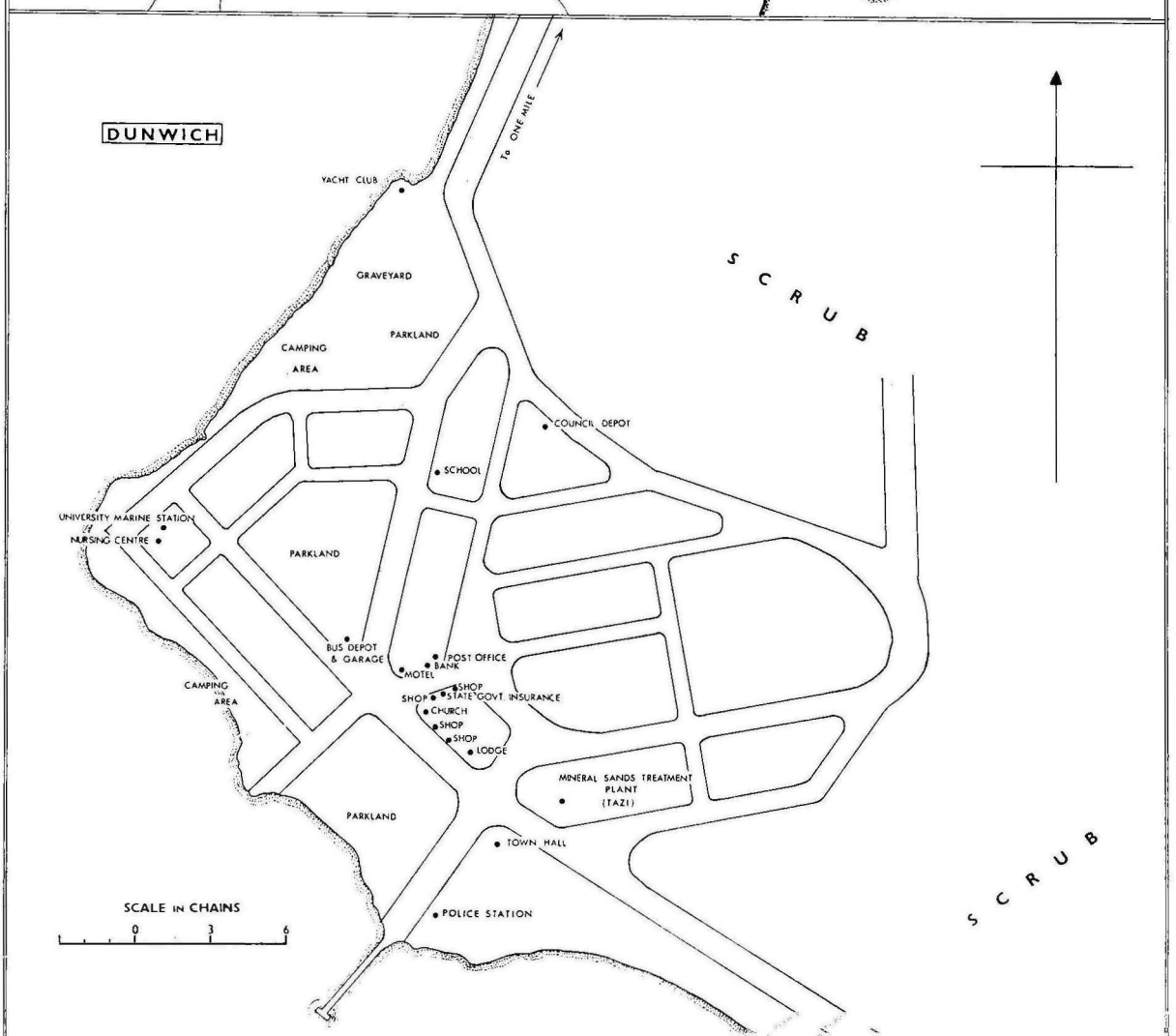
DUNWICH
To ONE MILE
YACHT CLUB
GRAVEYARD
PARKLAND
CAMPING AREA
COUNCIL DEPOT
SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY MARINE STATION
NURSING CENTRE
PARKLAND
BUS DEPOT & GARAGE
POST OFFICE
BANK
MOTEL
SHOP
SHOP
STATE GOVT INSURANCE
CHURCH
SHOP
SHOP
LODGE
CAMPING AREA
MINERAL SANDS TREATMENT PLANT (TAZI)
PARKLAND
TOWN HALL
POLICE STATION
SCRUB
SCRUB
SCALE IN CHAINS
0 3 6

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DUNWICH: A STUDY OF ABORIGINAL AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

INTRODUCTION

The focus of the study to be described in this report is the process of integration of an Aboriginal group with a European community. It is reported as it took place during a critical period of change. The location is Dunwich, a small settlement on Stradbroke, one of the islands of Moreton Bay only forty miles from the centre of Brisbane. Originally the object of the research was to have been a study of the differences between Aboriginal and European children on certain cognitive processes but it soon became apparent as the area was explored that social conditions were a major factor affecting the differences in cognitive performance between the two groups of children. This conclusion involved a considerable extension of the project and revealed a need for more research workers with special skills.

The study of Aboriginal communities and their integration with European culture requires an interdisciplinary approach. Ideally the skills of psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, social workers, and medical practitioners would be required if a comprehensive research project is to produce definitive answers. In the past most of the studies have been carried out by anthropologists, psychologists, or persons with little technical skill. The findings of these studies record a great deal

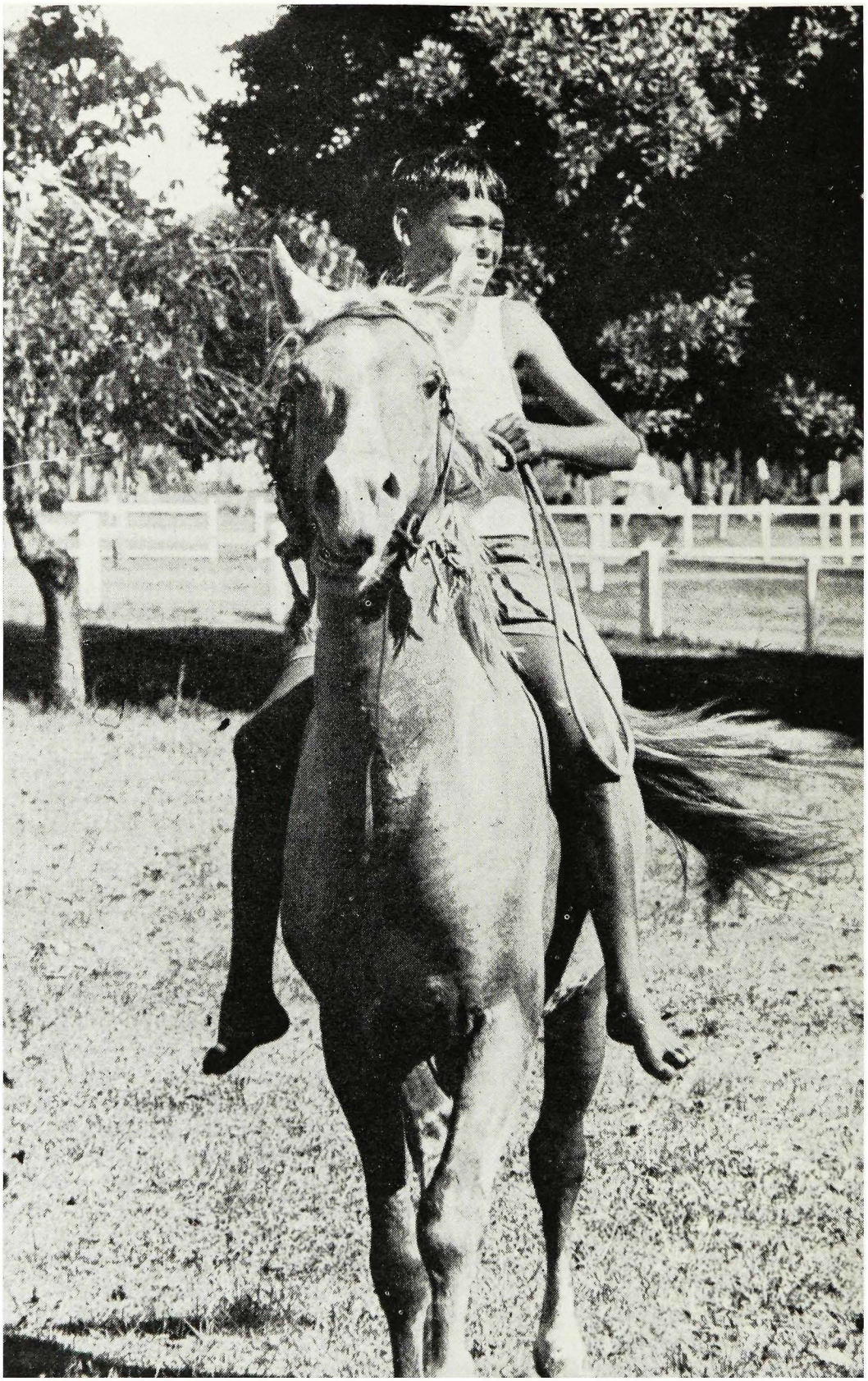


FIG. 1—Aboriginal boy rid

of the Aboriginal culture and practices with varying degrees of reliability. When examined from the point of view of the range of social problems which arise from the various types of contact between Aboriginals and Europeans they are usually rather sterile. But anthropological material is often of great importance when the focus is on the process of transition and the source of certain difficulties is sought. The problems of the integration of a relatively underdeveloped group with a technologically sophisticated society provide a logical meeting point for anthropologists and sociologists as the latter provide concepts for the description of the more developed community while the social worker can use techniques which should yield data relevant to both groups. The psychologist has a dual role. He is concerned on the one hand with individual parameters such as intelligence, special abilities, and obvious individual measures, but his training usually provides him with a greater range of techniques of qualitative and quantitative analysis necessary for the validation of the concepts of the other workers. The results of the study should be interpretable in terms of individual behaviour and this is the psychologist's task. Finally, the existence of communicable diseases and dietary deficiencies in the community may go undetected unless a skilled medical practitioner is available. The conclusions of Caroline Gye (1962) on this subject indicate clearly the possible significance of health problems.

The present study falls far short of the ideal in many respects. When it began in 1957 no anthropologist was at hand to assist nor was a professional sociologist available. The possibility of medical problems contributing significantly to the situation was not considered although warnings of the incidence of hook worm were noted. The research team consisted of a psychologist, a social worker and two undergraduate research assistants, and senior students in psychology and social studies. Collaboration was also obtained in 1965 from Mr. G. E. Kearney, a Commonwealth Postgraduate Fellow, and his psychological testing team which administered a performance scale to eighty-seven Aboriginal and European children in the upper grades of primary school.

From the point of view of design the present study is a longitudinal one in the sense that the same community was studied on two occasions with a gap of almost eight years between them. The advantage of this approach lies in the fact that the relationship between variables can be cross-validated under highly controlled conditions. The choice of the Dunwich community proved to be a particularly happy one because considerable development took place during the period between studies. For comparative purposes it would have been better if a second community showing very little development over the period had been studied, as the results would have rendered evident some of the factors essential for development.

The data collected were:

1. historical and current reports on the community
2. results of individual and group intelligence tests
3. examination results of school children
4. social groupings of school children
5. interviews with mothers of Aboriginal children
6. assessments of home conditions
7. informal reports from key persons both Aboriginal and European.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF DUNWICH

Before European settlement, Bribie, Stradbroke, and Moreton Islands all carried their own tribes of Aboriginals. Those on Bribie were reputed to be cannibals. The

Aboriginals of Stradbroke had their first contact with Europeans when Pamphlett and Finnegan were stranded in 1821. These men were treated kindly on both the island and the mainland and the first settlers in Moreton Bay described the Aboriginals as "gentle and kind".

The main food of the Stradbroke Islanders was obtained from the sea, although kangaroos and some plants were also consumed. Little was known of the European food, even bread and flour, until the fishing camps were established at Amity about 1830. Apparently Moreton and Stradbroke Islands were once almost connected and the Moonuckle tribe from Amity on Stradbroke Island mingled freely with the Mooghie from Moreton Island. These tribes often combined to fight with the Tweed and Richmond tribes. Current archaeological research suggests that Stradbroke was originally used for fishing and ceremony, but few Aboriginals lived there.

About 1825 a penal settlement was established at Amity and cotton was extensively grown at Dunwich. This small settlement was abandoned in 1838. During this period a pilot station was placed at Amity Point but this was vacated for Bulwer Island in 1847.

According to Welsby (1922), life on the ten mile beach between Amity and Dunwich was "merry and gay" during the period of the penal establishment. A mixed population of criminals, soldiers, missionaries, Aboriginals, and visiting whites made the island very lively. There are conflicting opinions on how much actual violence occurred on the island. Welsby reports that only one major conflict took place.

The Aboriginals did not like the presence of Europeans, or their fire-arms on their hunting grounds, and moved away from the Dunwich area towards Amity. One of their new favourite camps was at Moongalba, now known as Myora. After the penal settlement was well established the soldiers began visiting Moongalba and fraternizing with the women. The male Aboriginals warned them away and later a native visiting Amity was shot. A few months later the Aboriginals killed a man with waddies. This was the first murder to occur at Stradbroke and occurred about 1830. The tribe at Moongalba then took to the bush. Later another European was killed at Point Lookout and the authorities decided to take action. Soldiers marched to Moongalba and the battle lasted the whole day. Several people were wounded but none killed; the two groups made peace at the end of the day and went to Dunwich where the soldiers gave the Aboriginals biscuits and bread. However, another authority, Watkins (1891), states that at various times there were "massacres" on the island; this is probably doubtful.

In 1838 and 1842 attempts were made to teach Christianity to the Aboriginals by both Moravian and Roman Catholic Passionist missionaries. Both attempts failed and the missionaries vacated the island leaving it mainly to the native inhabitants and fishermen.

The Stradbroke Islanders were described as a "gallant race" and saved many lives during the early shipwrecks, particularly the wreck of the "Sovereign" in 1847. At least six Aboriginals were rewarded for their efforts in this disaster. A man named Soompani in particular received an engraved brass plate and a fishing boat. There is at present still a rumour that a certain "Queen Victoria Act" was passed as a direct result of the Aboriginals' heroism, granting them land. However, no documentary evidence of this can be found.

During these years the main industry in Moreton Bay was fishing—turtle, dugong, and shark, as well as the more ordinary kind. There was also oystering and on Stradbroke timber cutting and a salt works were in use. The Aboriginals were probably employed by Europeans in all these operations to some extent.

In 1849 Fernandez Gonzales, "a Manila man and a sailor", came to Moreton Bay and joined the pilot service. He later lived at Amity and went turtle and dugong fishing. He married an Aboriginal and left a large number of daughters. Many of his descendants still live on the island and he is remembered with pride. Fernandez' photo is still displayed on the walls of some of the homes.

In 1850, a migrant ship arrived in Moreton Bay carrying typhoid. Approximately forty people died during this epidemic and Dunwich became a quarantine station. A few years later an old persons' home was also established, and as late as 1876 the quarantine station and the benevolent asylum coexisted at Dunwich. The quarantine station was then moved to Peel Island, which was later to become a leper colony.

There are varying reports of the population of Stradbroke. A. Meston (1897) reported approximately 800 Aboriginals on Moreton and Stradbroke. However Watkins (1891) stated that on each of Moreton and Stradbroke Islands there were 30-40 adult males, 30-40 adult females, and 20 piccaninnies. He also reported only one Aboriginal living at Dunwich. In the 1890's at least 100 Aboriginals were camping between Amity and Dunwich according to Welsby (1907).

In 1892 a mission was commenced at Bribie and later was transferred to Myora, on Stradbroke. The main Aboriginal camp on the island was at Moongalba, and Myora was established on this site. According to Welsby, "The real gunyah has gone, some of the houses being built of wood with ti-tree bark coverings, and others purely of ti-tree bark". The main inhabitants prior to the mission were of many tribes, mainly Bay and coastal areas. Only amongst the aged was the original tongue spoken. There were probably 12-15 families residing at Moongalba at this time.

Two dormitories were built at the mission, one for boys and one for girls. Some children were brought to the mission from other reserves, but no adults were brought in from outside. By this stage there were almost no full bloods left on the island and by most reports any real Aboriginal culture had vanished. According to most reports the last big corroboree was held about 1903 and even this was put on to entertain visiting Europeans. The first superintendent of Myora was a Dr. Smith. The exact status of the mission is uncertain but it seems probable that it was not a reserve and that the Aboriginals there were not under the direct control of the Native Affairs Department.

About 1902 the matron of the mission beat an Aboriginal girl to death and some time later the dormitories were closed and the orphaned children were removed to another settlement near Ipswich. The Stradbroke families, however, remained in the huts at Myora and their children continued to attend the Myora school. The school children were almost all Aboriginals but there were a few European pupils. In 1904, the Dunwich people complained that the only school on Stradbroke was at Myora and this was attended mainly by "half-castes and Aboriginals". The Dunwich State School was opened in 1904 with an almost entirely European enrolment of seventeen pupils. However, the proportion of Aboriginals steadily increased until by 1924 only half the pupils were European.

Mr. Binstead was reported to be the superintendent of the mission up until 1926-29 when Mr. Morrison, a retired Salvation Army officer who had been at Cherbourg, took over. He was referred to as the "superintendent" although it seems clear that none of the Myora or One Mile residents were technically "under the Act". This has been confirmed by the Director of Native Affairs and is further confirmed by the fact that both groups exercised their right to vote, and also that some were members of the A.W.U. Even Aboriginals from the mainland who were under the Act became exempt on marrying into and living with the Stradbroke

group. During this period (1926-36 approx.) both groups were receiving about ten shillings per week plus blankets and rations. These rations were very liberal and one old resident described the following rations for a family for one week: ten loaves of bread, 30 lb. of meat, a half sugar bag of potatoes, pumpkins, onions, jam, sugar, flour, oatmeal, rice, etc. "We got so much rice we used to feed it to the chooks." In 1934 agitation began for higher wages and a request to the A.W.U. resulted in a union organizer being appointed.

In 1942, Mr. Morrison left and the mission at Myora broke up. The children at first walked the few miles into Dunwich school but then the medical officer of the Benevolent Asylum gave the Aboriginals permission to move in from Myora to a place called One Mile. Apparently the Native Affairs Department gave the families free housing at One Mile. No Aboriginals however were allowed to reside in Dunwich although the children attended the Dunwich school. Soon after the Myora folk moved into One Mile those working at the institution, after further agitation, were placed on the award wage and no more rations or blankets were distributed.

There exists on the island a persistent view that the Myora people were wards of the State, but that One Mile people were not. There seems to be little justification for this view because both groups exercised the right to vote, both groups were paid the same wage and received the same rations, and both groups received the award wage at the same time (1944).

The misconception probably arose because of the existence of a mission at Myora and a missionary paid by the Department of Native Affairs and the Director's role in effecting the transfer to One Mile with the aid of Cherbourg labour. The operations over this period probably reflect co-operation between the two branches of the Department of Health and Home Affairs. The local view possibly reflects a stratification within the Aboriginal community.

In 1946, the old persons' home was removed to Sandgate and the Government dismantled the buildings. This event meant that there was now no employment for the Aboriginals on Stradbroke besides fishing and oystering. There was also now no longer a supply of rations. Many men were forced to leave the island to find work. However, in many cases their families remained on the island. Some of the men worked on Peel Island but others merely lived off more fortunate relatives. For many of the Aboriginals the immediate postwar years were very "lean" indeed.

After the buildings at Dunwich were dismantled, much publicity was given to a Lands Department scheme for developing Dunwich as a tourist resort. Land was subdivided and offered on a perpetual lease with rent of £10 per year. Dunwich proved popular for retired people, competition was keen, and a ballot system was used. For several reasons at this stage the Aboriginals did not begin to move into Dunwich. Since unemployment was acute, many could probably not afford even the low rent offered. The ballot system used may also have frightened some off. Possibly also, most were reluctant to leave old and familiar homes for new ones. By 1949 the population of Dunwich was still almost entirely European with the Aboriginals still resident at One Mile.

In 1950 Titanium and Zircon Industries (TAZI) Mineral Sands commenced operations. This company was a very large operation and created a great source of employment. There was now a large influx of workers to Dunwich; most were European, but some Aboriginals also returned, although very few came who were not originally islanders. Aboriginals now began to move gradually from One Mile into Dunwich. Wages at TAZI were for the Aboriginals relatively high, and Dunwich was for a time a rather lively place to live, "the wild '50's". Until 1963 TAZI was the only major source of employment on Stradbroke and some dis-

crimination against Aboriginals was reported, but a new company (Cudgen Rutile) is now forming and the competition may have forced a more lenient attitude upon TAZI.

The influx of Aboriginals from One Mile to Dunwich is at present continuing and there are now seventeen families in Dunwich and about six at One Mile. There was some disagreement amongst residents about movement of Aboriginals permanently on or off the island. Apparently however, very few have come in from the mainland and approximately twenty families have left in the last ten years.

TABLE 1

CENSUS DATA FOR DUNWICH

Year	M	F	Total	No. of Occupied Dwellings	Comment
1933	846	249	1095	50	Mainly inmates of old persons' home
1947	94	71	165	39	Reflects the closing of the home
1954	262	198	460	108	TAZI established 1950
1961	246	183	429	111	Stable population— land and jobs fully occupied

Census figures since 1930 reflect the major recent changes and provide basic data.

Postwar contact with the European community

Although there had been a mission school at Myora for many years trained teachers were probably rare at this school and there was neither the incentive nor the competition typical of a normal school. When the children went to the Dunwich school in 1943 they met European children on their own ground for the first time. In 1957 the teacher at the school commented that his predecessor was firmly of the opinion that Aboriginal children could not be educated beyond grade IV and virtually refused to prepare them for the grade VIII Scholarship Examination. Some of the younger brothers and sisters of these children have recently passed the Junior Examination at high school. The school has been one of the focal points for integration into the community due to the enthusiasm and energy of the present head teacher and his immediate predecessor.

During the days of the institution and even as late as 1950 the Aboriginals had had no experience with police on the island. In the early fifties, at the request of the community, a police station was established with a resident police officer. This officer had a reputation for being severe with Aboriginals and doubtless his intervention caused some anxiety in their community. These Aboriginals are very conscious of the powers of the Preservation and Protection Act and the fear that they could be sent to Cherbourg or Palm Island contributed to a general quietening down of their behaviour. In a number of cases this fear was in fact realized.

The Aboriginals at this stage had a difficult adjustment to make. They had shifted from a regular allowance of rations, blankets, etc. to a wage from which they had to meet all their requirements. Their contact with shops had been limited before by lack of mobility as well as the limited amount of money made available to them.

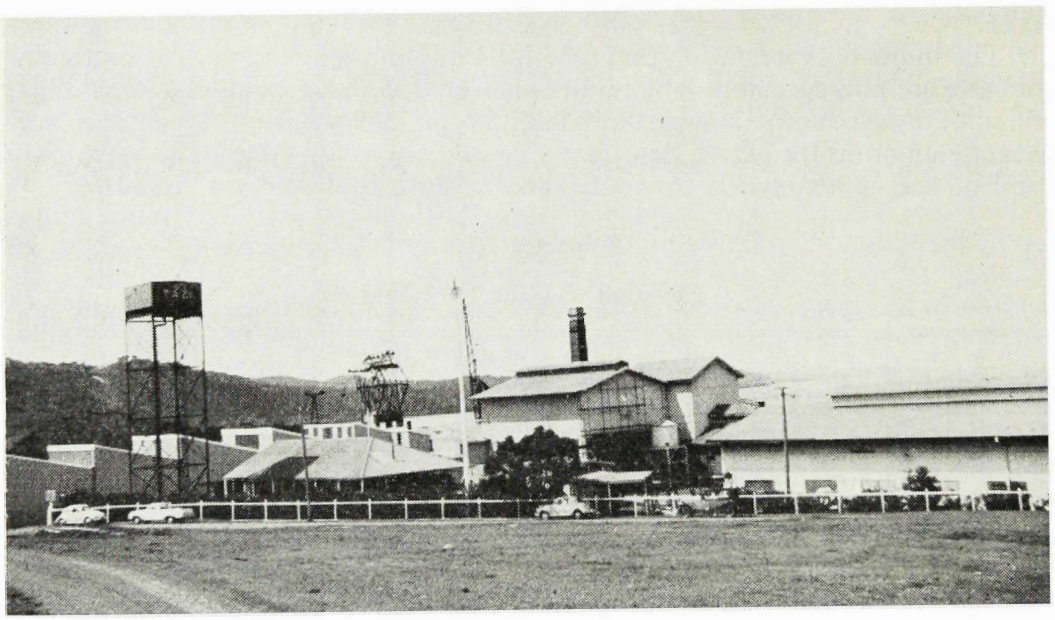


FIG. 2—Section of the TAZI mineral sands plant

FIG. 3—Dunwich primary school

Even in 1965 there are families which have not completely mastered these problems. At the same time alcoholic beverages became freely available to them for the first time and there are consistent reports of the parties that took place after pay day.

Despite the various difficulties, by 1957 many families had established themselves in their own home in Dunwich and were gradually acquiring some measure of comfort.

In 1957 Dunwich was a town of some 350 persons with a further 50 persons living at One Mile—approximately half of the former were of Aboriginal descent. The main industries were the mineral sands mining, fishing, and tourism but the mining was, as it still is, by far the most important. Communication with the mainland was by launch via Cleveland and by tourist launch from Brisbane on Saturday and Sunday. There were thus very few motor vehicles on the island as transporting them to and from the mainland was too tedious. A reticulated water service existed from the Eventide Home Institution, but electricity was not generally available.

One of the expressed needs of the community was for an educational or occupational outlet for children who had just left school. No secondary school provision was available on the island and few of the Aboriginal families could afford to pay board to allow their children to attend secondary school on the mainland. For the boys there were few jobs. The main source of employment was at TAZI and they could not take these jobs until they were eighteen years of age because of the heavy nature of the work. The only employment for girls was as domestic servants or as shop assistants.

By 1965 considerable changes had taken place on the island. The general standard of housing had improved. Electricity was now available from the mineral sands plant and distributed by the Redland Shire Council. Fewer families lived at One Mile and there were plans for providing houses in the township for those still living there. Communications with the mainland had also greatly improved; several vehicular ferries operated regularly and motor traffic was much more frequent. The children received free transport by launch to Cleveland to attend the secondary school there. Approximately twenty children, many of them Aboriginals, took advantage of this facility. Some Aboriginal children had already passed the Junior Examination and had taken positions as apprentices in the case of boys and office workers in the case of girls.

Despite the loss of eighth grade children the school had increased from approximately 90 to approximately 130 children from 1957 to 1965. The building had been extended to include a staff room, library, and a new toilet block. The staff of three, including the head teacher, were young and progressive, as shown for example by their use of reading laboratories and Cuisenaire material. The tone of the school had also improved because some of the children who had previously been filling in time because of the lack of employment or secondary school opportunities were no longer present.

Another new facility in the town was the provision of a clinic with a trained nurse in full-time attendance. A doctor attended the clinic once a fortnight, but, in case of emergency, arrangements could be made to send patients to the South Brisbane Hospital by ambulance.

One of the difficulties facing the community was the shortage of land subdivided for housing. As the families left One Mile their houses were sold for removal. Some of these houses were on land to which the owners had not received a title, and subsequent surveying resulted in this land being allotted to a farmer. The farmer was naturally anxious to have the houses removed so that he could use the land. It was partly due to this situation that the Department of Native Affairs was trying to

arrange alternative accommodation in the township. Approximately twenty Aboriginal families had left the island in the eight-year period in search of regular well-paid employment. The opinion was expressed that when the new mineral sands plant came into operation these families would return, but there are reasons for doubting this.

The introduction of television in 1959 proved to be a great boon to the community. The local picture theatre had been well attended but has now closed because with the advent of television the audiences became too small. The head teacher reported that the children's general knowledge of and interest in world affairs has noticeably improved since most of the families gained access to television when electricity was generally available. The isolation of the island was very much reduced during the 1957-65 period.

EDUCATIONAL VARIABLES IN INTEGRATION

Cognitive variables

The intelligence and capacity for school work of Aboriginal children has been called into question by a number of writers and teachers. The commonly expressed view that Aboriginal children are not capable of benefiting from education beyond grade IV is probably not held as widely now as it was when the study was commenced. The view may have arisen in part from the early work of Porteus (1917) who worked with mazes and showed that Aboriginal children tended to do less well than European children on such items. The problem of ascertaining the cognitive strengths and weaknesses of various racial groups is unsolved in psychology. It is certainly beyond the scope of the present study. Some tests were administered and the comparative results of European and Aboriginal children on these tests will be reported in this section.

In the 1957 study a general reasoning test involving arithmetic and probability items was administered to the upper grades of the Dunwich primary school. There were sixteen European and sixteen Aboriginal children in the group. On the arithmetic items the European children averaged 21.0 items correct whereas the Aboriginal children averaged only 14.9 items correct. This difference is statistically significant. When the averages were obtained for the probability items a similar result appeared. The means were 11.9 and 7.9 for European and Aboriginal children respectively, and again the difference is statistically significant.

During a discussion of these results the head teacher stressed the very difficult study conditions of the Aboriginal children. At this stage electricity was not generally available, and the standard of illumination of the homes was generally very poor. Furthermore there was no obvious advantage to the children in performing well at primary school. At this stage they were quite aware that no secondary education was available to them because of the cost to their parents, and the type of employment available to them did not seem to depend upon their success or otherwise at school. This type of attitude has been observed in European children who live in slum areas of cities and begins to reflect on the children's performance in grades IV and V, i.e., when the children are ten or eleven years of age. Thus the present finding cannot be taken to mean that Aboriginal children are inferior to European children on intellectual tasks, since social and economic factors are obviously present. If these social and economic factors are mainly responsible for the observed differences, then these differences should be much smaller in the 1965 study since most children now enjoy much better home conditions. There is also the provision of transport to secondary school and many Aboriginal children are taking advantage of this.

As part of the 1965 study an individual performance test (see Kearney, 1962) with five subtests (Knox cubes, Beades test, passalong test, form assembly, and pattern making) was administered by Mr. Kearney and a team of trained testers to a total of eighty-seven children, forty-four Aboriginal and forty-three European. The means are set out in Table 2. Only one of the five differences is significant at the 5 per cent level in favour of the European children—however, the magnitude of the differences is very small and one favours the Aboriginal children.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON BETWEEN ABORIGINAL AND EUROPEAN CHILDREN ON THE PERFORMANCE SCALE, 1965

			Scale				
	No.	Age	1	2	3	4	5
Aboriginal	44	9.9	7.02	2.75	3.14*	7.84	3.05
European	43	9.5	6.84	2.81	3.88*	8.19	3.60

*Significant difference at the 5 per cent level.

Thus on most of the aspects of intelligence as measured by the performance scale the Aboriginal children perform equally well.

In addition to the test scores, data on performance in school subjects by grade were also available. Table 3 sets out the average performance by grade of Aboriginal and European children. Only three of the observed differences are statistically significant at the 5 per cent level and again some of the other differences are in favour of Aboriginal children.

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF ABORIGINAL AND EUROPEAN CHILDREN ON SCHOOL PERFORMANCE, 1965

		Grade					
		2	3	4	5	6	7
Number	A	6	9	11	5	7	13
	E	5	10	6	6	6	4
Age	A	6.9	7.4	8.8	9.6	10.4	12.0
	E	6.7	7.5	8.8	9.2	10.6	11.6
English	A	22	30.8*	62.6	74.4	66.4	62.6*
	E	19	40.1	67.2	80.2	68.0	72.0
Arithmetic	A	12.8	28.8*	53.9	68.4	63.1	58.5
	E	11.8	38.9	60.2	83.0	69.2	67.8
Social Studies	A			3.4	12.8	27.4	32.8
	E			3.0	13.8	23.8	34.0

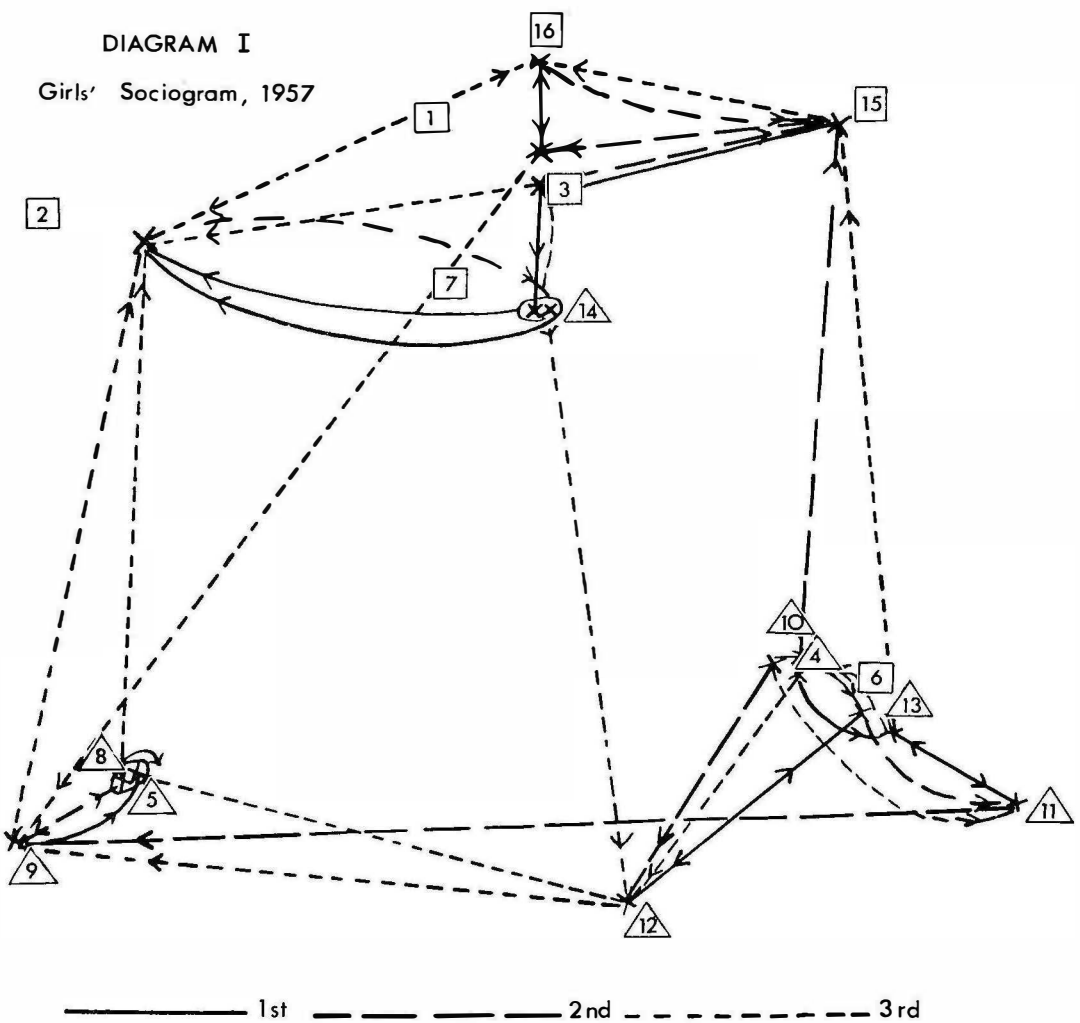
*These means differ significantly at the 5 per cent level.

These data reveal that the Aboriginal children in 1965 were maintaining their progress through the grades at approximately the same pace as European children.

With few exceptions their average performance is not significantly different from the European children of the same grade. There can be little doubt that many of these Aboriginal children will follow their friends into secondary school and their results are not likely to be unsatisfactory. It is clear that lack of educational opportunity and lack of incentive were contributing to the low educational standards achieved by the earlier groups of Aboriginal children at this school. Other factors would include teacher attitudes and improved communications with the mainland.

Social groups in Dunwich school children

A study of social groupings amongst the children was carried out in 1957 using as subjects sixteen girls and fifteen boys from the Dunwich State primary school. The children's ages ranged from ten to thirteen years. Seven girls and eight boys were Europeans and nine girls and nine boys were of Aboriginal descent. These children were taught by one teacher in a single classroom and so constituted a switchable group for sociometric study. The children were asked to indicate whom amongst their classmates they would prefer to sit next to. Three choices were obtained for each child. The results were then analyzed by means of social vector analysis (Keats, 1958), and a three-dimensional field was obtained.



In Diagram I triangles indicate Aboriginal girls and squares indicate European girls. There are three well-defined cliques in the field. One is dominated by European girls and the other two by Aboriginal girls. However No. 14 occupies the position of the only Aboriginal girl in a group of seven and whilst she chooses one other Aboriginal girl she receives no choices from other Aboriginal girls. Similarly No. 6, the only European girl in a group of six, gives and receives all her choices within that group and has no outside communication.

There is relatively little communication between the European group and the two Aboriginal groups. Whilst several Aboriginal girls indicate Europeans as their second and third preferences only one European girl (excluding No. 6) chooses an Aboriginal girl. No. 12 appears to serve as an important link between the two Aboriginal groups and she also receives a third choice from No. 14 who occupies an anomalous position in the European group.

A group of fifteen boys (seven of whom are Aboriginals) was similarly studied using social vector analysis. Their relative positions are shown in Diagram II using lines to indicate preferences.

Again triangles indicate Aboriginal boys whilst squares indicate European boys. The field revealed two well-defined dimensions, one dominated by European boys, the other by Aboriginals. Interest centres on Nos. 5, 13, 14, and 10 who seem to occupy anomalous positions. Both 10 and 13 appear as isolates within their own groups and receive or give no preferences outside that group. No. 14 however is well absorbed into the Aboriginal group and receives a second preference from the high status member of the European group. No. 14's sisters in the European girls' group received preferences from Aboriginal girls.

Both groups would appear to have structures indicative of autocratic groups with Nos. 6 and 2 in the highest status positions. In connection with No. 14, it should be noted that most of the European boys are ten to twelve years of age; some Aboriginal boys are thirteen to fourteen as is No. 14. This may be a factor in his membership with the Aboriginal group. He forms a first preference pair with No. 11, an Aboriginal and the only other eighth grade student.

As volleyball was a highly popular pastime with the children, they were also asked to select three players for a volleyball team in order of preference. For this activity both European and Aboriginal children chose predominantly Aboriginal children. A very high percentage of choices was shared by seven children—three girls and four boys, six of whom were of Aboriginal descent. The exception was the European boy who appeared on the Aboriginal dimension and indeed the four boys were those highest on this dimension for choices for the in-school situation: the three girls formed one of the two cliques of Aboriginal girls for the in-school situation. It thus appears that proficiency at volleyball, which may indicate general sporting proficiency, was a basis for popularity in the in-school situation. It is interesting to note that the same seven people were chosen by the European children who must have used a different basis for their in-school choices. Although the in-school situation was considered first by the children it would be hard to argue that the volleyball data were simply a carryover or halo from the earlier choices because of this obvious change of basis of choice on the part of the European children and the appearance of only one clique of volleyball players in the Aboriginal girls. The basis of the other clique of Aboriginal girls is not known. The obvious conclusions seem to be that:

1. In the case of the Aboriginal boys, popularity in the classroom depended on proficiency in sport—volleyball.
2. In the case of the Aboriginal girls, proficiency in volleyball formed the basis

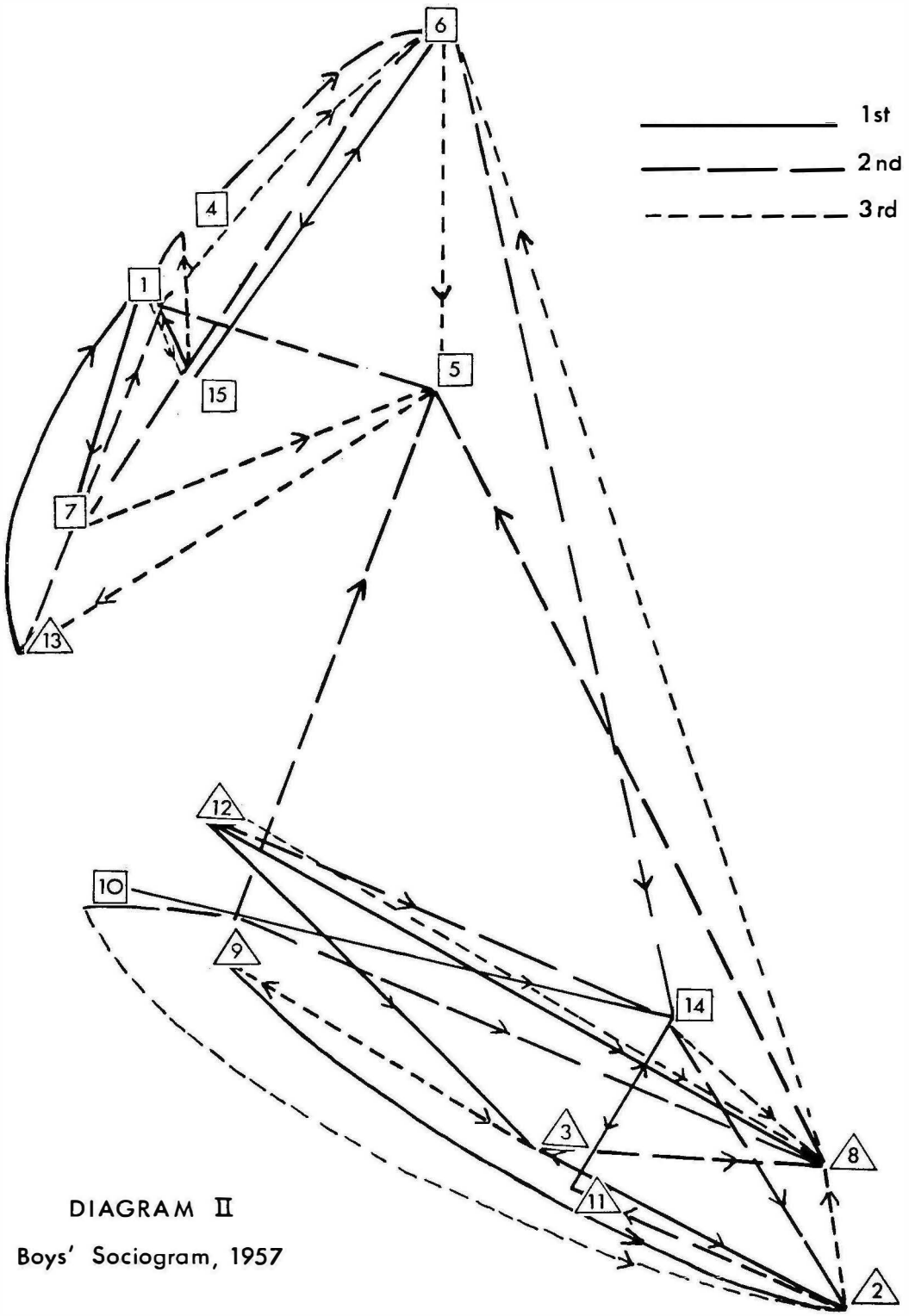


DIAGRAM II

Boys' Sociogram, 1957

of a clique but there was a second clique determined on some other basis. Whatever this second basis was, it was not one that led to the choosing of European children.

3. The European children recognized the overall superiority of the Aboriginal children at volleyball but used some other basis for their choices in the in-school situation. This other basis did not lead to the choosing of Aboriginal children.

The two sociograms for "sitting-next-to" reveal a strong tendency for European children to choose European children and Aboriginal children to choose Aboriginals. This tendency is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

ANALYSIS OF CHOICES FOR THE IN-SCHOOL SITUATION, 1957

	Europeans	Aboriginals	Total
Europeans chose	11	2	13
Aboriginals chose	3	13	16
Total	14	15	29

Percentage of in-group choice = 83 per cent.

The relationship is highly significant statistically and although the numbers are too small to permit reliable figures within the sex groups, it is clear that not many boys or girls chose outside their own, European or Aboriginal, group. There is of course no evidence as to the strength of this preference, but discussion of this result with the head teacher suggested that it was readily observable from other aspects of the children's behaviour. This result was not obtained for the preferences for members of the volleyball team. Virtually all choices went to Aboriginal children from both European and Aboriginal children. It seems clear that the field of sport was not one in which discrimination within the two groups was important—at least for the European children.

In 1965 the same questions were asked and the following data for all children were obtained from the question about "sitting next to" in school.

TABLE 5

ANALYSIS OF CHOICES FOR THE IN-SCHOOL SITUATION, 1965

	Europeans	Aboriginals	Total
Europeans	13	10	23
Aboriginals	9	17	26
Total	22	27	49

Percentage of in-group choice = 61 per cent.

The tendency now is not significant over all children. However, the figures for boys and girls showed considerable difference and there were significant cases to test these separately.

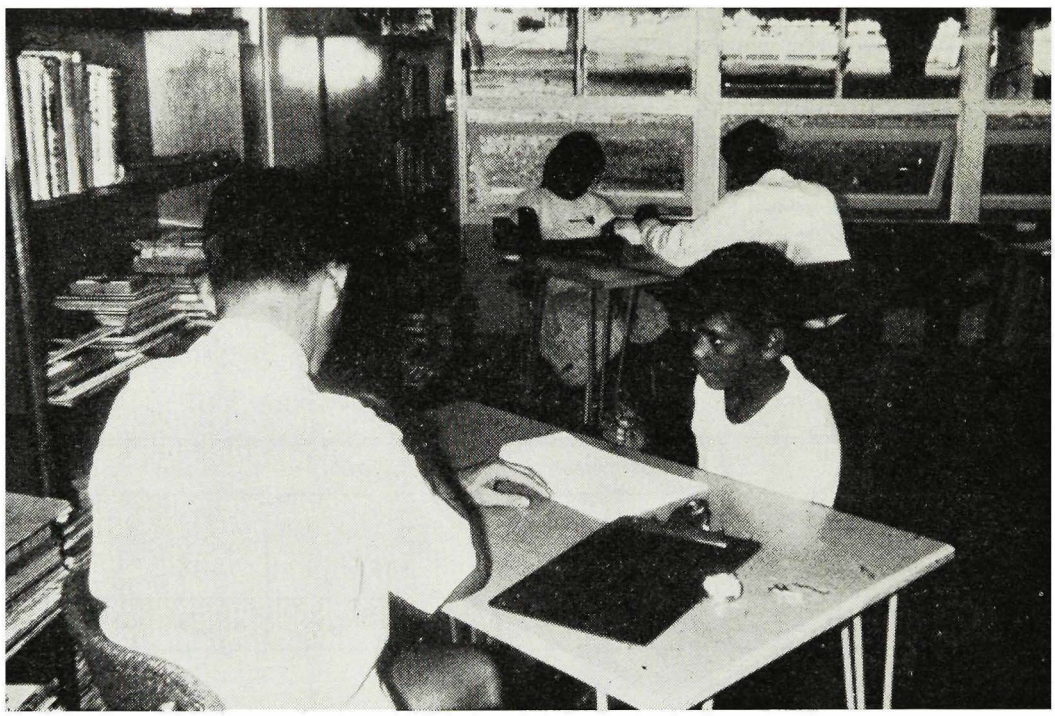


FIG. 4—Child in the school being tested for the purposes of the study

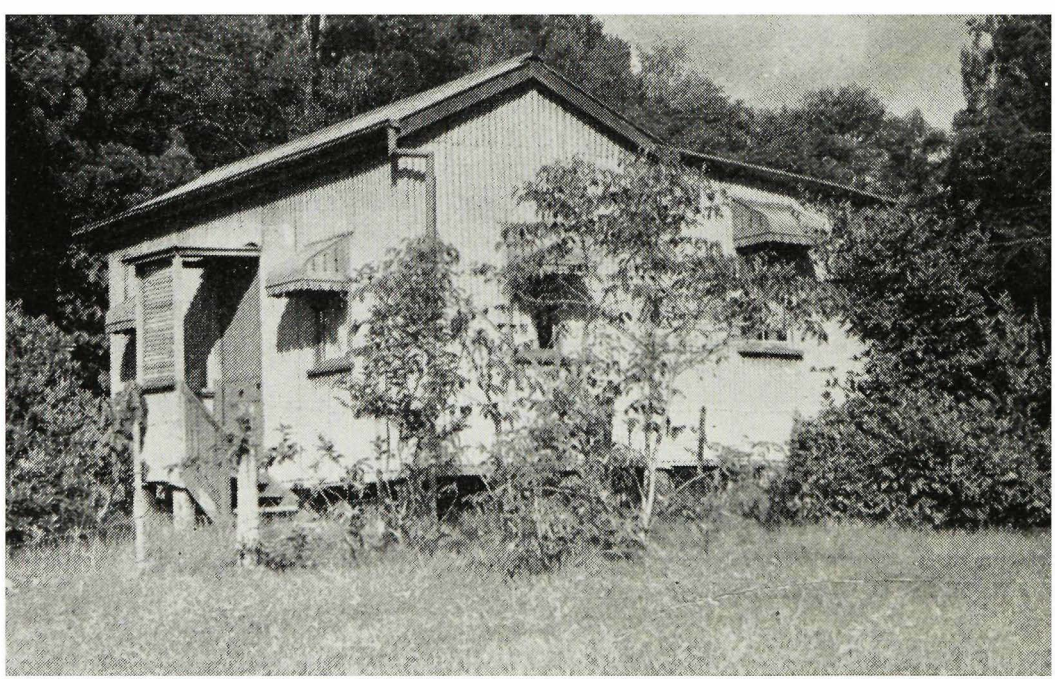


FIG. 5—Cottage at One Mile

TABLE 6

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF IN-SCHOOL CHOICES, 1965

	BOYS			GIRLS		
	European	Aboriginal	Total	European	Aboriginal	Total
Europeans chose	7	3	10	6	7	13
Aboriginals chose	2	11	13	7	6	13
Total	9	14	23	13	13	26

Percentage in-group choice (boys) = 78 per cent.
Percentage in-group choice (girls) = 46 per cent.

The tendency for in-group choosing is significant for boys but not for girls and the percentage for boys was very similar to that for the total 1957 group. It seems clear that discrimination on the basis of colour still persisted amongst the boys but not amongst the girls for this particular situation. The explanation for this is by no means clear. Girls are frequently reported to be more sensitive to social pressures than boys and there were at least two examples of discrimination against Aboriginals in organizations of which the mothers of the European girls were members.

In the 1957 study there was no evidence of discrimination in participation in sport on the part of the European children at least since both groups tended to choose Aboriginal children. However, in the 1965 repetition both European and Aboriginal girls chose European and Aboriginal girls to about the same extent—the percentage of in-group choice was 58 per cent. For the boys, this percentage rose to 75 per cent and there is a statistically significant tendency for discrimination. All the figures quoted so far refer only to first choices and not much is gained by considering second choices.

In the case of boys' choices for sport, there appeared to be a change from discrimination in first choices to choosing Aboriginal boys in later choices. Thus the percentage choosing Aboriginal boys rose from 71 per cent to 87 per cent—this difference is however not statistically significant.

TABLE 7

BOYS' PREFERENCES FOR TEAM MATES, 1965

	Europeans	Aboriginals	Total
Europeans chose	6	5	11
Aboriginals chose	1	12	13
Total	7	17	24

As far as integration is concerned it appears that the Aboriginal and European girls were fairly well integrated both for sport and for work in school but this situation does not hold for boys. A possible explanation for the difference could be that the girls were being more responsive to the atmosphere of tolerance the head teacher was trying to create. The presence of his two daughters in this group might also have been effective here. In general the finding was supported by some of the mothers

in describing their children's friends. Schonell *et al.* (1955) concluded that their data showed that . . . "an improvement in the home and living conditions of Aboriginal people would raise the level of acceptance of their children in the white community". They do not report any difference between boys and girls in this respect. Schonell *et al.* also report that "the older Aboriginal children in each school tended fairly consistently to choose their friends from the white school population". The first conclusion is in line with present findings but the second receives only slight support.

SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES RELATED TO INTEGRATION

The nature and content of the interviews

In the previous section reference was made to the role of sociological factors in influencing school performance and social organization in the school. A study of integration should also be concerned with the sociological variables most closely related to the degree of integration. This approach was pursued by Miss Smith, who interviewed the mothers of these children from the point of view of general social and economic background. Twenty-two mothers were interviewed after the purpose of the enquiry had been explained. The data from these interviews were tabulated and the attitudes of the parents on various topics were rated by two independent raters on the basis of the interview reports.

When the first visit to Dunwich to gain the type of information required from the parents was mooted it was evident that careful thought and planning would be needed. It was decided that the techniques used in surveys and studies in the more sophisticated metropolitan areas might prove sterile; it was also thought that the interviewer would find suspicion, shyness, resentment, reluctance to express any individual feelings regarding prejudice, aspirations, and disappointments. It also seemed possible that the residents would regard the interviewer as an authoritarian figure and tend to identify her as representing the government. The first major obstacle to be overcome, therefore, appeared to be how to gain acceptance by the Aboriginal population. The answer seemed to be introduction and explanation by people respected and trusted on the island. The headmaster of the school, although in a position of authority, was respected by the majority of the island population, as among many of the residents there was a quite acute awareness of the lack of educational opportunities and his attempts to improve the educational standards were appreciated. His support and introduction to various families proved invaluable. It was important, however, that the study project should be countenanced by an Aboriginal with status in the community. The headmaster of the school introduced the interviewer to Mr. William MacKenzie. Mr. MacKenzie is an Aboriginal of approximately eighty years of age and his knowledge of many Aboriginal dialects and songs made him a highly respected figure in the One Mile community. Furthermore, he had assisted research workers in linguistics and so was approachable on the basis of research. A meeting was arranged with him and some of the older members of the community at which the purpose of the project was explained.

On the first day on the island Mr. MacKenzie accompanied the interviewer to a number of homes, where time was spent either drinking tea, or just chatting informally and arranging times for the return formal visits. No interviews were conducted without previous warning to the householder that the interviewer would be calling on a certain day. There is no doubt that Mr. MacKenzie's support and enthusiasm helped to break down suspicion and encouraged participation in the study.

It was realized that if the people interviewed were to talk freely on emotionally tinged subjects such as discrimination, marital relationships, illegitimacy, and attitudes to employers it would be necessary to establish very quickly a two-way relationship and that each interview would more or less have to be "played by ear"—in other words timing, leading on to charged material, and withdrawal would vary from interview to interview. It was therefore decided not to evolve a long interviewing schedule but that the medium used should be primarily a permissive interviewing technique within the framework of a semi-structured schedule. Appendix I shows the areas which were explored in every contact, although in some cases the short contact was not sufficient to develop the trust necessary to discuss freely the more intimate material. Formal details were written down in front of the subjects, but when the more highly charged emotional material was being discussed only brief documentation was made. The full recording, however, was done later on the same day. This approach was considered legitimate, as an experienced social worker usually operates in this way and is trained in process recording, which implies the ability to recall an interview almost verbatim with the use of only brief notes.

Because of the prevailing myth that Aboriginal people need protection, are irresponsible and incapable of handling money, in the section entitled Economic Planning, an attempt was made to assess the total income coming into the home and to encourage the women interviewed to talk about budgeting and allocation of household funds. In any survey there is always difficulty in obtaining reliable information about money earned and money expended and this topic is usually approached towards the end of an interview. This method was used in the Dunwich interviews and the topic was only introduced after the interviewee appeared at ease. No real difficulty was found in obtaining co-operation, in fact the women talked quite freely about their own involvement in the household planning, but there was some reticence in some cases on the amounts the husband kept for smokes, drinks, and gambling. Three of the older women commented that when government rations were withdrawn in 1946 there was chaos for a time, as the women had little experience in the handling of money and the men during the first year or so tended to drink to excess and to gamble, but they stressed that this was purely a transitional stage.

In the section headed Attitude to Work, the aim was not to assess the husband's ability and willingness to work, but to obtain some idea of the feeling on the island towards the major source of employment, the rutile works, and whether the people were satisfied or dissatisfied with the occupational opportunities offering.

Some assessment of the quality of the homes was necessary. A limitation of the study was that no validation was sought for a classification system. The interviewer however had worked for many years in the field of child welfare and had extensive experiences of every type of home, ranging from neglected homes justifying court action through to the higher socio-economic groups. To avoid the error of equating poor material standards with dirt and general substandard living, the conditions of the homes were assessed at three levels:

(i) the standard of the building
(ii) the furnishings
(iii) cleanliness.

Standard of building

It was planned to classify dwellings as substandard, medium, or above standard. Exact categorization was almost impossible, however, because of the transitional stages of the dwellings; many were in the process of being built, often by home labour, and although substandard at the time of the interview, when finished they would be

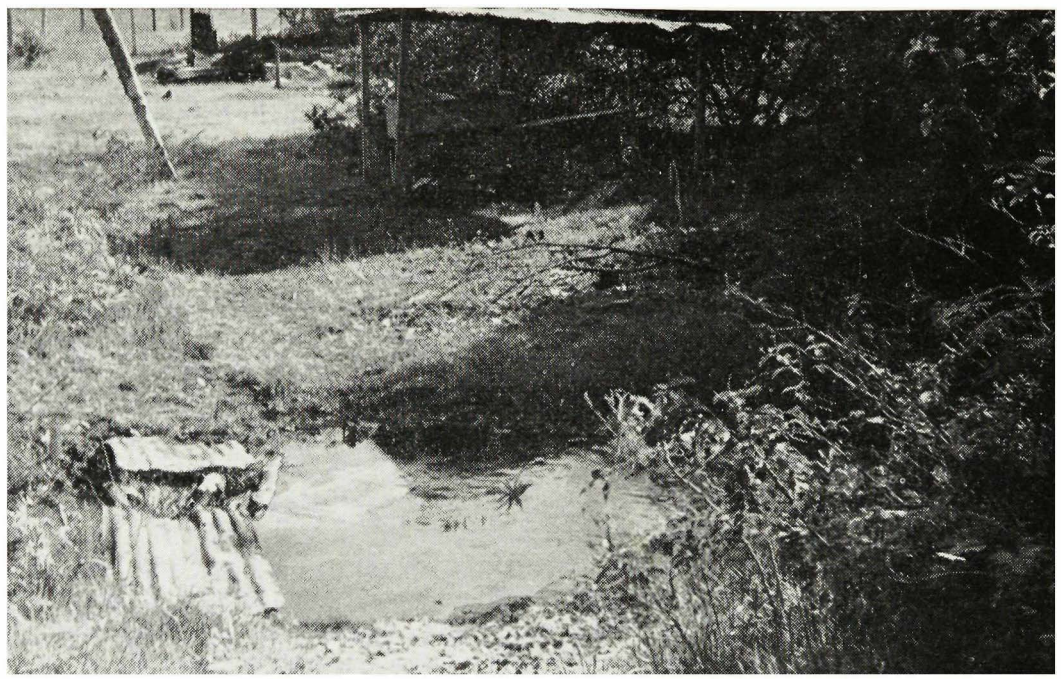


FIG. 6—Fresh water stream at One Mile sometimes used for washing and bathing

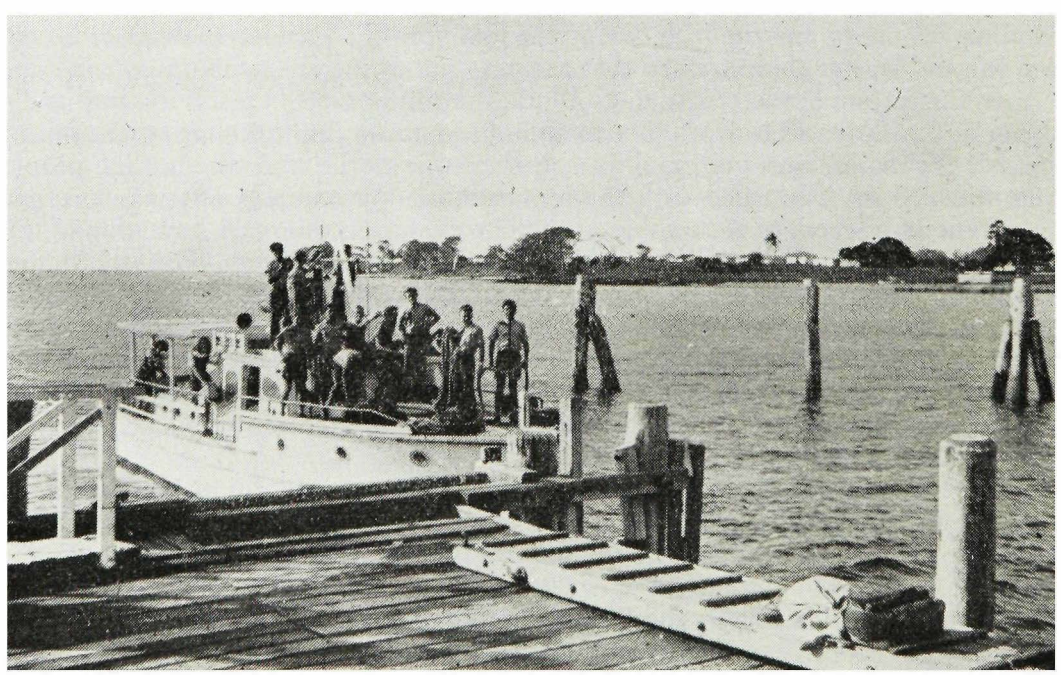


FIG. 7—The launch taking High School children to Cleveland

very similar to many of the "home built" cottages which appeared in the outer suburban areas of the Australian cities in the immediate postwar years. It was therefore decided to describe three different divisions in housing, rather than attempt a classification of substandard, medium standard, and above standard.

a The cottages or shacks at One Mile. These dwellings had been shifted from the old reserve at Myora by the Native Affairs Department. The occupants paid no rent and no rates. All the buildings could be classified as substandard, some being made only of corrugated iron. They lacked rudimentary amenities of life; in some cases water for washing, drinking, and cleaning had to be carried up a steep hill from the running creek; bathing and toilet facilities were usually nil.

b The cottages built or being built in Dunwich by the occupants. Land was owned and rates paid. The majority of these dwellings were unfinished and the standard varied from neat little suburban homes to the bare framework of a house, with the family living in the two partially finished rooms.

c The rented cottages in Dunwich. Apart from one flat, which had all the conveniences of modern living, these dwellings, although lined, were in poor state of repair, unpainted, and lacking in amenities.

Furnishings

For purposes of data collection these were divided into essentials such as beds, chairs, tables, refrigerators, petrol irons, and non-essentials such as floor coverings, curtains, dressing tables, lounge suites, with such amenities as radios and sewing machines also being noted as lying between the two. Television had not come to Brisbane in 1957.

Cleanliness

In assessing cleanliness the material condition of the home was rigidly excluded. Hence a home with no cupboards, with clothes and belongings piled up in disarray was not rated as unclean on this alone. The assessment was made on the conditions of the floors, beds, stoves, sinks, linen, etc., and an attempt was made to exclude the niceties of life such as table cloths, quilts, flowers, as these belongings are indicative of pride in the home but not of cleanliness.

Marital relationships

Several areas were explored under this general heading. An attempt was made to gain some idea of family cohesion, the woman's attitude to her husband, and the quality of the marital relationship. The woman was encouraged to talk about her feelings towards aberrant behaviour on the part of the husband and to discuss whether she would leave him or stay with him if he was sexually unfaithful to her. She was also encouraged to talk about illegitimacy; whether she considered illegitimacy was particularly common among Aboriginal people, and whether she considered that the statement often made by European people that the Aboriginal population had more illegitimate children was valid. In this discussion it was hoped to discover whether the concept of the extended family group still operated. It should also be noted that the earlier section on family relationships did not imply the dynamics of family life but rather the genealogical tree of each family.

Detection of significant variables

In the 1957 study twenty-two families were interviewed by Miss Smith and the data she obtained were reduced to twenty variables. An examination of these data revealed three basic groups of families—integrated, non-integrated, and transitional.

These groups were initially defined in terms of income as this seemed, a priori, to be an obvious indication of integration. A male worker not receiving the basic wage in Queensland must either be working part time for health reasons or be doing casual labour at irregular times. The latter would indicate little integration if any. The ten workers receiving the basic wage were divided into two groups on the basis of whether or not they lived at One Mile. It was felt that an Aboriginal who was earning the basic wage *and* had moved into a mixed Aboriginal and European community was moving towards integration—such Aboriginals constituted the transitional group. The integrated group had so adapted themselves to the European community that they were all earning considerably more than the basic wage. A number of other sociological variables were found to discriminate significantly between these three groups.

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF THREE GROUPS OF FAMILIES ON SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES

Number of families	Non-integrated 10	Transitional 5	Integrated 7
Income	Basic wage (5) or lower (5) £11 p.w. av.	Basic wage £14 p.w. av.	More than basic wage £19 p.w. av.
Living place	Almost entirely Aboriginal community (8)	Mixed European and Aboriginal (5)	Mixed European and Aboriginal (6)
Education (father)*	Usually not beyond sixth grade	Seventh grade	Some secondary education
Average grade	Father 5.8 Mother 6.1	Father 6.4 Mother 7.6	Father 8 Mother 6.2
Children in household (average)*	2.7	5.3	5.3
Adults in household*	Number 1 2 3 4 Frequency 2 2 5 1	2 5	2 3 6 1
Illegitimate children present*	Yes (4 families)	No	No
Both parents present*	No (7 families)	Yes	Yes
Pictures average times per week*	2	3	5
Higher education for children*	1 family	4 families	4 families
Discontent with island*	0 family	1 family	4 families
Vacillation (average rating)	2.3	1.6	1.6

*Indicates significant discrimination between groups at the 5 per cent level.

From this table it is clear that the non-integrated families differ from the other two groups on most of the variables. Furthermore, the general characteristic of looking after the family group and sharing accommodation etc. with the extended family is to be noted as it is a characteristic of Aboriginal culture. At the time of this survey there was still some attempt at One Mile to preserve tribal languages and music as well as other aspects of the culture; e.g. there was concern because one couple married against the advice of the older people there. One of the older men in this group still made boomerangs by the old method and taught purchasers to throw them. The principle that relatives, illegitimate children etc. should always be accepted into the home was agreed to by all families except two integrated families. However, this was only practised at One Mile. The highest level of education reached by the fathers of the non-integrated group was significantly lower than that of the integrated group. They were also reported by the shopkeepers to have difficulty in handling money. Vacillation between regular employment and casual work showed a (non-significant) tendency to distinguish between the three groups in that the fathers of the non-integrated families were rated somewhat higher than the others on this variable.

The distinction between the transitional and the integrated families was perhaps more one of degree than of kind. Both groups lived in a mixed European and Aboriginal community and had conventional family patterns, i.e. both parents living with children. Both groups had an average number of children per family much higher than that of the normal Australian community and had plans for higher education for their children. The integrated families showed greater discontent with island conditions. They also had a larger income and their children went to pictures more often than the other groups. Neither the transitional nor the integrated families showed any indication of being influenced by traditional Aboriginal customs but this must not be taken to mean that they were not in fact influenced by them. One variable which did not differentiate significantly between the groups but showed differences congruent with the other findings was the number of appliances in the home. The integrated and transitional groups averaged three whereas the non-integrated averaged two. There was also a tendency for the number of appliances (as well as attendance at pictures) to differentiate between the groups even when income was held constant.

It is probably significant to note that the degree of Aboriginal blood was *not* a factor which differentiated between the groups. Ratings, based on the ancestry of parents, father and mother separately, showed no difference either in average or distribution of degree of Aboriginal blood. This fact confirms the view that social rather than racial factors determined the rate at which the families became integrated into the community. Other variables which did not seem to differentiate between the groups were religious denomination, mother's education, rated attitude to European people, contact with the mainland, occupation, and changes in occupation as noted above.

On the basis of the 1957 survey it is possible to draw up an objective scale of integration including the items of Table 9.

TABLE 9

INTEGRATION SCALE

Present Determinants		
Father's education—completed primary school		+1
Income	Basic wage	+1
	£3 increase over basic wage	+2
Living place—at least 50 per cent European inhabitants, i.e. *not* at One Mile		+1

(*Continued on next page*

TABLE 9—INTEGRATION SCALE (*Continued*)

Family Organization	
Both parents present	+1
No other adults, i.e. other than two parents and their children	+1
No illegitimate children present	+1
Future Attitudes	
Discontent with present conditions	+1
Plans for higher education for children	+1
Consequential Variables	
Possession of adequate domestic appliances	+1
Six or more children	+1
Maximum score = 11	

When this scale is applied to the 22 families the results show some overlap between the three groups. The average for the integrated group was 8, for the transitional group 6.4, and for the non-integrated group 2.5. Thus although the original classification was not perfect it showed considerable separation on scale values. The frequency distributions for the three groups are shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON THE INTEGRATION SCALE

Scale Score	Non-integrated	Transitional	Integrated	Total
10			1	1
9			1	1
8		1	3	4
7		2	1	3
6	1	1	1	3
5				–
4	2	1		3
3	2			2
2	1			1
1	3			3
0	1			1
Averages	2.5	6.4	8.0	5.1

Although it would be of some interest to check differences on subscales the number of items is probably too small to justify such an approach.

Cross-validating the integration scale

As has already been indicated when the 1957 visit to Dunwich was made, it was to study the cognitive development of Aboriginal children of early school age, and the social work interview was geared towards obtaining the information considered necessary for such a study. In 1965 however, when the follow-up visit was made, it was after the integration study had commenced and the follow up was for this purpose. Acceptance of the interviewer was likely to be greater than in 1957 and as the variables from the 1957 study had been isolated it was decided to develop a more structured questionnaire to cover all the pertinent areas. Copy of the questionnaire appears as Appendix II.

All twenty Aboriginal mothers with children at the school were interviewed by Miss Rogers in the second study and assessed by means of the integration scale.

As ten of these mothers had previously been interviewed a comparison of their scores on the two occasions could be made. There was no statistically significant difference between the two sets of scale values—indeed the average increase was only .6 of a scale value. However, when mothers from the 1957 study who were not reinterviewed were compared with those interviewed in 1965 only, there was a highly significant difference in favour of the latter group. The means were 3.75 for the former group and 7.1 for the latter. The conclusion to be drawn from this finding is that a higher level of integration is being achieved by the younger couples. In other words, integration is being achieved not by each family gradually progressing towards integration, but by the younger generations reaching further and further into the European community. The finding is clearly shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11

INCREASED INTEGRATION IN YOUNGER FAMILIES

	Older Families 1957 only	Families Reinterviewed		Younger Families 1965 only
Number of families	12	10	10	8
Mean score	3.75	6.7	7.4	7.1

Two pairs of families were each sharing the same home so that they could each appear as only one family in this analysis to preserve independence.

In the 1965 study there were only three independent households with the characteristics of the non-integrated group. Although these households included five families it was necessary to combine these with the transitional group for the purpose of statistical analysis of individual items. Table 12 sets out the frequency distributions for the 1957 and 1965 samples.

TABLE 12

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE SCALE SCORES IN THE TWO SURVEYS

	1957 SURVEY			1965 SURVEY				
	IN 1965 SAMPLE					IN 1957 SAMPLE		
Scale Score	No	Yes	Total	Non-integrated and Transitional	Integrated	Yes	No	Total
10	–	1	1	–	3	2	1	3
9	1	–	1	–	4	2	2	4
8	–	4	4	–	3	2	1	3
7	2	1	3	2	–	1	1	2
6	1	2	3	3	–	2	1	3
5	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	1
4	2	1	3	–	–	–	–	–
3	1	1	2	1	–	–	1	1
2	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
1	3	–	3	1	–	1	–	1
0	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–

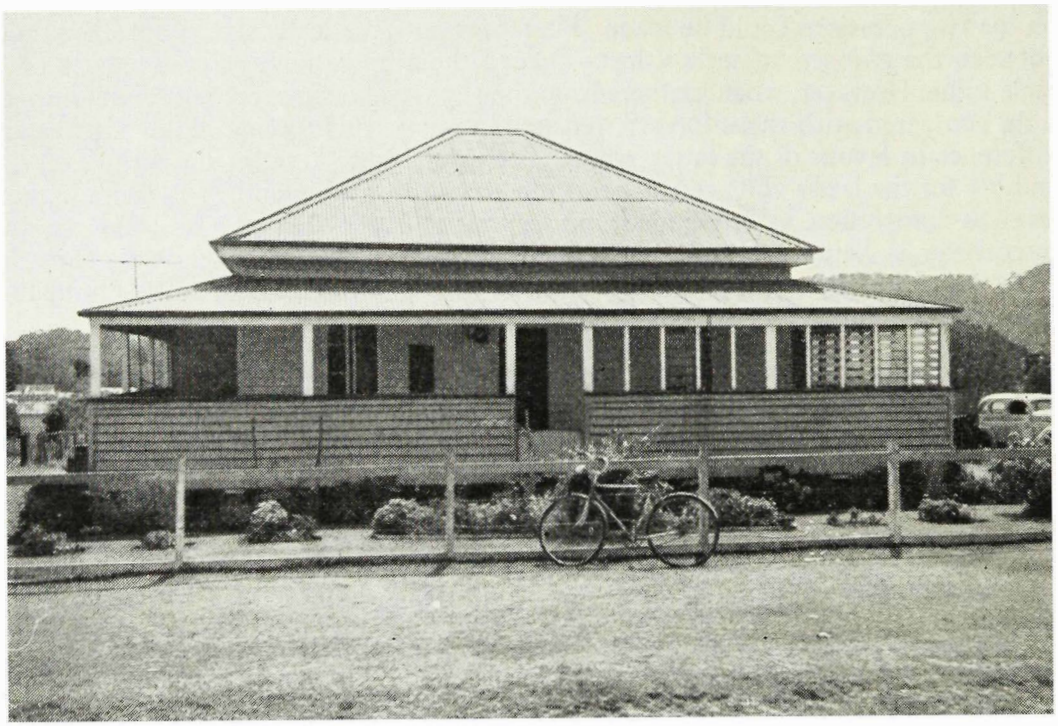


FIG. 8—Exterior of one of the older type of home

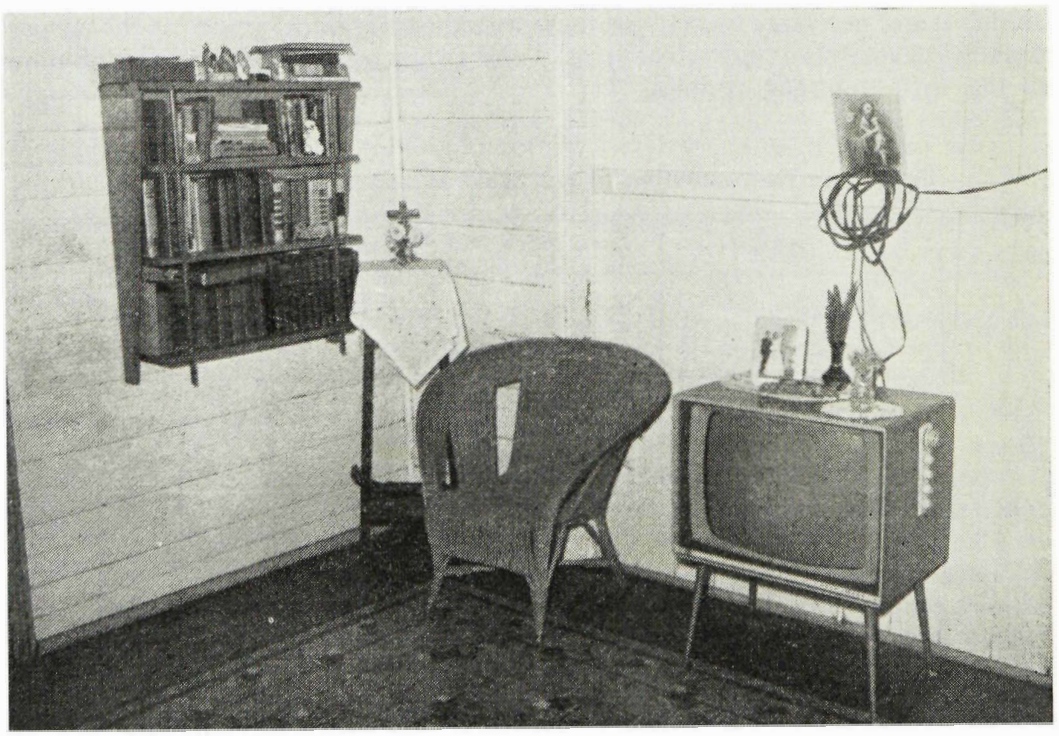


FIG. 9—Interior of the home above

The sociological items can now be validated for the 1965 sample to determine whether or not they distinguish between the integrated group and the combined non-integrated and transitional group. The latter group consists of eight independent households which include ten families; for some items the families can be regarded as independent but not others. The number of independent units will be indicated for each item. The following table summarizes the results of this comparison.

TABLE 13

COMPARISON OF TWO GROUPS OF FAMILIES ON SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES

	Non-integrated and Transitional Families	n	Integrated Families—10 for Each Item
Income (average)*	£14.6 p.w.	8	£23.6 p.w.
Living place*	Almost entirely Aboriginal community—6 cases	10	Mixed European and Aboriginal (10)
Education (father)	Average grade 7.1	9	Average grade 7.7
Children in family*	Average 2.9	10	Average 6.9
Adults in household*	Number 1 2 3 4 Frequency 1 4 2 1	8	Number 1 2 3 4 Frequency – 10 – –
Illegitimate children in household	Yes (2 cases)	8	No
Both parents present*	No (4 cases)	10	Yes
Average number of appliances*	2.5	8	4
Higher education for children (average rating)*	2.6	8	3.2
Contentedness with island (average rating)	3.1	8	3.0
Vacillation (average rating)*	2.6	9	1.5

*Indicates significant discrimination between groups at the 5 per cent level.

For most of the variables the same type of significant relationship with integration appears in the 1965 survey. One variable, vacillation, now distinguishes significantly and three show no statistical significance although the differences are in the same deviation, i.e. father's education, illegitimate children, and contentedness with the island.

In the case of vacillation the mean values are not very different for the two surveys. The fact that it revealed no significant trend on the first occasion led to its exclusion from the scale, but it is a clearly relevant present determinant and should be included in any future use of the scale. Secondary education has only recently been made available to island children. The fathers of these children in most cases could only complete primary school which most of them did; i.e., in the case of the fathers the non-integrated and transitional families show a higher mean grade than in 1957 whereas the fathers of integrated families could not extend beyond the eighth grade because of lack of facilities. With the recent provision for secondary education, virtually all families have set their sights at Junior for their children's education. It would be expected that the integrated families might well raise their ambitions above this target after a few years. The lower incidence of illegitimacy is probably the reason why it no longer distinguishes between the two groups. The fourth variable, contentedness with the island, reflects the fact that the island is now a much more satisfactory place to live than it was in 1957. These changes are of fairly recent origin and it will probably be some time before the remaining disadvantages are seen as important enough to cause marked discontent.

Some other variables showed important changes. The average wage for the integrated group had increased much more than had the basic wage over the period. There was also a considerable increase in the number of children in these families. A greater degree of marital stability is also suggested by the reduction from seven to four in the number of families from which the father was absent.

Some attitudes of the Aboriginal mothers

Attitudes of the mothers of school children were examined in three areas:

1. living in a European as opposed to an Aboriginal community
2. occupations for their sons
3. the type of Aboriginal leadership most likely to be effective for helping Aboriginals.

All areas were explored by asking the mothers to rank certain alternatives. Although some mothers found this task difficult and gave either a partial response or none at all, rank orders were obtained from sixteen for living place, eighteen for son's occupation and sixteen for Aboriginal leadership.

In the case of places to live four stimuli were presented for ranking:

1. a wholly Aboriginal community
2. predominantly Aboriginal community
3. with a group of Aboriginals in a predominantly European community
4. as a single family in a European community.

The mothers showed a remarkable degree of consistency in their rankings with an index of agreement of .70. The agreed-upon order was:

1. with a group in a predominantly European community
2. as a single family in a European community
3. predominantly Aboriginal community
4. in a wholly Aboriginal community.

The first choice was seen as their present situation by many of the mothers although Dunwich is objectively a predominantly Aboriginal community. The rankings were even slightly more systematic than the high index of agreement suggests. If a pathway is imagined from a wholly Aboriginal to a wholly European community then the mothers can be thought of as occupying a position on this path according to their present preference as shown in Diagram III.

DIAGRAM III

WHOLLY ABORIGINAL	PREDOMINANTLY ABORIGINAL	ABORIGINAL GROUP			EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
		1	3	5	6
		Mother	Mothers	Mothers	Mothers

Thus the six mothers on the right-hand side gave first preference to a European community and lower preferences to each alternative with increasing numbers of Aboriginals. The order of the other groups of mothers is the order of their distances from the four stimuli. One can imagine an attitude shift corresponding to degree of integration, indeed in 1946 it would probably have been observed that the majority of mothers would have preferred a predominantly or wholly Aboriginal community. Only one of the sixteen mothers giving a ranking could not be placed precisely on this pathway. However, her first preference was for being on her own in a European community so that she probably belonged with the six mothers on the right-hand side. It might be thought that the position on this pathway should be correlated with the integration index but no significant relationship was obtained. Indeed the four mothers towards the middle of the pathway came from families with a higher average integration score than those on the right-hand side although the difference was not significant. A number of possible explanations of this result suggest themselves. This result may simply be because the mothers were being interviewed by a European woman and were being polite. It must also be noted that these are the attitudes of the mothers; the fathers might well have quite different views and score on the integration index depends more on fathers' activities than mothers'. Another factor which is probably important is the extent to which the preference has any basis in reality; it may well be that some of those choosing the European community are doing so because they want to get away from an environment in which they have not been successful. Such mothers probably do not see the extent of the effort required by them and their families if they are to fit happily into a European community. This lack of relationship between preference and integration level needs further exploration.

The second attitude examined was preference for jobs for their sons. Five possible jobs, the nature of which would be familiar to the mothers, were chosen. They were:

1. labourer at the mineral sands mines
2. fishing
3. schoolteacher
4. apprentice to a skilled trade
5. shop assistant.

The rankings of these five again showed considerable agreement with an index of .58 which is highly statistically significant. The average preference order showed apprenticeship as most favoured and fishing least favoured, with the other three almost equally preferred over the eighteen cases. However, although schoolteacher and shop assistant has almost the same average, the former was placed first by three and last by four whereas the latter was never placed either first or last—a statistically significant difference in spread of preference. It should also be noted that average order does not agree with the prestige of these occupations in the overall Australian community although it might agree with that obtained from mothers of the same socio-economic class as the Aboriginal mothers.

Finally, the attitude of the mothers was assessed towards Aboriginals most likely to be effective in improving conditions for their own people. Five types were chosen and examples of these were known to the mothers. They were:

1. aboriginals who get on in the world
2. aboriginals who agitate for better conditions
3. aboriginals who help others with daily problems
4. aboriginals who preserve native customs and culture
5. aboriginals who go into the church.

There was no significant agreement between the mothers on the order of effectiveness of these types—the index being .14. Little can be made of these data except perhaps that none of these activities are wholly rejected by this sample of mothers.

Changes in marriage patterns

With the material available it was not possible to establish marriage patterns of the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter variety. However, remnants of this system can be detected, particularly when families exchange daughters in marriage or when sisters marry brothers or first cousins. Clearly if one of the pairs of marriages is approved the other is. In the present sample there was one case of exchange of daughters and there were three cases of sisters marrying brothers, stepbrothers, or first cousins. The situation is the more significant in that one of the men and three of the women included in these four pairs of marriages were brother and sisters from the same family. While it is not uncommon for such marriages to occur in the European community, the frequency in the present sample seems relatively high. No such marriage has occurred since 1950, the year from which effective steps towards integration were taken by the Aboriginals. The conclusion seems to be that even the vestiges of a tribal marriage system have disappeared. Marriages with European people were not common, only 20 per cent of forty marriages being of this kind—six cases of a European man marrying an Aboriginal woman and two cases of a European woman marrying an Aboriginal man. A study of the family trees of families in the sample revealed a consistent trend towards marriages with persons not on the island. In the 1957 study concern had been expressed at the possibility of inbreeding in the Aboriginal community. It is probably for this reason that the percentage of marriages to persons not on the island has increased over the years. Table 14 reveals the trend in marriages on and off the island in generations after Gonzales.

TABLE 14

SOURCE OF SPOUSE

Generations	Island	Elsewhere
I	5	1
II	6	9
III	10	34
IV	8	12

There is a significant swing towards marriages off the island at the third generation.

Changes in housing

The standard of housing on the island varied from the primitive corrugated iron and timber shacks at One Mile to the comfortable homes of the Europeans in the highest socio-economic group. In 1957 twenty-one homes were visited,[1] and in 1965 eighteen; these were classified as shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15

TYPE OF HOUSES OCCUPIED

	1957	1965
One Mile dwelling	6	3
Partially finished owned home in Dunwich	8	2
Fully finished owned home in Dunwich (excluding outside painting)	1	6
Rented homes or flats	6	7

In 1965 ten of the same families were visited as in 1957.

TABLE 16

CHANGES IN TYPES OF HOUSING AFTER EIGHT YEARS

	1957	1965
One Mile dwelling	1	1
Partially finished owned home	6	1
Fully finished owned home	1	4
Rented home or flat	2	4

In defining an unfinished home, lack of paint on the outside fibro or weatherboard was not taken into consideration, but lack of lining on the inside was. Nevertheless, from an appearance aspect one of the most striking changes observed on the island over the period was the paint on the houses and roofs; whereas in 1957 the general appearance was drab and colourless, brightly painted homes are now well in evidence. It is also interesting to note that in the unfinished homes in 1957, there has been a constant trend towards completion; only one still remains unchanged. Two families have left partially completed inadequate homes and are now living in comfortable rented homes with every convenience. In one instance there has been a deterioration in housing; one family has moved from a very large, fairly dilapidated rented weatherboard house to an even less adequate corrugated iron shack. The general conclusion to be derived from these figures is that there was a general (and statistically significant) tendency for families to move from poor incomplete accommodation to more permanent housing.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The essential story of Dunwich is one of the progressive development of an Aboriginal community from a mission stage to substantial economic and social equality with the rest of the community. This has taken place in a period of twenty

[1]These figures apply to dwellings visited, not to families included in the sample.

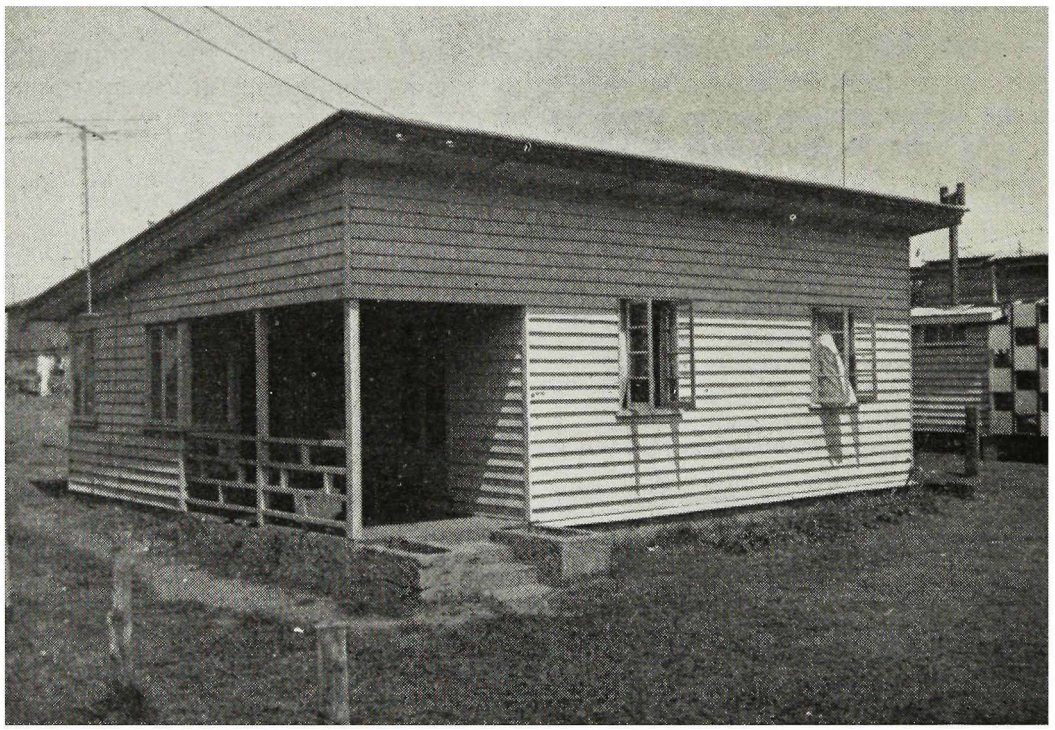


FIG. 10—Average home of one of the participants in the study

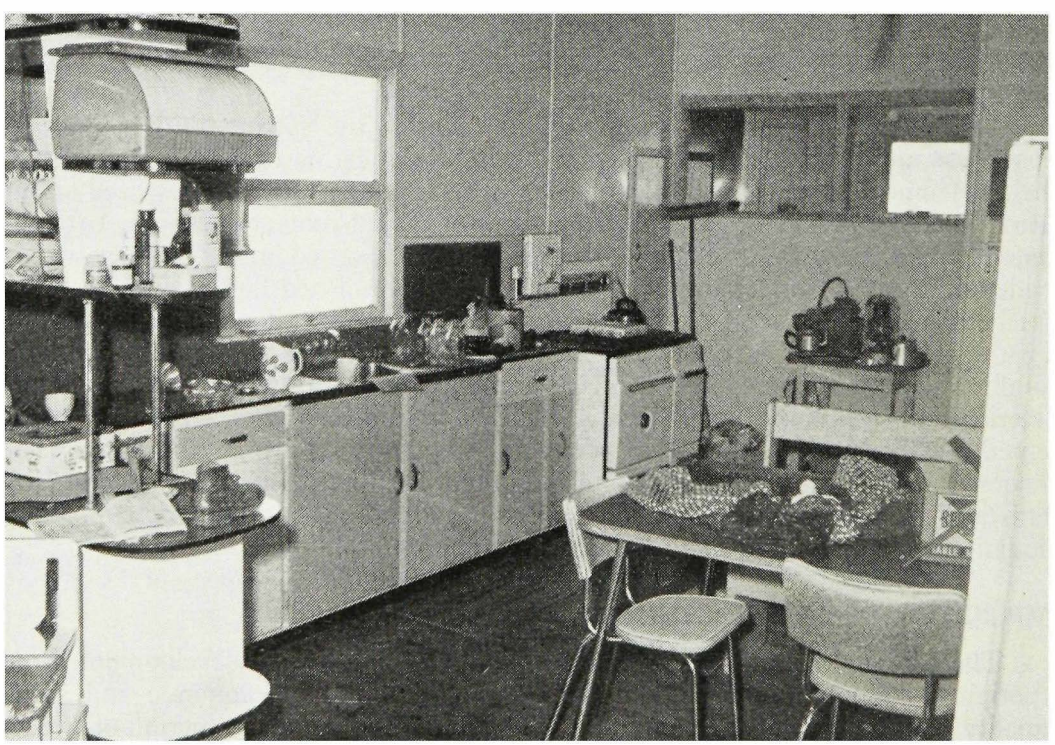


FIG. 11—Interior of one of the newer homes

years—a rate of development regarded as impossible by many writers and speakers on this subject. Indeed many still suggest that a number of generations will be required before Aboriginals currently on missions and settlements can be integrated into the community in such a way that they can enjoy the same standard of living as other Australians. An extreme statement of this view was expressed by the Member for Mt. Gravatt in State Parliament (Hansard No. 26, 1965), when he compared the Aboriginals to the ancient Britons. This speaker pointed to the many centuries required to raise these stone age people to a civilized state. Because this opinion is widespread it is important to analyze this particular community to try to discover the social conditions which led to the present favourable state of affairs.

Of particular interest in the present study is the apparent stage-wise progression from mission to fringe-dwelling, at One Mile, and from One Mile to the township. This progression has now been completed by almost the whole community. A similar stage-wise progression was noted by McArthur and Ryan (1962) in their study of Aboriginal families in a Housing Commission area. Whereas the other Australians in the area had come from almost all suburbs of Brisbane, the Aboriginals had arrived at their present homes via settlements, fringe-dwelling in country towns, urban fringe-dwelling, e.g. Cribb Island and Acacia Ridge, South Brisbane, and finally Inala, where the Housing Commission homes are located. The existence of such "migration routes" could probably be established in other parts of the State. They have the advantage for the Aboriginals that, at each stage, they can find persons of their own race to advise them and help them adjust to their new environment. Furthermore, they have an established line of retreat if they experience difficulty at any particular stage. Undoubtedly many families remain at a particular stage without further progress—this could be due to an unwillingness to accept the further changes necessary to progress further into the normal Australian culture. The "forward and backward looking" implied by this description is well illustrated by some of the families who have left the island. Many of their relatives expressed the view that they would return if suitable work opportunities existed. The opening up of a second mineral sands project in 1967 will provide a test of this intention but it is the writer's opinion that the majority of these families will not return, but that other Aboriginal families currently living under fringe dwelling conditions will take advantage of any openings that occur. A precondition would be that they had prior Aboriginal contacts on the island but there would be many families in this position.

The present study should throw some light on the factors making for easy progress along these migration routes. One obvious factor is the very explicit nature of the rewards obtained from regular employment. The mineral sands mining provided such a source of regular employment and it was obviously to this company's advantage to employ local labour rather than attract workers from elsewhere. There was also the possibility of promotion within the company. Once an Aboriginal agreed to conform to regular hours without absenteeism he commanded a substantial wage with which to establish a home in the township and obtain some comfort. Apart from normal visiting and gossip his progress became obvious to his friends in many other ways and would encourage them to follow his example. There were of course some false starts but there was always fishing and oystering to fall back on and opportunities to make a second attempt. The proportion of Aboriginals working at TAZI increased from 50 per cent to 70 per cent from 1957 to 1965 and the proportion whose income exceeded the basic wage increased from 33 per cent to 65 per cent during the same period. With the advent of a second mineral sands mining venture there will be some competition for local labour which will probably result in better working conditions and perhaps higher wages so that an even higher percentage of

the group will be employed in this work. Comment from TAZI administrative staff indicates that absenteeism and turnover have both decreased markedly since 1957.

A second favourable circumstance was the existence of an Education Department school within a short distance of One Mile. A rather unusual relationship between educational level and integration was observed. In the first survey father's education and level of integration were related whereas in the second survey they were not. The fathers educated solely at the mission school probably received poorer education and to a lower level then those who were able to spend some time at the Dunwich school or some other State school. This poorer education was probably a handicap in their attempts to seek work. However, in the second survey virtually all of the fathers would have received some or all of their education at the Dunwich school, but the vast majority would not have been able to attend mainland secondary schools, and in fact only one did. There was thus a tendency for the frequency distribution to pile up at grade VIII which would prevent any real correlation from showing itself. This situation has been relieved recently by the provision of transport to Cleveland State High School, which has in turn raised the level of expectation of parents of school children as far as their children's education is concerned. This should hasten integration.

The way in which a higher average level of integration was achieved should be noted. It is clear that families already established in 1957 did not increase their integration level substantially by 1965. However new families were established at a higher integration level than the older families with no children at school in 1965. The conclusion seems to be that measures aiming at integration will be most effective with Aboriginals before they establish their families. Such measures would include encouragement to proceed with secondary and tertiary education, adequate training for employment with the provision of obvious incentives to undertake this training, courses in adult education including home management, civics, marriage guidance, family budgeting, etc., and assistance in planning homes to be built on low deposits. The findings of this study have obvious implications for the solution of problems of integrating Aboriginals in other communities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The assistance of the Aboriginal and European people of Dunwich is gratefully acknowledged. Without their active co-operation this study would not have been possible. Mr. G. E. Kearney and his team of psychological testers co-operated in the field work in 1965, Mr. Ray Wyatt prepared maps of the island, and Mrs. R. G. Farmer assisted with the analysis. Stimulating discussions with members of the staff of the Department of Psychology also contributed to the content of this report. Thanks are also due to the Queensland Education Department for access to the school.

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APPENDIX I

General comments on conditions of living

The living conditions at One Mile can only be described as primitive and hard. Water for washing and cleaning is carried from a creek, often a distance of a quarter of a mile uphill. Washing is often carried down to the creek to be done and some families keep a washing tub there. The outside appearance of the shacks is very typical of the image most Australians have of the fringe dwelling Aboriginal community, corrugated iron shanties for the most part in poor repair and with little or no attempt at beautification on the outside. Inside the furniture was sparse, and it was not unusual to find only a table, beds, a couple of cupboards, and boxes to sit upon. It must be stressed however, that despite the lack of even rudimentary modern facilities the standard of cleanliness in the homes was generally very high, and in not one instance could a home have been classified as unclean. One home, barren of all comforts, built of corrugated iron, with no water, no radio, no refrigerator, and the barest essentials for furniture, had a small tin shed built at the back for bathing, a small garden, flowers in water in the home, and the wooden floors and tables scrubbed so white that the old cliche of being "able to eat off the floor" could have been applied.

In Dunwich in 1957 the poorest living conditions were found in the rented homes. Apart from one quite luxurious rented flat, the other five rented places were substandard, unlined, unpainted, with no refrigeration, and generally gave the appearance of subsistence living, whereas the small unfinished homes usually gave the impression of homeliness, pride, and movement forward. In 1965 the range of standard in the rented home was wide, four would be included in the highest standard and three in the lowest. Despite substandard housing however, once again the degree of cleanliness was adequate and achieved against almost insurmountable odds. One woman in 1957 was paying two pounds a week for a flat consisting of a kitchen and one bedroom, with no direct ventilation except to an enclosed verandah, which acted as a second bedroom, and a crude combined laundry-bathroom. The flat was unlined, with an iron roof, no refrigeration, no linoleum on the floor, kerosene lamp lighting, and a fuel stove. The walls were stained black with smoke and the place was so dark, one could barely see even in daylight. Despite these conditions, the flat was neat and clean and the bedlinen white.

In the two visits paid to the island twenty-nine different dwellings were visited, and although the material standard of housing, particularly in 1957, was poor, only one home was classified as lacking in cleanliness, and the term "relatively clean" was used to describe three others. In 1965 no home was classified as unclean although "relatively clean" was used to describe two homes and a third was not seen. In 1965 it also became apparent that as the essentials of life had been gained more attention was being paid to the refinements of modern living, such as curtains, floor coverings, lounges, and consumer durables. Because of the very common prejudice held by Europeans that Aboriginal or part Aboriginal people are unclean it is felt that too much stress cannot be placed upon the general standard of cleanliness existing on the island. It is not unusual for sweeping generalizations to be made and often the external appearance of dwellings is used as a criterion for inner cleanliness. It can be said in this study of an Aboriginal community that no evidence was found to indicate lack of cleanliness; on the contrary, in the majority of cases the standard was high despite poor material conditions. There also appeared to be no relationship between cleanliness and the degree of integration, as the less integrated groups

consistently show high standards of cleanliness, despite the lack of the refinements of living.

It is often said that the Aboriginal people are feckless, irresponsible, drink to excess, and are unable to manage money. The problem of the transitional stage from the patriarchal protection and giving of rations to the present type of economy has already been discussed. No information is available from the 1965 visit to Dunwich, but the data relevant to economic planning obtained in 1957 are interesting. Although there is no control group to verify the information gained statistically, the method of handling money the arrangements between husband and wife appear very typical of the pattern of behaviour in a similar socio-economic level in the European population.[2] One home has been omitted in the following discussion, as the child, a nephew, had just come to the island and was only staying temporarily with his aunt. Seven of the women stated that the money earned was shared co-operatively between husband and wife; one family had a joint cheque account; others stated that money was put in a jar each week and used as needed, usually the wife taking the major responsibility for payment of rates, rent, food etc., although in one case the husband handled the payment of accounts. In two cases the husband handed over his pay envelope intact and the wife gave him an amount back for pocket money. Six men gave their wives housekeeping money, after subtracting their own living expenses; in four cases the amount given to the wife was reasonable, in two cases far more than could really be afforded was kept back for smokes, drinks, and gambling, which created the usual financial and social problems. In two cases the husband controlled all financial matters, giving the wife what was left for incidentals. One woman refused to comment. There appears to be nothing exceptional in this pattern; if anything it could perhaps be hypothesized that the 60 per cent—higher if the one-parent homes are subtracted from the total—sharing co-operatively is higher than is usually found in similar socio-economic groups.

As a rebuttal of the premise that people of Aboriginal descent are unable to manage money, fifteen of the women were willing and able to discuss budgeting. They were able to state the amount spent each week on groceries, meat, and clothing. The majority indicated that they liked to settle accounts weekly, whilst others quite frankly admitted that without credit from the local storekeepers they could not manage. Many indicated that the free fish, the backyard fowl pen, the owned cow, and the ability to make all the children's clothes helped tremendously in balancing the budget. The greatest fear seemed to be illness and the cost which would be involved if a boat had to be chartered to take a sick child to the mainland. Four women were unable to discuss allocation of money in detail, merely remarking "we just get by or it means getting what you can each week and doing without the other things"; one woman refused to comment. The following statement made by a mother of seven children whose husband in 1957 earned about three pounds more than the basic wage is an example of the type of planning which was not uncommon:

> "I have my groceries sent up once a month from Red Comb, as it is much cheaper. I estimate I spend £12 a week on food and we have plenty, but we run a cow, have fowls, and we do eat a lot of crabs and fish. I also buy a whole sheep and store it in the fridge."

Another woman spent all the child endowment on materials and made clothes for both the boys and the girls, and another on the basic wage had a bank account for both children in which she placed a little money each week "for their future".

[2]This statement is made on the basis of the writer's experience—observation as a practising social worker for over twenty years.

Excessive hire purchase was generally frowned upon. Two families had commitments greater than they could really manage, but although hire purchase was acceptable for necessities such as refrigerators, the general trend was to avoid it for the luxuries such as lounge suites and floor coverings. Sufficient information was not available to gauge whether this was due to personal choice, the isolation of the island, or difficulties encountered by Aboriginals in arranging hire purchase contracts.

There is some drunkenness on the island; there is some gambling on the island; there is some marital discord and irresponsibility, but the total picture presented in these patterns of behaviour appeared in no way much different from any similar cross-section of the white Australian population.

APPENDIX II

Interviewing Schedule A

Name of Child..... Age .....

Family Group.....

M..... Age .....

F..... Age .....

Siblings ..... Age .....

Family Relationships.....

Father's Occupation and Income.....

Education of Parents.....

Children's Interests and Experiential Backgrounds and Socialization.....

Relationship with Other Children, i.e. Socialization.....

Economic Planning .....

Attitude to Work .....

Home .....

Marital Relationships .....

General .....

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEWING SCHEDULE B

1. Name .....

2. Date of Birth .....

3. *Household* (Parents or Guardians) .....

.....

Siblings and Others .....

4. Father's Race .....

Mother's Race .....

5. Relations on the Island (Family Tree) .....

.....

6. *Home*
   Cleanliness
   Furnishings
   Appliances
   Sleeping Arrangements

7. Father's Education .....

Mother's Education .....

8. *Occupation* (Household Head) .....

.....

Income .....

Work History .....

.....

Question	Response	Comments
9. *Attitude to TAZI* What effect do you feel the rutile works (TAZI) has had on the island? e.g. economic social (discrimination at works)		

Question	Response	Comments
10. *Colour Bar*		
In your opinion is there evidence of colour bar or discrimination on the island?	Yes/No	
e.g. at dances, parties at shops at school at church or Sunday school		
Are you invited to European homes?	Yes/No	
Are your children invited to birthday parties?	Yes/No	
Is there much sexual mixing between European and Aboriginal population?	Yes/No	
11. *Children*		
Who are your children's friends?		
What do they do for recreation?		
Do they visit European homes?	Yes/No	
Have they had any trips off the island?	Yes/No	
Where?		
How often?		
12. *Ambitions*		
What ambitions do you have for your children? Level of education Employment		
Have you made any plans to achieve this?	Yes/No	
What avenues for employment do you see on the island?		
Rank preferred occupation for child (1) TAZI (2) Fishing (3) School Teacher (4) Apprentice (5) Shop Assistant		
13. *Island Happiness*		
Are you happy on the island?	Yes/No	
Have you ever thought of leaving?	Yes/No	
Why?		
Where to?		
When?		

Question	Response	Comments
Preferred Places to Live (1) Wholly Aboriginal (2) Most people Aboriginal (3) Group of Aboriginals in predominantly European society (4) On own in European community		
14. *Sharing Home* Would you mind having relatives live with you?	Yes/No	
Would you take in and care for an illegitimate child?	Yes/No	
15. *Religion* Are you bringing your children up in the same faith?	Yes/No	
Do you attend church?	Yes/No	
Do your children attend Sunday school?	Yes/No	

16. *Help for Aboriginals*

Rank in order of importance in helping other Aboriginals

(1) Aboriginals who get on in the world (e.g. Harold Blair, Ron Richards, Eddie Gilbert, Joe McGuiness).
(2) Aboriginals who agitate for better conditions for their people (e.g. Kath Walker).
(3) Aboriginals who help group with day to day problems (e.g. Ted Brown).
(4) Aboriginals who preserve customs, arts, etc. (e.g. Willie MacKenzie).
(5) Aboriginals who become church employees, e.g. deacon, minister, etc. (e.g. Rev. Brady, Pastor Nicholls).

Extra Comment

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. . . sand mining is livelihood of multi-racial town

The Australian 3/12/71

FIERY, wiry Aboriginal authoress Kath Walker stood in the hot sand of a side road at Dunwich — sand discolored by the rich mineral content which is the lifeblood of this tiny, historic township on Stradbroke Island in Brisbane's Moreton Bay.

Kath Walker, the outspoken champion of Aboriginal rights and a fighter for conservation long before the movement became fashionable, was on her home ground and the home of her forefathers — the Noonuccal tribe.

She was talking at her characterisitc machine-gun pace on her three favorite topics — writing, conservation and integration of Aboriginals.

"Dunwich," she said, "is the only place in Australia where I have found complete multi-racial harmony."

And multi-racial is the right word for the 672 adults and 428 children in this sand-mining township, where mixed marriages are the rule rather than the exception.

The people of Dunwich, who think of themselves as islanders and call Brisbane the mainland, are a harmonious mixture of Aboriginal, European, Portugese, Spanish, Pacific Island and Indian or Pakistani.

Dunwich was established as a penal colony and first port for Brisbane in 1828.

Convicts built a stone jetty, which forms part of the foundation of today's jetty, and for about 20 years they toiled towing cedar log rafts to Dunwich by longboat.

The cedar was shipped from Dunwich because the mouth of the Brisbane River was silted up.

In 1842 the convicts were moved to Brisbane and a Catholic mission took over the buildings.

In 1850 Dunwich became the quarantine station and in 1866 the township was taken over by the Queensland Government which established the Benevolent Asylum for Aged, which cared for about 1000 elderly people until 1946.

During the next few years Dunwich was virtually deserted as local people moved to the mainland for work.

A few stayed on to make a living from fishing and oysters. In 1948, a new and then minor industry moved to Dunwich — sand mining.

Kath Walker says the equal job opportunities created by the sand mining companies and the company housing schemes have created the right atmosphere for integration.

"Here, every opportunity is given to the island people," she said.

SLASH PINE GROVES FOR RESTORATION

Mrs Walker, who became nationally-known overnight when her We Are Going was published in 1964, is in "semi-retirement." Her new book, "Stradbroke Dreamtime" will be published shortly, she plans to write the history of Stradbroke, and she hopes to establish a retreat on the island for writers and artists.

"Stradbroke Dreamtime is a collection of legends and stories I heard when I was little — generally while I was hiding near where the men talked, because I wasn't supposed to hear them," she said.

She is happy with the way the sand miners are rehabilitating their mined areas but she is critical of their past efforts — especially their plantation of slash pine — and she is determined that the unique freshwater lakes on the island will not be disturbed.

But the slash pine groves are, in a way symbolic.

They were planted in an attempt to provide a future livelihood for the islanders when the mineral sands run out . . . probably within 20 years.

The sand mining which started in 1948 and has been increasing in tempo since 1967, saved Dunwich from becoming a virtual ghost town. As jobs became available, island families who left to work in Brisbane returned and settled.

When the mineral sands run out, Dunwich probably will dwindle away to a small fishing village.

The sand mining programme has made access to various parts of the island easier for fishermen, bushwalkers and scouts, who use company-built roads, and it has become popular with weekend visitors.

The island people are satisfied with the rehabilitation methods developed by the sand miners.

Kath Walker and other community spokesmen at Dunwich are pleased that native island scrub is being used to revegetate mined areas. Already, many former mined areas have prolific wild life.

Mines manager for Associated Minerals Consolidated Limited, Mr G. Morris, said: "A few years after we've gone, people will not realise we have been here.

"Our technique of removing and stockpiling the top soil before we mine has proved successful.

"After mining, it is returned with all its natural humus and seeds, fertilised and seeded for quick-cover grass, and where necessary covered with brush to prevent wind erosion.

"When the grass has a hold, we plant shrubs and trees native to the district, to supplement the natural growth. These seedlings are grown in our company nurseries."