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'IT'S JUST HOW YOU'VE BEEN Brought up!'

An aboriginal perspective on the relationship between the law, racism and mental health in n.s.w.

by

reuben bolt

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of health science (aboriginal health and community development) Honours

The university of sydney

2001

supervisor: Dr Kathleen Clapham.
Abstract.

Aboriginal people are by far more, over represented in the judicial system than any other group of people in Australia. This is a growing problem as incarceration rates are on the rise. This thesis has looked to institutional racism as an explanation for this gross over representation. This thesis has attempted to show the relationship between institutional racism and individual racism. Furthermore, this thesis has looked at values that are embedded in Western society. The value systems from this Western society have been compared to the values systems of Aboriginal society to show that these societies have different understandings and different perceptions. This research study has adopted a qualitative approach as a methodology and six in-depth interviews were used to gain original data of the participant’s perceptions on Institutional racism and incarceration. The participants were all from the Nowra, Shoalhaven Aboriginal community. A thematic analysis was adopted to extract the themes from the interviews. The findings proved to be important, as all of the participants felt that they had been affect by Institutional racism as well as racism. The findings of the study complemented the findings in the literature.
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“IT's just how you've been brought up!”
Bolt, 2001 ©
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Forward

I am an Indigenous person from Nowra on the South Coast of N.S.W. on the Eastern Coast of Australia. (See appendix 1 and 2.) I have many relatives who live in this area. I am a descendant from the Tomakin-Wandandian people who, before European Invasion, roamed freely and contentedly throughout this Nowra, Shoalhaven area.

Over the course of the preceding 213 years of colonisation, Aboriginal people have not received a fair deal from the various Governments and their institutions in Australia. I have the experience of seeing other Aboriginal community members always in court and often incarcerated. This is a growing problem for the Shoalhaven Aboriginal community, and most other Aboriginal communities and I feel it warrants attention to the Australian public. Through personal accounts, I have seen what gaol does to my people. It not only affects the children and spouses of the people being incarcerated but also their, mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, nieces, nephews, cousins, grandparents, and extended family. In my experience and from what I have observed, when these people are released for prison, their attitudes change and their mental health seems to be poorer. Several people have told me that they feel these people have become institutionalised.

I decided to do a research study, to give Aboriginal people the chance to tell their stories and experiences and document them in a culturally appropriate way as
possible. I felt that as an Indigenous person from this area, living, breathing and
experiencing the heartfelt moments could only benefit Indigenous research by
collating all the data and presenting it in a package in a way which reflected as
accurately as possible to what the participants portrayed. I feel that in order to
provide a beneficial research study on Indigenous affairs the first step is to utilise
researchers who have an understanding of Indigenous culture, in that, having
knowledge of cultural appropriateness. Indigenous researchers are people who
have an understanding of Indigenous issues and culture. From what I have read
throughout the literature on previous research conducted on Indigenous issues by
non-Indigenous authors and researchers, I feel that specific issues must firstly be
understood to give accurate accounts of these experiences. When the researchers
interpret the data and collate it they do so according to their understandings. If
they are not culturally aware of sensitive issues relating to Indigenous affairs, then
they could be inaccurate and unintentionally insensitive. This research study was
c Conducted to provide positive initiatives to benefit Aboriginal people.
Introduction

In recent times considerable attention has been focused on the over-representation of Aboriginal people in the judicial system in Australia.¹ (Johnston 1991, Social Justice report 1999, Cunneen 2001, O'Shane 1992 cited in Cuneen 1992)

Landmark reports such as the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (Johnston, 1991) and the International debate about mandatory sentencing in the Northern Territory and Western Australia, (Social Justice Report, 1999 P.131-169) highlights the importance of this issue for Australians and others interested in social justice. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2000) as of the 1st March 2000, there were 4080 Indigenous prisoners in Australia. So while Indigenous people account for 2.2% of the total Australian population they represent 20% of the Australian prisoner population

The reasons behind these levels of incarceration are complex. Harding et al (1995) addresses the issues of Aboriginal crime and identifies various theories including, biological theories/heredity, strain theory, labeling theory and conflict theory, which propose to explain this. Other authors have focused not only on differences in offending patterns, but also frequency and treatment by the criminal justice system. (LaPrairie 1990; Smandych, Lincoln and Wilson 1995.) Walker

¹ For official Australian Government purposes there are three elements that define Aboriginality. i) That the person is of Aboriginal descent ii) Identifies him/herself as an Aborigine iii) is accepted by the Aboriginal community with which the person claims to be associated. The terms Aboriginal will be referring to the Indigenous Australian peoples, the Aborigines, and Western will be referring to the ancestry and background of European peoples labeled explorers or discoverers. For example, people such as Columbus, Cook, Phillips, Torres etc
and McDonald (1995) have looked to similarities in Indigenous and non-Indigenous explanations for criminal behaviour. They stress that criminogenic factors are derived from socio-economic disadvantage. Broadhurst (1997) and Tyler (1998) have looked at the effect of cultural conflict and spatiality.

Other analysts notably O'Shane, Cunneen, Craigie, (Cited in Cunneen 1992, P.15) have pointed to structural or institutional racism that continues to operate. Past laws were created by Western society, through well-respected people of that society and Western society therefore accepts this unquestioningly. This brings into question the conflicting values between one culture and another. In this case the conflicting values are between the judicial system of the Commonwealth of Australia and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community of Australia.

Racism and cultural conflict have also been linked to colonisation and it's components, including dispossession and assimilation. Saggers and Gray (1991). Colonisation has disadvantaged Aboriginal people in Australian society, post invasion. The disadvantage is derived from cultural conflict, which Aboriginal people were not accustomed to. This cultural conflict used many different measures including, social integration and thereby created hierarchical classes in society. Mental health problems arose from dispossession of cultural practices, such as language, ceremonies and beliefs.
This thesis will explore the link between institutional racism and incarceration rates of Aboriginal people. Cultural conflict is an underlying factor. The thesis will argue that Indigenous incarceration rates are the results of racism, and that this has a major effect on the mental health of Aboriginal people and their families. A particular emphasis in the thesis is placed on the issues concerning racism and bias in Australia’s social institutions, including the judicial system.

Research in Indigenous communities is a very important issue for Indigenous people. Indigenous people not only from Australia, but from all around the world want Indigenous research done which benefits their communities. Indigenous research by Indigenous peoples will benefit Indigenous communities. As Indigenous peoples are becoming educated, they, in the same process are becoming more assimilated to Western society. The preservation of their culture and values is very important.

The research was particularly interested in the Aboriginal experience of racism and the judicial system in Australia. The participants were community members of the Aboriginal community at Nowra. It therefore will employ in-depth interviews from Aboriginal people only in this area of the country.

Aims

The aim of this thesis is to explore how Aboriginal people experience the judicial system in Australia and to examine the effects of these experiences on their health.
and mental health. The study focuses on one community in particular, the Nowra, Shoalhaven Aboriginal community located on the South Eastern coast of Australia. (See appendix 1 and 2.) In addition to a critical review of the literature, the study draws from qualitative data collected through face-to-face in-depth interviews with six Aboriginal people who have either experienced prison or have family members who have. Although the interviewees presently live in the Shoalhaven, their experience with the judicial system could extend state and nation wide. The people, sought for this study were all members of this Aboriginal community, which has problems similar to other Aboriginal communities in Australia.

The study seeks a better understanding of the relationship between racism and mental health. The broad area of enquiry in this thesis is about how the bias and prejudice in values and attitudes in the Australian judicial system have affected health and in particular the mental health of Aboriginal people. The three research questions are:

- How do Western societal values differ from traditional Aboriginal societal values?
- What is the relationship between societal values and Institutional racism?
- What impact has Institutional racism had on Aboriginal people?
These questions will be answered firstly through a review of the literature on Aboriginal incarceration, values and racism, from an Aboriginal perspective. Secondly, the analysis of qualitative data will document the experiences that six South Coast Aboriginal people have had of the judicial system, describing the impact of over-representation. Their personal accounts of racism and prison experience had been sought and the affect that it has on their mental health and their family’s mental health. It also explores how Aboriginal people experience and perceive discrimination.

The levels of Aboriginal incarceration will be addressed in Chapter one. This is to give a background of the research study. Chapter two will provide a critical review of the literature showing the origins of race and racism and determine the distinction between individual racism and institutional racism. An underlying theme throughout the course of this thesis is cultural conflict. Cultural conflict is the result of different value systems and chapter three will discuss the differences in values systems, the differences in the way of living and the differences in cultural understandings. Chapter four will provide a brief description of racism in Australian society in the past and present. Chapter five will introduce the methodology that was used in this study. It will clarify and justify the use of qualitative in-depth interview techniques. Chapter six will present the findings of the interviews adopting a thematic analysis. Chapter seven contains the conclusions and recommendations.
Chapter 1: Aboriginal incarceration in Australia

According to the latest figures available from the Productive Commission (2001) there were 118 correctional institutions throughout Australia in 1999-2000. There were, on average 20,753 people a day, detained in Australian institutions. This excludes periodic detainees. Of this number 20 percent were Aboriginal and six percent female. The prisoner population has increased on the average daily numbers, by 4.5% on the 1998-1999 year.

According to Levy, (1999, P.3)

"At 30 June 1998, there were 1090 Aboriginal inmates in New South Wales correctional facilities – 994 males (14% of total males population) and 96 females (21% of total female population). The proportion of Aboriginal inmates in NSW correctional facilities has risen inexorably from below 6% in 1982, to over 14% in 1998."

Levy (1999, P.3.)

This chapter reviews some of the major themes that emerged from the literature on Aboriginal incarceration in the various states and territories of Australia.

Aboriginal people in police custody

Throughout Australia, Aboriginal people are over represented in all levels of the judicial system. This includes police custody, prison that is sentenced and on
remand, and Juvenile detention. This has been consistently the case over many
years.

Table 1 (Cunneen 2001, P.19) clearly shows the numbers and rates of Indigenous
and non-Indigenous people whom were in police custody at the time of a 1995
survey.

Table 1: Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in police custody, Australia,
August 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Indigenous</th>
<th>Non-indigenous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Rate a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>2327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>3911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>4941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>2889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>6765</td>
<td>2228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: a Rate per 100 000 of the population; b Ratio of Indigenous rate to non-
Indigenous rate.

Source: Adapted from Cunneen and MacDonald 1997, P. 20-21

Table 1 shows that 2228 per 100,000 Indigenous people were in police custody
compared to non-Indigenous at 83 per 100,000. Therefore, Aboriginal and Torres
Strait Islander people were 27 times more likely to be in police custody than non-
Indigenous people.

In New South Wales and Western Australia Aboriginal people were 20 and 39
times respectively, more likely to be in police custody than non-Indigenous
people.
Previous Incarceration

A national Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Survey was conducted in 1994 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1994,1995). The survey asked Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people questions relating to Indigenous and police relations. Within the 18-24 years age group almost 47% stated that they had been arrested within the previous 5 years. In Western Australia almost 16% of the total Aboriginal population were arrested at least once compared to 2 % for non-Indigenous people.

According to Broadhurst (1997, P.426) In Western Australia, statistics for re-arrest in the period 1984-1993 were 88% for Indigenous males and 52% for non-Indigenous Males. Indigenous women re-arrested total 85% whilst non-Indigenous women total 36%.

Almost one in every three Aboriginal people had been arrested for disorderly conduct or drinking in public.

Intoxication and Incarceration

According to Cunneen (2001) Intoxication in public is a criminal offence in some states and not in others. There is a link between Aboriginal incarceration rates and intoxication.
"Nationally the reason for being placed in police custody for 31 per cent of Indigenous people was intoxication in public, irrespective of whether it was a criminal offence or not. Some 15 per cent of non-Indigenous custodies were for the same reason."

(Carcach and McDonald, 1997, P. viii, Cited in Cunneen (2001 P. 18)

Cunneen (2001, P. 19), asserts that in states and territories where public drunkenness is not a criminal offence, 25% of Indigenous cases are for protective custody as a result of this offence and only 2%, for non-Indigenous people in the same scenario.

Carcach and McDonald (1997, p 27) states that the survey showed nearly half (48.2%) of people in Australia who were placed in police custody for public order offences were Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people. And Carcach and McDonald (1997, p.31) states that 94 % and 92 % of people placed in protective custody for public intoxication in Western Australia and Northern Territory respectively, were Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people.

Aboriginal people are more likely to be placed in police custody and as a result, it is recorded by police officers. When the defendant presents at court the prior arrests are taken into consideration by the judge or magistrate and judgment given. Aboriginal people are more likely to be detained by police on a short term basis whether it be for three weeks, 24 hours or 1hour. Nonetheless this leads to incarceration of Aboriginal people in this country.
Aboriginal people and prison

Cunneen (2001, P. 21) states “Deprivation of liberty is the strongest sanction available in the criminal justice system and is generally regarded as a sanction of last resort.” Having stated that, it would be reasonable to say that in general Indigenous people are 27 times more likely to be deprived of their liberty than non-Indigenous people are in this country.

Table 2 clearly shows the numbers and rates of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in prison in Australia at June 30 1995.

Table 2: Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in prison, Australia, 30 June 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Indigenous</th>
<th>Non-Indigenous</th>
<th>Over- Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No  rate a</td>
<td>No  rate a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>883 1883</td>
<td>6784 147</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>128 1102</td>
<td>2339 68</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>638 1369</td>
<td>2322 93</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>258 2629</td>
<td>1143 101</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>714 2336</td>
<td>1491 118</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>14 238</td>
<td>230 66</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
<td>342 1258</td>
<td>129 138</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>8 717</td>
<td>95 42</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>2985 1628</td>
<td>14443 107</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Rates per 100,000 of the population; b Ration of Indigenous rate to non-Indigenous rate.
Source: Adapted from ATSIC (1997) Pp 63-4, 76

Table 2 shows that of the 17428 prisoners in Australia 2985 were Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people. This means that at 30 June 1995 Indigenous people represent Approximately 17.1% of the gaol population. This is an increase of 65% compared to the Indigenous Gaol population of 1809 in 1988 (Cunneen 2001, P 21) The table also shows that the Indigenous imprisonment rate was 1628 per...
100,000 of the population and the non-Indigenous rate of 107 per 100,000 of the population. According to ATSIC (1997, vol 1, P.65 Cited in Cunneen 2001 P. 21) “Nationally 1 in 20 Indigenous males aged between 19 and 24 were in prison on the 30th June 1995.” The problem for Indigenous imprisonment rates are growing.

“In not one jurisdiction in Australia was there either a lower number of Indigenous people in prison or a lower Indigenous imprisonment rate in 1995 compared to 1988.

While Western Australia maintained it’s position of having the highest in Australia throughout the period, both New South Wales and South Australia more than doubled the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in their gaols during the same period-New South Wales by 91% and, and South Australia by 87%”

According to Cunneen (2001, P. 22)

| Table 3: Indigenous and non-Indigenous young people (10-17 years) in detention, Australia, 30 June 1997 |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
|                  | Indigenous       | Non-Indigenous   |                  |
|                  | No a             | Rate b           | No a             | Rate b |
| New South Wales  | 132              | 915              | 225              | 34     | 27.2  |
| Victoria         | 8                | 244              | 63               | 13     | 19.1  |
| Queensland       | 71               | 478              | 55               | 15     | 32.8  |
| Western Australia| 70               | 783              | 41               | 20     | 38.3  |
| South Australia  | 17               | 541              | 60               | 38     | 14.2  |
| Tasmania         | 7                | 343              | 15               | 27     | 12.7  |
| Northern Territory| 20            | 227              | 1                | 7      | 32.2  |
| ACT              | 3                | 811              | 13               | 38     | 21.5  |
| Australia        | 328              | 583              | 473              | 24     | 24.7  |

Notes: a For the purpose of standardisation, these numbers do not include young people over the age of 17 years who are held in detention. Some jurisdictions such as New South Wales have significant numbers of Indigenous young people in this age category and could add as much as 20% to the figure cited above; b Rate per 100 000 of the population; c Ration of Indigenous rate to non-Indigenous rate.
Explanations of Aboriginal incarceration

There are many explanations for the gross over representation of Aboriginal people in the judicial system in Australia. Many people put the blame on Aboriginal people. This, the ‘blame the victim’ approach reinforces the belief that for one to be helped, one must help themselves. If they do not help themselves then they have only themselves to blame. However this view does not take into account other issues such as economic, social, political issues etc. It is often exploited by politicians and media through television programmes, and by the general public through talk back radio, ‘letters to the editor’ and ‘have your say’ columns in printed newspapers. The deeper issues on context are not considered by these people. As in Ackerman (2001). A lot of these opinions acknowledge that there is a problem with indigenous relations (included is incarceration), but do not acknowledge or even mention why. When the explanations are given they are usually directed to the perceived fact that Aboriginal people are criminals or Aboriginal people are no hopers and they only have themselves to blame, hence the term ‘blame the victim.’

These opinions seldom explain the colonisation process, the ill treatment of Aboriginal people, the unjustly attainment of the land, the wrongful theft of children and the fact that cultural difference or conflict puts restrictions on Aboriginal achievement. A combination of these issues where Aboriginal people

---

2 Also see ‘Cycle of poverty’ and ‘Wheel of Discrimination’ In Individual racism vs Institutional racism, chapter 3.
are oppress as a people has an affect on Aboriginal social life. In fact those who put forward those arguments are labeled ‘politically correct’ and are accused of having the ‘blackarm band’ view of history.


Another explanation for Aboriginal incarceration is institutional racism. If Aboriginal people are victims of institutional racism whether it be by racist laws or bias judgments asserted by judges or magistrates, or racial actions taken by police with the use of it’s discretionary powers it nonetheless lays the foundation to ensure that Aboriginal people become incarcerated. Ridgeway (2001, P.2) states that Australian policies form a pathway to gaol for Aboriginal people.

“Their future at the moment looks more like being on a permanent treadmill or permanent pathway to jails in this country because most of them through lack of job opportunities and education, will infringe upon the criminal justice system and end up being incarcerated, thereby, exposing themselves to self-harm or other misadventure.”

Ridgeway (2001, P.2)
If Australian society is ignorant of Aboriginal issues such as the one's just mention, then Graham (1989) suggests that this is the reason why it has become a major problem.

"In brief, blacks are dying in custody and else where because a significant section of Australian society, represented by millions of individuals don't care... They include the politicians who treat Aboriginal affairs with indifference, the police and other authorities who fall into 'stereotyping' the use of inappropriate tests, the confusion of illiteracy with intelligence, the failure to recognise the effects of extreme emotional and intellectual deprivation."

Graham (1989, P. 20.)

Previous records of Aboriginal people are taken into account by judges and magistrates. Whether or not these previous records are truth or fabricated they are still accepted as truth and will still be considered by the judge or magistrate when making a judgment. If for example, an Aboriginal person had been in incarcerated for a minor offence and had to attend court whilst incarcerated, but did not attend court because of a mix up by the prison officers, then it would be recorded on his record that he failed to appear at court. If he is accused of a crime in the future, the police can refuse him bail because he has previously failed to appear at court.

**Incarceration, Health and Mental health**

People who have been incarcerated develop different values standards and behaviour patterns. Their attitude and mentality changes. They become...
institutionalised. As Bodsky (1975, P.10), indicates, using the terminology prisonisation.

"In 1940 the Prisonization hypothesis was developed by Clemmer, who postulated that as individuals stay in prison they become emotionally separate from free-world individuals, and increasingly acquire values, standards and behaviour patterns of other prisoners."

(Brodsky, 1975, P.10 Cited in Deane 1988, P.25)

According to Deane (1988, P.25) "it has been suggested that a prisoner's family and outside contacts are key determinants of the extent to which a prisoner is prisonized."

When prisoners are incarcerated they experience many different emotions. "Anxiety, depression, severe anger, phobic reactions, hallucinations, somatic complaints and lowered self-esteem are all detrimental psychological effects from segregation." (Brodsky and Scogin, 1988; Grassiean 1983; Grassian and Friedman, 1986; Scott and Gendreau, 1969; all cited in Miller and Young 1997). It is emphasised that these symptoms may not be increased by segregation per se but the determinant factor is the amount of restrictions placed on the inmates. (Miller and Young, 1997, P.85)

This paper will look towards institutional racism derived from the creation of policies that are based on Western societal values, which are influenced by historical and structural accounts of colonisation. That is, the systemic
marginalisation of Aboriginal people. One of the aims of this thesis is to describe the impact of Indigenous over representation in the judicial system. Personal account will be explored later in thesis via the interviews.

In relation to Aboriginal people in the prison system, health issues such as, tuberculosis and hepatitis C have gained considerable attention and a partnership has been initiated in 1996, between the Correctional Health Service and the Aboriginal Health Research Council, (Now referred as the Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council.) (Levy 1999)

Levy (1999) stated that the proportion of Aboriginal inmates in NSW correctional facilities has risen from below 6% in 1982, to over 14% in 1998 and in the short to medium term, the inmate population is projected to increase by 20-25%. If the trends for Aboriginal imprisonment, continues at the rate to which it is accruing this could see a greater number of Indigenous imprisonment in New South Wales and Australia. If this is the case, then Indigenous people are at a greater risk of becoming institutionalised. The partnership between the Correctional Health Service and the Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council is an initiative
which will benefit Aboriginal people as it acknowledges the issues of providing and improving health care.
Chapter 2: Race and Racism

Race

Why does racism occur? To answer this question we must determine what racism is and where it’s roots are embedded. Racism is derived from the word ‘race’.

According to the MSN Encarta encyclopedia (2000, p.1.) on the classification of races in the 19th century,

"...every anthropologist proposed a different list of races, with numbers ranging from 2 to 60 or more...many scholars once believed all people could be classified into one of three main races: (1) Caucasoid, or “white”; (2) Negroid, or “black”; and (3) Mongoloid, or “yellow.” These races correspond roughly to the geographic areas of Europe, sub-Saharan Africa and Asia respectively."

Encyclopedia (2000, p.1)

Goldberg (1993) suggests there are, in his words, several ‘masks of race.’ The concept behind, ‘masks of race’ include an understanding of what race is and how it is defined. Goldberg (1993) states,

“This account may seem to suggest that there is no racism without or before at least some allusion to the concept of race, that the concept necessarily precedes the phenomenon of racism both conceptually and as a matter of historical fact.”

Goldberg (1993, P 61)
Goldberg (1993) identifies several different concepts of 'race'. Historically, the term, race, was first recorded in a poem, by William Dunbar, in 1508. His usage of the word seems to possibly be a significant derivative of the word 'root' pertaining to vegetables or herbs. (Goldberg, 1993.) The French term race and the German rasse derived from the Italian razza and the Spanish raza. The term race was more frequently used when the European exploratory voyages of discovery and expansion were operating in the latter fifteenth century. The term race reflected the revitalised Aristotelian concerns of the scholastics with plant and animal classifications. From its earliest use 'race' has taken on both natural and social qualities.

According to Goldberg (1993) the conceptual history of the term race is defined as either a) the groups of plants, animals or persons linked by common origin or descent or b) as a group having some feature/s in common. In general 'race' has been used to signify breed or stock of animals (1580), a species or kind of animal (1605), a variety of plant (1596), the great divisions of mankind (1580), a limited group of persons descended from a common ancestor (1581) and slightly later a 'tribe, nation or people considered of common stock.' (1600)

Goldberg (1993) examined the relationship between religious beliefs and scientific knowledge as the basis of the concept, pedigree and population.
Classification of races proceeded on the basis of differentially ordered, heritably qualities and dispositions. “The shift from thinking of people predominantly in terms of their pedigree to conceiving them fore mostly in terms of their group identity is reflected in the growing emphasis upon the concept of population.” (Goldberg 1993, P 64)

To be considered a member of the population, one had to be identifiable by certain characteristics. According to Gliddon and Nott (1988)

“the principle physical characters of a people may be preserved throughout a long series of ages, in a great part of the population, despite of climate, mixture of races, invasion of foreigners, progress of civilization, or other known influences; and that a type can long outlive its language, history, religion, customs and recollections.”

Gliddon and Nott (1988)

Goldberg (1993) suggests that the monogenic view of race stipulated the view that all human beings were descendants from Adam and Eve and racial difference was due to environmental difference. It did not explain the mechanism of why races were environmentally determined. Polygenism did. It suggests that racial differences were originally in population groupings and was simply a matter of inheritance.

In Darwin’s view, species were breeding populations and races were simply sub-species.
“Biologically related persons are those possessing genes, through inheritance from a common gene pool... Heredity is the pattern of gene transmission from ancestry which determines the individuals locus of possible responses to the environment. Races, in this view are simply population that diverge from each other in their relative gene frequencies or, in other words, in the relative degree of possessing certain inherited characteristics, which even within a single population tend not to converge.”

(Goldberg, 1993, P.66)

Hollingsworth (1998, P.46) has a different view and suggests, “races are social constructions, not categories based on actual biological differences. That is, we don’t actually see races: we observe particular combinations of real and imagined bodily and cultural characteristics to which we attribute meaning through ideas about race.”

The cultural conception of race is seen as an identification of language group, religion, beliefs, group habits norms, or customs.
Individual racism vs. Institutional racism

According to McConnachie, Hollingsworth & Pettman (1988) there are two forms of racism and these are individual and institutional racism. Individual racism has been described as

"the expression of racist attitudes in the behaviour of individuals in face-to-face situations. It is based on the attitudes on individual people, and has typically been studied by psychologists, interested in personality and attitudes."

McConnachie et al (1988, P. 32)

Individual racism is essentially a form of bias or prejudice that is aimed at one race of people/or individuals, by another race of people/or individuals based on appearance, skin colour, social interactions etc. Institutional racism on the other hand

"is rather more complex, and refers to the ways in which racist beliefs or values have been built into the operations of social institutions in such a way as to discriminate against, control and oppress various minority groups."

McConnachie et al (1988, P. 32)

Racism is associated with prejudice and ethnocentrism.
Prejudice

According to McConnochie et al, (1988, P. 21) “St Thomas Aquinas gave a beautiful simple definition of prejudice as ‘thinking ill of others without sufficient cause.’ Literally prejudice means pre-judging – making an evaluation of somebody or something without sufficient evidence on which to base that evaluation.”

How and why do we as people develop different forms of bias and prejudice? Firstly to have some form of bias or prejudice, one must be able to make an assumption or have an opinion. Why do we have an opinion? The reason why we have an opinion is because in the early stages of life one is taught by parents or parent figures the basic elements of life, which constitute the formation of moral and ethical codes. To form these moral and ethical codes the parental figure teaches the child right and wrong according to their (the parent figure) socially constructed value systems. When these ‘rights and wrongs’ are taught they are only transferred with the socially constructed value that is associated with it. The value systems are inherited. It is therefore reasonable to assume that we determine what’s right and wrong according to our own beliefs and morals passed down to us from our parents or parent figures.

According to Goldberg (1993, Pg. 14) ‘Moral notions tend to be basic to each sociodiscursive order, for they are the key in defining the interactive way social subjects see others and conceive (of) themselves.’ Any person, who makes a
judgment, makes it as they see fit, whether it is wrong or right. What is wrong? And, what is right? Right or wrong is dependent on the moral notion of the person making the judgment. People develop moral and ethical codes, which reflect their inherent values.

Some authors have regarded prejudice as a universalised tendency in all humans. (Allport, Cited in Hollingsworth (1988).

_Ethnocentrism_

Ethnocentrism is a form of prejudice. According to McConnachie _et al_ (1988, P. 23) "Ethnocentrism refers to the belief that one's own culture is superior to the cultures of other people, that members of one's own culture are superior to members of other cultures, and that these beliefs provide justification for discriminating against people from other cultures on those grounds of perceived cultural superiority."

Hollingsworth (1998, P. 48, 49) suggests "prejudice was seen as closely connected to ethnocentrism, defined as "a preference for one's own group and its values and culture...Not all people who hold prejudice beliefs will act them out, although frequently racially discriminatory behaviours are based on or justified by such attitudes." (This is explained in more depth at the beginning of the next chapter, 'individual racism'.)
Through social interaction values can change and this in turn can influence and change attitudes. Ethnocentric beliefs within individuals can influence other individuals and whole countries. Hollingsworth (1998, P.49) asks “How could political and military leaders persuade ordinary citizens that some in their communities were not really human or at least not worthy of treating humanely.” An example of this is the Nazis in Germany, lynchings in the United States and the pogroms and the genocide against the Jews. (Hollingsworth 1998) Not to mention the mistreatment of Aboriginal people due to the perception that they were savages and uncivilised without the capacity to progress. (Morgan 1877)

Individual Racism

McConnachie et al (1988, P.30-31) suggests racism involves additional beliefs to ethnocentrism and that the perceived cultural superiority is based on genetic superiority. That is, racists argue, “their culture is superior to that of others, that this cultural superiority is based on genetic, or racial superiority and that this racial superiority provides justification for discrimination.”

(McConnachie et al 1988, P. 31)

Hollingsworth (1998) suggests that many authors explaining or defining racism, often contradict each other. When this happens, they may also seem confusing to the reading audience. These authors often reflect their academic background.
“Not only are there differences in the terms of the academic disciplines involved (for example, psychology versus sociology versus politics), there are also marked differences between different countries, and the political and intellectual positions of the various authors.”

(Hollingsworth 1998, P.47)

McConnachie et al (1988) suggests there are three main ways to describe the degree of individual racism. These are, either, overt racists, non-active racists and non-racists. Overt racists are people who will commit violent racist acts against other people. For example Lynchings in the United States, or white people forbidden to marry black people etc. Non-active racist, are people who hold racist thoughts and beliefs, but don’t usually express these views as overt discrimination. Non-racists are people who classify people on the basis of personal behaviour rather than skin colour or the shape of their eyes.

**Institutional racism**

Institutional racism is hard to define and in some cases hard to identify. It’s hard to identify because it is some times unintended.

“While some institutional racism is official and contained in discriminatory legislation (as in the various Aboriginal welfare legislation until the 1970’s or South Africa’s apartheid laws), much is unofficial, unnoticed and unintended. Social institutions like schools, the judicial system and health care have their own cultures, specific ways of operating based on narrow understandings of what is normal or proper. These values,
beliefs and practices may be derived from a very limited social base but are universalised as the only or best way of functioning.”

Hollingsworth (1998, P.54)

In relation to the development of institutional racism Van den Berghe (1967) described three critical historical factors that had coincided. Firstly, the colonial expansion of the Western world, which saw the importance of resources such as land, minerals and agriculture and the emergence of the slave trade, which shaped the attitudes of the then Western world over a period of four centuries. “This was a critical factor in the development of racist attitudes in the societies concerned.” (McConnachie (1988, P. 41)

Secondly, the enlightenment of that period, which saw the contradiction between the treatment of slaves and the colonised people. “Europeans chose to resolve this contradiction by dividing humanity into ‘humans’ and ‘non-humans.’ In general whites were classified as human and non-whites were classified as non-human.”

Thirdly, was the emergence of the scientific racists’ (Tatz, 1972) whose writings and research lent scientific respectability to the racist ideals of their society.” (McConnachie 1988, P.43)

Yarwood and Knowling (1982) suggest the origins of Australian racial attitudes coincided with other world events at that time.
“The debate over slavery, reactions to the Indian Mutiny, the vogue of Social Darwinism, and the racial tensions of Post Civil War America formed part of the context in which white Australians developed attitudes to and policies on racial questions.”

Yarwood and Knowling (1982, P.9)

McConnachie et al (1988, P. 35) uses a diagram (Model 2.) to show the interaction between individual racism and institutional racism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model 1. Racism</th>
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<td>Institutional</td>
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<td>R A C I S M</td>
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<td>Low</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>High</td>
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The four numbers represent the four general situations in relation to people and societies.
Racism as an ideology expresses social myths about other racial and ethnic groups. It devalues others, asserting and explaining their inferiority or disadvantage in ways which blame the victim.

McConnachie et al (1988) states that institutional racism is linked to the cycle of poverty (see model 3.) The cycle of poverty is essentially a 'blame the victim’ approach and as Pettman (1986, P.6) points out

"Racism as an ideology expresses social myths about other racial and ethnic groups. It devalues others, asserting and explaining their inferiority or disadvantage in ways which blame the victim.”

Pettman Cited in Hollingsworth 1988, P. 58

1. This is a situation where non-racist individuals are living in a society that practices institutional racism. These people are likely to adopt racist behaviour patterns expected by their society regardless of their personal beliefs.

2. This is a situation where racist individuals live in a racist society. The social system allows radically, violent, psychopathic behaviour, for example the Nazis of Germany or the southern states of America.

3. This is a situation where racist individuals are living in a non-racist society. The individuals are unable to express their personality problems through race hatred.

4. This is a situation where non-racist people live in a non-racist society.
This model for the cycle of poverty shows that in any one point of the cycle one can trace back the problem the previous stage. This is a self-perpetuating cycle containing disadvantage, poverty and the other accompanying problems.

(McConnochie et al 1988)
McConnochie et al. (1988) suggest that if the cycle could be broken then the problems are resolved. But if we introduce the concept of institutional racism then the model changes somewhat. It then becomes the wheel of discrimination.

Model 3. Wheel of Discrimination

[Diagram showing the cycle of discrimination with different stages and factors involved.]

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"It's just how you've been brought up!"  
Bolt, 2001 ©
McConnochie et al (1988) refers to three distinct characteristics that change when institutional racism is introduced. These are i) it suggests that a more sophisticated and complex analysis is needed to understand these breakdowns, for example, instead of relating school success or failure to inadequacies of home environments, one must look to the extent at which institutional racism is embedded in Western schooling, curriculum content, teaching methodologies, teachers attitudes and so on. ii) The solutions become more complex with strategies becoming an essential requirement for any programs for change. iii) The wheel of discrimination takes the blame away from the victims and places it on society.

Institutional racism is embedded in Australian institutions and it has been well documented that Indigenous Australians have had to deal with dispossession, assimilation (Saggers and Gray 1991), and reconciliation. (Reynolds 1996, Akerman, 2001.) Aboriginal leaders have been campaigning for a treaty between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal people. The various governments have not passed a treaty. According to Akerman (2001, P.89) ‘the last labor figure to give the the (sic) treaty issue a run was former Prime Minister Bob “No child shall live in poverty” Hawke.’ (This writer, Akerman seems to be sarcastic in his selection of words.) There are still government bodies that want to support the treaty. According to Akerman (2001, P.89)
The writer writes with a somewhat racialised tone. He addresses the 'stolen generation' as 'the so-called stolen generation.' (Italics added.) It has been mentioned by various Governments to push for a treaty between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal people in this country, but it only seems to be pushed when the elections are near.

Why do Indigenous people encounter racism in Australian society? The next chapter will address the issue of values that the Western society holds. It will compare the Western value system to the Aboriginal values system and show that the difference in values leads to differences in understandings and difference in perceptions.
Chapter 3: Values

Value Systems

In this chapter an attempt will be made to define the primary values that are instilled in the value systems of the Western approach and Aboriginal approach.

Definitions

The Fontana dictionary of 'Modern Thought' gives several definitions of the word value. The definition best suited to the context of which this word is used in this paper is best described as,

"Value-judgment. An utterance which asserts or implies that something, person, or situation is good or bad, some action ought or ought not to be done. Value-judgments need not explicitly contain the pure value-words: good, bad, right, wrong, ought, and their obvious synonyms and cognates. ‘That is stealing’ is a value-judgment, since ‘steal’ means the same as ‘take wrongly’. On the other hand, the presence of a pure value-word is not an infallible mark of a judgment value. ‘The train ought to have arrived now’, said at a distance from the station and in ignorance of the actual facts, is only vestigially evaluative, meaning simply it is reasonable to believe that the train has arrived.”


According to the Delbridge et al (1998) value in the context of sociology is; “the things of social life (ideals, customs, institutions etc.) towards which the people of the group have an affective regard. These values may be positive, as cleanliness, freedom, education, etc., or negative, as cruelty, crime, or blasphemy.”

Delbridge et al 1998, P.2337)
To understand how values are constructed we need to understand the social context of our existence, take into account psychological factors and be familiar with basic human behaviour. Religion and cultural ceremonies and rituals must be considered. Why do people perform something from a basic action as shaking some one's hand as a gesture of formal greeting? Or what is the significance of the smoke from a certain type of tree in an Aboriginal smoking ceremony? The value associated with these, and many other cultural significant gestures are definitely apparent throughout. (If there were no values associated with doing these, there would not be any reason to do them. If these were done without a reason then one's society and status of being would seem pointless.)

To explain these in depth would be beyond the scope of this paper, so this research is confined to specific areas of value construction in relation to the overall thesis. According to Lye (1999) social constructs of reality in Western societies has certain assumptions. These are:

1. We know the world only as we perceive it.
2. Our perceptions are based on learned interpretations.
3. This learning is social: we learn from and among persons in social interactions.

Lye (1999, online)
People have different beliefs and different codes of practice. These beliefs and codes of practice reflect the diversity of cultures evident throughout the world. It also reflects how peoples view the world. Of course every individual has a different perception to everyone else, but it would be reasonable to assume that people with the same cultural background, have similar beliefs and values. Over the course of thousands of year’s people who have no interaction with anyone else but there own peoples develop ethical and moral beliefs that are unique to their culture.

Lye (1999) contends that several factors contribute to the social construction of reality. These factors include the use of symbols, (for example language and the phonetic alphabet), cultural myths, the structure and practice of institutions and rules for congruent action i.e. laws. In this respect, Aboriginal culture differs greatly to Western culture.

Lye (1999) also suggests that our selves, our societies and our institutions change continually through interaction and the conditions of our existence only have meaning through social interaction. He states that perceived values, causes, and significance are socially produced.

**Comparing Aboriginal values and Western values**

Although this issue of race has been widely debated and different definitions of race been applied, the terms Western and Aboriginal, will be used with
recognition and acknowledgement that both cultures are diverse within themselves.

Aboriginal will refer to the Indigenous Australian peoples, the Aborigines, and Western will be referring to the ancestry and background of European peoples labeled explorers or discoverers. For example, people such as Columbus, Cook, Phillips, Torres etc.

The value system for the Aboriginal approach

Aboriginal history was not written as Western history was. It is therefore not documented. Aboriginal history was passed on to others through oral histories. (Broome 1982). Dispossession policies and assimilation polices prevented Aboriginal people practicing and passing on their culture. (Saggers and Gray 1991). The aim of the colonization process was to introduce dispossession and assimilation in order to make the Indigenous peoples forget their culture. (Hartmann 1999)

Therefore a lot of this information on Aboriginal value systems is based on accounts of Aboriginal history, which have been interpreted by European people and documented since invasion.
Aboriginal people are a diverse culture. At the time of invasion of Australia by Europeans in the late 18th century, "...there were 500-600 distinct groups speaking about 200 different languages or dialects." Encyclopedia (2000,a.) Aboriginal people had no alphabet and/or written language. Aboriginal people had many forms of communication and some of these include paintings, song and dance and sign language. Edwards (1988, P.86-87), uses the terms, gesture language. He suggests, Western society uses gesture language minimally and is often interpreted as having no specific meaning.

"However in Aboriginal societies gestures were formalized and conveyed a wide range of ideas. They were capable of conveying a sequence of ideas. Gestures covered such parts of speech as nouns, pronouns, interrogatives, verbs, adverbs, adjectives and number. They could be joined together to make a sentence"

Edwards (1988, P.86-87)

All Aboriginal people in Australia were hunter-gatherers. (Broome 1982, and Edwards 1988.) They would all use the same basic tools such as, spears, axe-heads, digging sticks, stone knives etc. "Yet Aboriginal people lived in diverse ecologies, ranging from seashore to woodland, river banks and desert. The coastal people used fish bone to tip their weapons while the desert people relied on stone edged weapons." (Broome 1982, P.11)
Although Aboriginal culture is seen as diverse, it lies within the physical context. This includes language, physical appearance, different styles of artistic expression etc. The value systems of the different tribes in terms of understanding, such as how the land was perceived and used, the importance of cooperation between the different members of the tribes, the importance of rituals and ceremonies was very similar.

"Each adult after initiation, and men especially, had to perform increase ceremonies every year at the sacred site of his or her totem to enable the life force to be released to ensure an ongoing supply of the particular natural species of which he or she was a part."

(Broome 1982, P.15)

Ceremonies were seen as very important and to ensure survival. The complex system of kinship and intermarriage, rights and obligations of the tribe members was also important. (Edwards, 1988).

Aboriginal people in Australia have uniqueness about them in terms of values, which has been untouched (until recently, 212 years) by Western Society for thousands of years, resulting in a different view of the world to that of the Western Society. Although Aboriginal people did not have contact with Europeans, the Aboriginal people in Northern Australia did. They had contact with Indonesian and Asians. "The people of Arnhem Land learned how to make sea-going dug-out canoes from the Macassan trepang fishermen. They were also
given cloth, iron, glass and pottery by these seasonal visitors in return for their help in collecting trepang (sea-slug)” (Broome 1982, P11)

Over the course of thousands of years these values have been very minimally changed, if at all. These views are a result of inherent values, evident in the Aboriginal people of Australia. Such values include, the ways Aboriginal people perceive land. Aboriginal people relate to land and have sacred significance to it. This is sensed and acknowledged by Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people see the whole clan as the basic unit, not individualism. Therefore society is seen as one, that is, every member of society has his or her place in society. That in Aboriginal society, be it family of extended family is seen as unified. (Edwards 1988)

According to Christie M, cited in Harvey and McGinty (1988 p 10), “the most fundamentally valued way of doing things in Aboriginal life is responsive to the total environment, physical and social. The preferred white approach of planning and control is the exact opposite of this, and in fact prevents it.” Reflected is one of the many different aspects of values in Aboriginal society. Every society has many, different aspect of values.

An Aboriginal way of thinking

Western society depends greatly on scientific explanation to support beliefs. This is accepted as truth. Aboriginal society is usually seen as more spiritual and more connected with environmental surroundings. (See Model 1.) Explanations are not
usually seen as important for everything that occurs, scientific or not. Spiritual connected-ness with the land and with each other does not need to be explained it is just accepted and that is the way it has always been. It is about listening and understanding. Traditionally, if an Elder tells somebody something, they listen. To question may be classed as disrespect. Some Aboriginal people philosophically believe that things happen for a reason and in cycles. The exercise of rituals and ceremonies play a great role in Aboriginal health and well being. These rituals and ceremonies are most important to Aboriginal people. Totems of different groups and clans are a significant part of everyday life and Aboriginal people believe that these totems protect them. Aboriginal people see everything to be connected some how in a spiritual sense. Aboriginal people see significance in all facets of being and feel that they are all inter-related.

The ‘dreaming’ is a label the Western society has asserted to try to explain Aboriginal way of life in a Western context. A Model used by Edwards (1988, P13) shows his understanding of the concept of the dreaming.
THE DREAMING AS THE BASIS OF ALL ASPECT OF LIFE IN TRADITIONAL ABORIGINAL SOCIETIES.

Design layout: Keith Goldsworthy.

As cited in Edwards (1988, P.13)

All of the categories relate to each other, by meeting in the middle. People are related to all of these categories. For example people are related to the songs, which are related to the animals, which are related to totems, which are related to spirit beings, etc. Through Edwards’ understanding, this is interpreted as the dreaming.
The value system for Western approach

For the Western Society some of the fundamental issues in relation to inherent values that are of importance, are competition, domination, and power. This leads to greed and exploitation. An example of all these primary values are evident in this quote by Hartmann, (1999 Pg. 58-59), who, is talking on hybrid crops for profit.

"Most of our food production is provided by a small number of huge companies; these firms hold our survival in their hands. Indeed, they are so aware of this fact that many hybrids are intentionally bred to produce sterile seeds so that farmers have to keep buying new seeds every year. (If you find this hard to believe, consider this; in the past ten years several farmers have been prosecuted for theft by seed companies for keeping some of their own crops' seed to replant the next year.)

Hartmann, (1999 Pg. 58-59)

Another example from Hartmann (1999 Pg. 62-63) is the use of deception to keep the income rolling, so to speak, to not hinder progress efficiency.

"Vermont ice cream manufacturer Ben and Jerry's is suing the government. They want to put on the labels of their ice cream packages that the milk they use is from cows free of synthetic growth hormones or unnecessary antibiotics. But the government considers this information something that is so irrelevant to consumers that- at the well financed suggestion of lobbyist for the drug manufacturers- they've passed laws banning dairy products packagers from mentioning whether or not these hormones are fed to their animals."

Hartmann (1999 Pg. 62-63),
It just so happens that the lobbyists are well financed. As the saying goes ‘money is power.’ It seems that the government doesn’t want people to know whether or not which ice cream companies have cows free of synthetic growth hormone or unnecessary antibiotics. If this were to happen it may force other ice cream companies bankrupt and it would be a great burden on society because of the enormous amount of legal action it could create.

**Westernised way of thinking**

Hartmann (1999) suggests that there are two types of cultures in the world. His concept of the word primitive and modern, are portrayed as older and younger cultures respectively. In his words he describes older cultures as being “hunter gatherers” who have survived for ten’s of thousands of years to maybe hundreds of thousands of years, and younger cultures as being “agriculturists” evident for around seven thousand years.

Inherent values influence the way people think. Western values influence Western thought. Western values relating to competition would seem to hierarchically degrade Aboriginal people.

Hartmann (1999) uses the word primitive to describe in his words ‘older cultures.’ It would be reasonable to assume that Aboriginal people would fit into this category. I do not like his use of the word ‘primitive’ because when a culture is described as primitive in Western understanding, it is automatically graded in a
hierarchical sense. It would suggest that Aboriginal culture is hierarchically lower. This may be true in a Westernised way of thinking, but when it is thought about from an Aboriginal perspective, neither is hierarchically different.

Westernised thinking is apparent in many facets of disciplines in the various models produced by Western scientific thought. Every day thinking by one culture could be racist against another culture without the intent of being racist. Goldberg (1993, pg156-157) suggests that primitive societies have no history. For example,

“If, Platonistically, there is conceived to be lurking deep in the soul of the civilised, it is ruled by Reason, contained and controlled by civility and the institutions of civil society. For the civilised have a history, but the primitive have none: their histories are frozen.”

Goldberg (1993 pg156-157)

These comments are made and created by Westernised thinking. The term civil has societal expectations and is used as a standard bearer to measure civility, which, will eventually lead to hierarchical classes in society, putting the so-called primitive at the bottom of the scale. Goldberg (1993 P.157) suggests that the people casting these views are conscious of it and reinforce them. He then goes on to explain that primitive cultures have this myth because they are mere judgments of society, which is influenced by the Westernised way of thinking.
"If the Primitive has no history at all, it is only because the theoretical standard-bearers of Civilisation have managed first to construct a Primitive Subject and then to obliterate his history."

Goldberg (1993 pg. 157.)

Throughout much of the literature in Australia in relation to Aboriginal issues, there is sometimes a derogatory term used. This derogatory term that is sometimes used is pre-history. For example, Saggers and Gray (1991, P.20.) The first chapter in Edwards (1988, P.1) is titled "Relating to the Past – Part One, *Australian Prehistory*". When using the term pre-history it is referring to history prior to 1770, that is, before Captain James Cook invaded Australia. By referring to pre-history it suggests that Australia has no history prior to European invasion.

Australia does have a history before European invasion, but prior to 1770 Aboriginal people did not record and document history the way it is recorded and documented in Western society. It therefore, doesn’t comply with the Western idea of history, and is deemed invalid.

Edwards (1988) suggests Western values are evident in the literature soon after Europeans invaded Australia. He suggests that the idea of progress for white Australia was a very important issue and Aboriginal people were seen as an obstruction of this perceived progress.

"Earlier accounts of this history treated Aboriginal people as little more than impediments standing briefly in the way of inevitable white progress across the"
nation...The white history of Australia has viewed Aboriginal people from the point of view of white values, attitudes and ambitions and has interpreted Aboriginal actions and reactions against the background of colonial, State and Commonwealth government policies.

Edwards's (1988 p111)

Other Worldwide events that have been viewed by Western perceptions and against the background of colonial policies include the war against terrorism and Osama Bin Laden in 2001, as he is deemed a terrorist by the Western world, but to his people a hero. World heavy weight boxing champion Muhammed Ali was banned from boxing because he held different views to the Western world. Nelson Mandela spent many, many years in prison before becoming a world leader for his country.

Comparison

Hartmann (1999) compares the difference in values,

"The prime differences are that the "primitive" people generally have more leisurely lives, less poverty, virtually no crime (certainly no police or prisons among those who have not adopted "the white mans ways"), a more diverse and healthy diet, less degenerative disease, better psychological health, and a culture which holds its primary values cooperation (rather than competition), mutual respect (rather than domination), long-term renewable care for resources (rather than exploitation for a quick buck), and
equality (between people, between the sexes, and between humans and nature) rather than power."

Hartmann, T. (1999, p153.)

It would be reasonable to suggest that Aboriginal culture is in Hartmann’s words an ‘older culture,’ and Western society a ‘younger culture.’ When the two cultures are looked at with an open mind and compared the way Hartmann (1999) does, it makes the reader think about underlying issues one would not normally think about. For example, in which society would one rather live? A society with less poverty, more leisurely lives, less degenerative disease, more cooperation, more respect etc, or a society which houses its main values on competition, domination and exploitation.

Hartmann (1999) suggests that the two different cultures have different values. Aboriginal people have had very little if any contact with Europeans prior to 1770. Although values may differ slightly from tribe to tribe, this slight difference was not enough to compensate for the impact that was created due to the arrival of Western culture with it’s major difference in values systems.

Charles Perkins (cited in Rintoul 1993), an Aboriginal activist in Australia for many decades until his death in 2000, asserted his understanding from an Aboriginal perspective, how the value system of Australian Aboriginal peoples, differ from the values of that of the Western society. He states that,
"The fundamentals of Aboriginal society are spirituality, kindness, and sharing, and looking after the old and respect for elders. It is disintegrating in quite a few communities...White society is more materialistic, militaristic, more nuclear-family-orientated, more competitive and there is not such a deep spiritualism."

Perkins cited in Rintoul (1993)

Table 4, by Edwards (1988) suggests that values are different in Aboriginal culture compared to Western culture; in his words he describes Western culture to be white.

Western societal values, in terms of time is best described as linear and historical, where as Aboriginal values in this regard are cyclic and mythical. This paper agrees with this view but is not in full agreement with the terminology that is expressed. For example to use the terminology mythical suggests that Aboriginal culture is based on myths or a story that someone has thought up. Aboriginal people do not believe it to be a story that people think up. It is regarded as truth and is a part of a belief system. The author being of Aboriginal decent does not agree with this terminology.

Table 4, by Edwards’s (1988 p108) is shown below. It compares the difference in Values of Aboriginal people and Western society.
Table 4. Values table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values concerning</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Aborigines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>Acquisition</td>
<td>Share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accumulate</td>
<td>Use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Exploit</td>
<td>Adapt to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>Own</td>
<td>Related to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Sacred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Linear</td>
<td>Cyclic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>Mythical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovation</td>
<td>Commmended</td>
<td>Condemned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes</td>
<td>Approved</td>
<td>Disapproved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desired</td>
<td>Status Quo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reality</td>
<td>Material</td>
<td>Spiritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>Competition</td>
<td>Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rights and Obligations</td>
<td>Individual Rights</td>
<td>Kin Obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic unit</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td>Unified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Stratified</td>
<td>Egalitarian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of environment Aboriginal people, adapt to it and Western society exploits it. This paper agrees with this view, but acknowledges that Western society would most probably not intentionally exploit the land, but through ignorance and greed for material possessions, in that, resources such as gold, timber, oil etc., exploitation of the land is a sad and inevitable long-term reality. In terms of reality, Western society values are material and Aboriginal values are spiritual. When the term ‘possession’ is thought about in an Aboriginal context the terms ‘share’ and ‘use’ are described as familial factors. When the term ‘possession’ is thought about in a Westernised context, the terms ‘acquisition’ and ‘accumulate’ are described as familial factors.

In traditional Aboriginal society different tribe members all had their place. With the exception of elders all were considered equal and on the same level. “The Aborigines were extremely efficient hunters and gatherers.” Broome (1982, P. 12)
Men would only make enough spears that they could use or manage. They would go hunting and kill enough food for the whole tribe, for example, one kangaroo, which would be enough. There were several different types of food available.

Edwards’s states (1988, P. 29)

“...the men ranged over an area and fanned out ahead of the women and children to hunt kangaroos, emus, bush turkeys, perenties, sand goannas, pythons, echidnas, wallabies, euros, possums and bandicoots as they moved to another camp. Further south, wombats were also available.”

Edwards (1988, P.29)

The women would weave baskets and decorate them. These would be made in order to gather berries and nuts, honey ants, yams, sweet potato etc. “Men gathered fruits, honey blossoms and other vegetable foods for their own consumption while out hunting. The meat foods which they brought back to the camp were shared amongst a wider circle of relations...” (Edwards 1988, P. 29.)

All of these food items would be returned to the tribe and shared out equally.

“Even the children collected fruits and small game. All made their contribution to the families food and thus men, women and children were partners in ensuring survival.” (Broome 1982, P. 12)

This was done over thousands and thousands of years and as a result has developed the uniqueness that Aboriginal culture has. If Aboriginal people had,
by chance developed Western societal values they would probably make a thousand spears in order to sell them. They'd probably farm the kangaroo's, kill a hundred of them and sell them at premium prices to make a profit. The baskets weaved would probably be sold as art and a major part of society would be based on competition rather than cooperation, therefore hierarchical classes in society would form and the people making the most profit would be richer therefore would probably be in the upper-class. The people who weren't doing so well would be in the working-class or lower class. If this were the case the concept of cooperation in the whole of society would be abolished. The tribe would not work together as they have done, although they would be working together on different hierarchical levels. They would be working in a sense, as a single unit to make the most money. Instead of sharing and using their possessions, they would acquire and accumulate as much as they could manage. Companies would form and hierarchical positions developed, for example the manufacturer, (of spears or baskets, farmer), promotions officer, retailer (Butcher, art gallery, weapons sales person etc.) Instead of cooperation, tribe members would compete to make more money and personal gain.

To understand how racism operates one must understand what racism is and how it is established. Racism is derived from prejudice and bias. Bias in created when a person makes a judgment. People make judgments as they see fit. They make a judgment according to their understanding of wrong and right. This understanding of wrong and right is in accordance with their upbringing and value systems.

"It's just how you've been brought up!" 
Bolt, 2001 ©
Value construction is a very complex issue and to understand what values are and how they are embedded into individuals, institutions and society, one must first start to think about how values have come about in different cultures around the world. One must look to the difference in values systems to determine on what level, material things are held, spiritual things are held and to what extent situations may differ between the two cultures. When these are taken into account the origins of racism can be clearer and more easily understood.
Chapter 4: Racism in Australia: Past and present

This paper has concluded in so far that bias and racism is manifested by one group of people whom have different values, which in turn employs a completely different outlook on life itself compared to another group of people. Historical accounts of conflict between Aboriginal and European people have been well documented.

Organ (1990) addresses the first contact between Aboriginal people and European people.

The Tomkin-Wandandian people were amongst the first Indigenous peoples to encounter European people via the Endeavour in 1770 and then later the First Fleet in 1788. The Tomakin Wandandian people lived off the sea and land around the Shoalhaven area, prior to European invasion.

According to Organ (1990, P.2) “22-28 April 1770: Captain James Cook and the crew of the bark Endeavour sail north along the New South Wales coast, passing by Illawarra and the South Coast. Surviving accounts of the voyage, by both Captain Cook and Joseph Banks, contains the first European observations on the Aborigines of the region.”

The first reference to the local people by Europeans was when the Endeavour was off the coast near a mountain known to the local Aboriginal people as ‘Bulgun,
The Breast of the Mother' (Bulgan is known as Pigeon house mountain, just south of Ulladulla.)

According to Organ (1990, P.2),

"James Cook's log

Sunday 22nd April:...After this we steer'd along shore N.N.E., having a gentle breeze at S.W., and were so near the shore as to distinguish several people upon the sea beach. They appeared to be of a very dark or black colour; but whether this was the real colour of their skins or the cloathes they might have on I know not."

Organ (1990, P.2)

The next day the Endeavour sailed between Jervis Bay and Red Point near Wollongong.

"Wednesday 25th April:...In the course of this day's run we saw the smoke of fire in several places near the sea beach.

[The following attempted landing occurred near Collins Point, Woonona]

Saturday, 25th April: In the P.M. hoisted out the Pinnace and Yawl in order to attempt a landing, but the Pinnace took in the water so fast that she was obliged to be hoisted in again to stop her leaks. At this time we saw several people ashore, 4 of whom were carrying a small boat or canoe, which we imagin'd they were going to put in to the water in order to Come off to us; but in this we were mistaken."

Organ (1990, P.2)

Because European people colonised this area of Australia first, issues such as dispossession and assimilation had impacted on these Aboriginal people a lot
earlier than other Aboriginal people in other parts of the country. Therefore the language and cultural way of life was taken away from the Tomakin-Wandandian people earlier.

The Nowra area of the South Coast of New South Wales, Australia. (See appendix 1 and 2.) was the general area where the research took place. The author is a descendant from the Tomakin-Wandandian people, who are the traditional people who lived in this area before European invasion via the first fleet in 1788.

These conquerors from Britain that first landed in Australia had instilled Western societal values as their principal value system. Yarwood (1982, P.9), contends that migrants to Australia have brought with them, what he calls 'invisible luggage.' ‘Invisible luggage’ is concepts and ideas that the migrants have inherited from their parents and from their society.

“The colonists carried from Britain to Botany Bay a picture of what a proper man looked like, in terms of skin colour, physiognomy, dress and gait. The picture included expectations about language, housing, diet, hygiene, the treatment of women and, perhaps most importantly, about the use of the land and private property.”

(Yarwood, 1982, P.14)
In Western society males hold the power and are seen as dominant to females. In Aboriginal society men were providers by hunting which the women complemented by gathering. Men had ceremonies that did not allow the presence of women and vica versa. Aboriginal life was completely different to Western life and because Aboriginal people did not have a Western societal perception of the land the way the British did in terms of agriculture, in terms of housing, in terms of farming etc, they were not considered civilised and therefore Western society believed that Aboriginal people could not own land. Europeans had a view of themselves as civilised and Aboriginal people as barbarous or savages, lacking self-control and requiring direction. Aboriginal people were compared more similarly to animals than humans. Fiske (1893) states,

"If we take into account the creasing of the cerebral surface, the difference between the brain of a Shakespeare and that of an Australian savage would doubtless be fifty times greater than the difference between the Australians brain and that of an orang-outan. In mathematical capacity the Australian, who cannot tell the number of fingers on his two hands, is much nearer to a lion or a wolf than to Sir Rowan Hamilton who invented the method of quaternions. In moral development this same Australian, whose language contains no words for justice and benevolence, is less remote from dogs and baboons than from a Howard or Garrison. In progressiveness to, the difference between the lowest and the highest races of men is no less conspicuous. The Australian is more teachable than the ape, but his limit is never-the-less very quickly reached."

(Fiske, 1893, P. 71-72)

A little earlier Morgan (1877) reconstructed the pathways of human progress from savagery to civilisation. He posited seven distinct stepping-stones. These are:
This assumption was created by a single man and is a result of a cultural society that had formed over hundreds and hundreds of years. These key concepts were a result of that, individuals, understandings, and created to add to the 'body of knowledge.' (A Western Concept.) When these assumptions emerged they were adopted by Western society and at that time considered truth.

Aboriginal people were considered the lower status of savagery and when Australia and it’s people were so called discovered, they were the central attention of many academics and researchers trying to piece together what early man would have been like. They concluded that because Aboriginal people as a race had not advanced the way the Western world did, they were therefore seen as a child race,
primitive and uncivilised. According to Reynolds (1996) a central Queensland settler argued in 1865 that 'as a rule, the Aborigines cannot be civilized, he can [sic] only be tamed like wild beasts.' A frontier squatter asserted in 1888 that 'if you take a black or a wild animal, young, each is capable of being domesticated and made useful.' And a Writer for the Melbourne review wrote in 1878 that like animals, the blacks were 'in many respects tamable but as with animals a taint of savagery remained even when the taming was complete.' (Reynolds 1998).

By the late 1970's the Canberra Institute of Anatomy displayed four skulls in an exhibition. It showed in order a male gorilla, a female gorilla, an Aboriginal Australian and a modern European Englishmen. According to (Hollingsworth 1998, P.40) the label read

"It is not suggested that the modern European is a direct descendant of the gorilla and Australian Aborigine but these skulls are used to emphasise the lines along which the refinements of the modern skull evolved."

(Hollingsworth 1998, P. 40)

Due to the nature of how this sign was written it seems that the museum was more concerned about how the public would view and/or understand the meaning portrayed. For example, by saying, 'It is not suggested that the modern European is a direct descendant of the gorilla and Australian Aborigine.' (Emphasis added.) Would suggest that the person who wrote that sign distinctively opted to dis-
associate the Aboriginal skull from the European skull and associate it closer to
the gorillas skull.

Due to the fact that the Europeans perceived themselves as superior and
Aboriginal people inferior or Aboriginal people uncivilised and themselves
civilised, justification was created for self-assurance that their legal and moral
codes had not been broken. They conclude that they were doing the right thing
and that it was legally and morally just. This justification was in many forms,
included is legal justification, for example, the conquerors from Britain passed
laws that enabled them legally in their perception, to forcefully take possession of
the land now known as Australia. They could legally take the land based on
property rights if Aboriginal people did not use the land which, constituted
property in a Westernised notion. These legal proceedings were based on ideas
and concepts of Western society.

Governor Gipps explained in a speech to the New South Wales Legislative
Council in 1840 that,

"The uncivilized inhabitants of any country have but a qualified dominion over it, or a
right of occupancy only; and that, until they establish amongst themselves a settled form
of government, and subjugate the ground to their own uses, by the cultivation of it, they
cannot grant to individuals, not of their own tribe, any portion of it, for the simply reason,
that they have not themselves any individual property in it."

Reynolds (1996 P. 137)
Although this may seem legally just in the perception of a Western societal value system, it nonetheless was based on Western values and perceptions by Western culture. It also conveniently complied with the Western concept of progress and in the process it ran parallel with the concept of competition, greed and exploitation. If Aboriginal people could not use the land traditionally because of Australian government policy then they had to assimilate into the Western culture and change their own value system in order to become competitive minded, which would inevitably lead to loss of traditional values.

According to Reynolds (1996, P.137), issues concerning land in Australia in the mid 1830’s raised questions of the rights of Aborigines. Australia followed the trend that America set, namely in the purchase of 600,000 acres of land from the Port Phillip clans by John Batman. William Burge a one-time Attorney General of Jamaica referred directly to Marshall’s dicta (that is, Chief Justice Marshall, of the United States Supreme Court in 1923)

"a principle adopted by Great Britain as well as by other European states, in relation to their settlements on the continent of America, that the title which discovery conferred on Government by whose authority or by whose subject the discovery was made, was that of the ultimate dominion in and sovereignty over the soil, even whilst it continued possession of the Aborigines."

Reynolds (1996, P. 137)

Moral justification gained support from the churches, which is one of the principal roots in values that are embedded in Western society. For example in
any court of Law in Australia before one gives evidence, one must swear on the bible in front of Almighty God that “he shall tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.” Western society believed that if Aboriginal people were not civilised and did not have a belief in God, then as Christian people they must help Aboriginal people and introduce them to their religion, which would eventually save them. (The Aborigines)

Christianity had its ten commandments, which were not permitted to be broken. One of those commandments was, ‘Thou shall not rape’ yet the young Aboriginal women were raped numerous times and sometimes in packs. According to Reynolds (1996, P 73.)

“On other occasions parties of stockmen went out on ‘gin hunts’ deliberately seeking women for sex. The Normanton Protector of Aborigines explained in 1904 that it was a common practice for Europeans, accompanied by the Aboriginal ‘stock boys’, to round up ‘small mobs of wild natives’ and despoil their women.” Reynolds (1996, P.73.)

Another commandment was ‘thou shall not murder’, yet Aboriginal people were killed and massacred. According to Reynolds (1996) a group of Mary borough boys went out on an expedition.

“They went out one evening with their guns. They surrounded the camp of the town blacks in the accustomed manner. A 12-year-old presented his gun at an old woman and ordered her to get up and dance. She refused. He pulled the trigger and blew her brains out.” Reynolds (1996, P. 63)
Tench was a leader of two expeditions in the late 1790’s. He was under the instructions of Phillip who ordered the capture of an Aboriginal man who had speared a white man. Retaliation on the tribe was sought to gain revenge.

Tench’s original instruction were to capture two members of the clans around Botany Bay and kill ten others whose heads were to be chopped off and carried into the settlement. Axes and bags were provided for the purpose.

Reynolds (1996, P.33.)

Aboriginal people are classed as uncivilized. Had they chopped off a white man’s head and carried it through his camp he would have been seen as a savage. Yet Phillip ordered this to take place, which seems to be very barbaric. A so-called civilised man ordered this from a civilised society. There seems to be double standards.

**Institutional Racism and the Judicial System**

Does institutional racism occur in the judicial system? During the mid to late 1960’s Dr Elizabeth Eggleston, carried out a research study. The most significant findings of this study were that Aborigines were victims of racism in the criminal justice system. She found “That racism was manifested by police, magistrates, judges and prison authorities, and it was reflected in the disproportionately high rates of Aboriginal involvement at every level of the system.” (O’Shane Cited in Cunneen 1992, P. 6)
Historical accounts provide documentation that Aboriginal people were disadvantaged by the legal system of the Commonwealth of Australia. These previous laws can provide reference for Judges and Magistrates as they make their judicial decisions in the court of law today. If a previous judicial decisions is made with racial tendencies embedded in it’s judgment and a judge refers to this decision to strengthen or justify this judicial decision, then it would seem that the recent judicial decision is a result of and in effect is an account of institutional racism. For example,

"In a landmark decision in the Northern Territory Supreme Court Justice Blackman rejected the Yirrkala case on the 27th of April, 1971. "Blackman found that the clans had established their “essentially religious” relationship to the land but the Australian Law did not recognize such attachment as a compensatable property right. Blackburn based his judgement on the legal fiction that Australia was “settled, not conquered” and that Britain was legally entitled to declare Australia “waste and unoccupied.”

(McConnachie, Hollinsworth, Pettman, 1988, P 134.)

The issue surrounding mandatory sentencing in the Northern Territory and Western Australia has gained considerable attention nationally and internationally. According to Davis (2001, Cited in Nakata, 2001)
“Essentially the fundamental concept of mandatory sentencing is legislation that seeks to compulsorily sentence and imprison offenders for the commission of particular offences or the repeat commission of those offences.”


These types of offences, are generally committed by people in the lower socio-economical spectrum of society. Therefore these laws, in effect, typically, discriminate against Indigenous Australian. (Davis 2001, Cited in Nakata, 2001.)

During the final stages of the completion of this thesis the Northern Territory Government has repealed mandatory minimum terms of imprisonment for property offences. Commencing on 22 October 2001, the Northern Territory Juvenile Justice Amendment Act (No 2) repeals mandatory sentencing for juvenile offenders, while the Sentencing Amendment Act (No 3) repeals mandatory sentencing for property offences for adults.

Politicians who are the representatives of citizens in parliament are a strong voice in the community. For citizens to have their concerns and opinions heard, they must cast a vote for a politician whom they deem are suited to their needs. As mentioned earlier Aboriginal people were compared closer to animals than humans. These comparisons were even evident in formal settings as well as social settings.

“"It's just how you've been brought up!"”

Bolt, 2001
“While arguing in 1844 against a proposal to allow Aborigines to give evidence in courts the prominent New South Wales politician W.C. Wentworth said that it would be ‘quite as defensible to receive as evidence in a Court of Justice the chatterings of the ourang-outang as of this savage race.”

Reynolds, H. (1987 Pg 111)

If a citizen holds the same feelings or opinions as this politician does, they would probably cast a vote for him. If he gets elected, these racist accounts will be heard in parliament where laws are either, founded, amended, reinforced or abolished. If laws are created by parliament with politicians who have this view of Aboriginal people, it is suggested that Aboriginal people would be disadvantaged in society because these laws they would be made with a conscious notion of racism against Aboriginal people.

**Social acceptance of racism**

Other forms of racial accounts through different mediums, other than historical accounts in books or through personal experience proved to be just as defaming. Cooke (1988) compiled a cartoon book that defamed Aboriginal people and shows racist remarks by the various cartoonists.

All of these cartoons were printed in major newspapers and were very easily accessible for the Australian public to view. It is not only accessible for the Australian public to see but it is suggested that these cartoons, which were
supposedly funny, are outright racist and the newspapers were used as a medium to get these racist messages out to the Australian public.

This cartoon (illustration 1.) shows the portrayal of the perception that Aboriginal people are dirty.

Illustration 1

![Cartoon showing Aboriginal people as dirty](image)

Cooke (1988, P.29)

It suggests that Aboriginal people can't afford shoes or clean clothes. The Aboriginal man has a patch in his over coat and the Aboriginal woman has two patches on her skirt. The next cartoon (illustration 2) uses the term 'Abo'. The term 'Abo' is an offensive word to Aboriginal people. The cartoonist associates logic with fact, by saying that because there are a lot of Aboriginal people in gaol, then it is logical that there would be more Aboriginal deaths in gaol.
As discussed earlier Aboriginal people are incarcerated for minor offences and on a shorter basis. “Nearly 40 percent of all Aboriginal people received into prison Nationally over a one month period were there for defaulting on a fine.” (Johnston 1991, P.208, cited in Cuneen 2001, P.26) The cartoonist tries to make this cartoon appear funny.

Illustration 2

Cooke (1988, P.95)

The next cartoon (illustration 3.) shows a judge and several men in suits standing under an Aboriginal man hanging from a noose. The four knives stabbed into his back suggests that this man was blatantly murdered and hanged. The Judges remarks shows sarcasm and blatant refusal to recognise what may have really happened.
The previous cartoon is probably an interpretation of what the cartoonist believed may have happened in Australian society at that time.

The following cartoon (illustration 4) shows the cartoonists regard for the sensitive issues for Aboriginal people. By stating that the deceased is named nobody, suggests that he is nobody. He probably is classed as a, ‘nobody’ to people who don’t know him. The cause of death would seem impossible but again this is a cartoon that is meant for amusement for the Australian public. It is racist and insensitive.
This cartoon could seem quite disturbing to Aboriginal people who have had a loved one who has died in gaol.

The next cartoon (illustration 5) shows the white man killing the Aboriginal man by a gun, by alcohol and then through incarceration, at different time frames or eras. It suggests that killing Aboriginal people takes less effort now than it did before.
The next cartoon (illustration 6) refers to making black Australia a white Australia. It is very offensive to Aboriginal people in Australia.

Illustration 6

When these cartoons were injected into the minds of Australian people through mediums such as newspapers, it creates the illusion and perception that it's alright and socially acceptable to be racist. This is not socially acceptable to Aboriginal people.

Aboriginal people already have had to deal with many issues that are related to the colonisation of Australia, which includes dispossession and assimilation.

"Aborigines are the victims of a violent dispossession, compounded by extermination, exploitation, the denial of our humanity, the loss of our liberty and the destruction of our culture"

Grant (2001, P.14)
Racist cartoon's that are permitted to be circulate throughout the country does not give positive portrayal of Aboriginal people. It reflects the attitudes that some Australians have. If society accepts racism on any level, then people will have to endure this racism. If this racism is embedded in society it could well be reflected in its institutions and disadvantage Aboriginal people.
Chapter 5: Methodology

Research has been defined as:

"a systematic process of investigation, the general purpose of which is to contribute to the body of knowledge that shapes and guides academic and/or practice disciplines"


The process of obtaining, and recording the information is done by the researcher and ethical issues must be considered. According to Watkins (1994), “This requires consideration of reliability, validity and possible bias in the method of collecting and recording information, whether it is derived from physiological measurement, fieldnotes, (sic) questionnaires, observations or interviews.”

The present investigation was based on a review of the relevant literature for this topic as well as the analysis of original data collected from six qualitative in-depth interviews.

Literature

The aim of the literature review was to find out what is already known and documented about issues related to Indigenous incarceration, race and racism, Indigenous values, Western values and judicial bias. The discussion of this literature has been presented in detail in the previous chapters.
Although there is considerable literature on the broad topic of racism, one of the limitations that this study encountered was that the literature did not have adequate accounts of research in specific areas that this thesis addresses. Such issues include, institutional racism in the judicial system, effects of incarceration on mental health, effects of family on the incarcerated, etc. In this thesis not much literature was found on the incarceration rates of Indigenous Australians, the judicial experience of Indigenous Australians or the mental health experience of Indigenous Australians in relation to incarceration. Although a study by Deane (1988) addressed issue on the social effects of males incarcerated and their families. The study was based on the Indigenous peoples of New Zealand.

Institutional racism was an issue, which first gained the attention of the Australian public in the late 1960's and therefore does not endure a lengthy history, accruing accounts through out.

Moreover there is little written on Indigenous perspectives of the effects of family due to incarceration rates.

Given the limitation of literature on this important topic, the in-depth interviews conducted for this thesis presents original data that offers new insights to these issues.
The literature review was undertaken using webspirs data base and ovid data base at the University of Sydney. Several searches were conducted throughout the duration of the study. Several keywords were used including; values, bias, racism, judicial bias, prejudice, mental health, Aboriginal, Indigenous, incarceration, and prisons. Many, many visits to the Health Sciences library at the Cumberland campus of University of Sydney occurred throughout the duration of the study. Interlibrary loans also occurred, which become very frequent in the latter stages of the second year of the study.

A Qualitative Approach

There are two main types of research methodologies and these are quantitative and qualitative. Minichiello, Sullivan, Greenwood and Axford (1999, P. 36) states “qualitative research attempts to capture people’s meanings, definitions, and descriptions of events. In contrast, quantitative research aims to count and measure things.”

This research study uses a qualitative methodology as it seeks participants’ definitions and their understandings, experiences and perception of racism and mental health issues.
Qualitative in-depth interviews were chosen as the methodology for this thesis firstly because of the importance of gaining personal accounts of peoples’ experience of incarceration.

“One of the chief reasons for conducting a qualitative study is that the study is exploratory; not much has been written about the topic being studied, and the researcher seeks to listen to informants and to build a picture based on their ideas.”

(Sarantakos 1998, P22)

Sarantakos (1998) suggest there are both advantages and limitations for using a qualitative methodology for a research study. Some of the advantages mentioned by Sarantakos (1998) were very relevant for this research study. Flexibility was an important issues as participants could choose the time and place and feel comfortable so that they could give more accurate information and did not feel intimidated. The interviews were fully completed as they were conducted. The researcher could therefore ensure that all the questions were attempted. Other advantages of a qualitative approach are the capacity for the researcher to correct misunderstandings of the questions by the participant at the time of the interview and the opportunity to record spontaneous answers. In addition participants could talk about other issues and several unexpected themes have emerged. (See findings)
Another advantage of qualitative interviews is that a lot of data could be extracted from interviews in a short period of time. As Marshall and Rossman (1995) have noted,

"Interviews have particular strengths. An interview is a useful way to get large amounts of data quickly."

(Marshall and Rossman (1995, P.80)

As noted above qualitative research also has some limitations Sarantakos (1998) states that interviews are more costly and more time consuming than other methods such as questionnaires. Interviews offer less anonymity as the researcher knows the identity of the participant. It is less effective when sensitive issues arise. For example, a participant might feel more comfortable to write about a sensitive issue than to talk about it.

Sarantakos (1998) suggests that interviewing is affected by factors that are common to other techniques of data collection. Some of these include, deliberate misinterpretation of facts, genuine mistakes, unwillingness or inability to offer information and similar problems.

**Analysis and interpretation of data**

The process of undertaking a qualitative study involved the writing up and analysis of many pages of transcripts or 'raw data.' According to Marshall and Rossman (1995, P.112)
"Raw data have no inherent meaning; the interpretive act brings meaning to those data
and displays that meaning to the reader through the written report."


All research that contains in-depth interviews needs to be analysed and interpreted
by the person conducting the research. Although the researcher may appear or feel
that he/she is doing a sound job, it is still an interpretation and may be inaccurate
to others. As Minichiello et al (1999) suggests,

"[qualitative researchers] generally attempt to be open about the degree to which their
own subjective interpretation comes into their analysis, acknowledging that any research
process, whether quantitative or qualitative, is ‘messy’ and imbued with human
judgement."

Minichiello et al (1999, P.454)

Marshall and Rossman (1995, P. 81) suggest

“When interviews are used as the sole way of gathering data, the researcher should have
demonstrated through the conceptual framework that the purpose of the study is to
uncover and describe the participants’ perspectives on events; that is, that the subjective
view is what matters.”

Marshall and Rossman (1995, P. 81)
In addition this research is designed to benefit Aboriginal people by providing documentation of racism felt by Aboriginal people in society and institutions, namely the judicial system. An Aboriginal perspective is regarded as a way to help Aboriginal issues be heard in the way they were intended.

Aboriginal people may feel intimidated by research and researchers, and an attempt was made to minimise this by adopting in-depth interviews as a methodology. In-depth interviews seem to be appropriate, as Marshall and Rossman (1995) have pointed out that this methodology is more like a conversation than formal research. This would seem to make the participants feel more comfortable.

“Typically, qualitative in-depth interviews are much more like conversations than formal events with predetermined response categories. The researcher explores a few general topics to help uncover the participants meaning perspective, but otherwise respects how the participant frames and structures the responses. This, in fact, is an assumption fundamental to qualitative research-the participant’s perspective on the phenomenon of interest should unfold as the participant views it, not as the researcher views it.”

(Marshall and Rossman (1995, P.80)

Taking into account all of the above views a qualitative approach using face-to-face, in-depth interviews seemed to be the most preferable methodology for this study. In doing so, it created the opportunity for Aboriginal people to voice their ideas and opinions. Their subjective view was taken into account and used.
Selecting participants

This study used a non-random method to select participants. In particular it used snowball sampling and incidental sampling. Snowball sampling is used in many research studies. "It relies on the researchers knowledge of a social situation."

(Minichiello et al 1995, P.161)

As the researcher has knowledge of the Nowra Aboriginal community, members were initially contacted and informed of the research study and asked if they knew any one who would be interested in participating. These new informants were asked the same questions, and so on and so on.

Incidental sampling involves the process of where the researcher asks people if they would like to take part in an interview immediately. (Minichiello, et al 1995, P.161) The researcher went to the Nowra area at two specific dates to conduct the in-depth interviews. Although some of the participants were originally contacted in relation to the research, there were two participants who were asked if they would like to participate in the research study immediately and both agreed.

Six people were interviewed for this research study. All participants were between the ages of 18-35 with the exception of one participant, whom was aged greater than 35. Of the six people interviewed one participant had been incarcerated in his younger years, two had been recently incarcerated for the first time, two had been
incarcerated several times and one had never been incarcerated, but had several brothers and cousins who had.

In preparation for the interview the participants were informed of the relevance and purpose of the interview and research study. Taking up a suggestion by Rice and Ezzy (1999) they were told that their story is what this study was interested in and that they were the experts.

The interviews

The interview settings were mainly in a bedroom of the participant’s residence or their family’s residence. The reason it was done in this setting is so that no one else could hear or watch what the interview entailed. One interview was done in the researchers car whilst parked.

The research questions were:

1. Have you ever-encountered racism?
2. Tell me about your experience.
3. How did this make you feel?
4. Have you or a family member been to gaol?
5. Tell me about your experiences with the judicial system?
6. Did this experience affect your or your family’s mental health?
   - If so how?
The analysis of the data

After all the interviews were completed a thematic analysis of the raw data was conducted. Thematic analysis is also referred to by some writers as 'qualitative content analysis,' 'semiotic analysis,' 'discourse analysis' or 'narrative analysis.' Minichiello et al (1999, P.453) As a ‘thematic analysis,’ technique had been adopted as one of the methodologies for this research study the construction of a theme list was created and typically used. (Rice and Ezzy 1999)

“This ensures that all relevant issues are discussed and that the interviewer is free to concentrate on the ongoing interaction” (McCraken 1988, P.25. Cited in Rice and Ezzy 1999, P.59)


“The researcher looks for themes as expressed in the transcript. The themes can be expressed in single words, phrases sentences, paraphrases or even entire documents. When the researcher uses themes as the unit of analysis he or she is primarily looking for the expression of an idea irrespective of its grammatical location. It is often made up of concepts and which are linked together either by the informant and/or the interviewer.”


The thematic analysis of the raw data is time consuming and there were many different concepts and understandings that emerged. Some of the concepts had a
Ethical issues

Ethical approval from the Human Ethics Committee of the University of Sydney is a requirement of the course of which, the researcher was enrolled in at the time of preparation and duration of the thesis. Ethical approval was also sought from the Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council (AH&MRC). It is now procedure at Sydney University for Aboriginal health research proposals to acquire ethical approval by the AH&MRC. Due to the fact that the research requires Aboriginal community members of the South Coast, Nowra area, it was deemed necessary by the researcher to obtain ethical approval from the South Coast Aboriginal Elders Advisory Committee, which consists of seven local Aboriginal Elders. This was deemed necessary although it is not policy.

The researcher felt that community involvement and consultation in the research was very important. Several informal meetings with members of the South Coast...
Aboriginal Elders Advisory Committee have taken place in January 2001 and presentation of the proposal of the research was presented on Thursday the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of February 2001.

The researcher feels, that Indigenous researchers should conduct Indigenous research. To have research conducted in Indigenous communities by non-Indigenous peoples who are not trained to be culturally appropriate may prove to be problematic and bias. It may not benefit Indigenous communities.

Smith states (1999, p.134) on training Indigenous researchers,

> "Although communities have a critical perspective of universities and what they represent, at the same time these same communities want their members to gain Western educations [sic] and high-level qualifications. But they do not want this to be achieved at the cost of destroying indigenous identities, values and practices."

Smith (1999, P.134)

Indigenous research by Indigenous researchers could only benefit Indigenous communities and it is acknowledged that in the process of gaining Western education, Indigenous identities, values and practices should not have to be destroyed. Continual contact has been maintained with several members of the South Coast Aboriginal Elders Advisory Committee. A letter was forwarded to them in late August, informing them that the research had begun. (See Appendix
The researcher had a telephone conversation with a mental health worker at the Illawarra Area Health Service, Mental Health Team, and negotiated the

3.) The South Coast Aboriginal Elders Advisory Committee had approved the research study. (See appendix 4.)

The research proposal was first submitted to the Human Ethics Committee at the University of Sydney in late January 2001. The research proposal was not approved and the committee returned the proposal with recommendations for amendments of which were required before approval could be considered. Some typographical errors were mentioned, as well as other more significant recommendations, which include the following.

Question number 2.13 of the proposal stated, asked if the participants would induce and psychological or physical stress in the subject? Because the research involved quite personal accounts of incarceration the researcher thought that it might become stressful for some of the participants and answered 'yes.'

Question 2.14 asked, 'if participation in the research could adversely affect the subject(s)?' The researcher answered yes and that the participants will have the opportunity and right to withdraw from the interview at any time. The Human Ethic Committee did not approve of this and stated that some form of referral mechanism must be in place before they would consider approving the proposal.

The researcher had a telephone conversation with a mental health worker at the Illawarra Area Health Service, Mental Health Team, and negotiated the
possibility that this service be employed as the referral mechanism. The Illawarra Area Health Service had no objections and was very helpful.

The researcher returned the research proposal to the Human Ethics Committee and the proposal had acquired ethical approval from the University of Sydney’s Human Ethics Committee in August 2001.

The Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council (AHMRC) stated that if researchers want to do research in Aboriginal communities, then their approach must be in accordance with the AHMRC’s ethical standards, and the research study must adhere to the NSW Aboriginal Health Information Guidelines guidelines. These Guidelines were strictly adhered to and ethical approval (See appendix 5.) from the AHMRC was sought before the commencement of the proposed research study. A copy of the guidelines was given to each of the participants for them to review and kept as a reference. The participants were told that they could terminate the interview at any time. They were told that if they encountered any psychological distress, a referral mechanism was in place at the Illawarra Area Health, Mental Health unit. After they read the guidelines and information statement (See Appendix 6.) and understood the procedure of the interview process they were asked to sign a consent form. (See appendix 7)
Chapter 6: Findings

There were several themes that emerged from the six in-depth interviews. Some of the major themes that the participants commented on include, experiencing racism, living under white law, prison experience, having a black mark against their name, mental health in prison and after prison, loss of traditional roles, and the impact on families. There were many issues that were revealed and many of the comments made were relevant to many of the themes that emerged. The following findings have been arranged according to the themes that emerged from the interviews.

Experiencing racism

When asked the question ‘have you ever encountered racism?’ all the participants claimed they had encountered racism. Answers to this question included, ‘Yeah a few times’. ‘Yeah, all the time’, and ‘heaps’. When asked to expand on their answer, one participant spoke of historical accounts in relation to employment, and social factors leading to racism. The other five participants spoke of individual racism through discrimination and prejudice. When asked how that made them feel, the participants answered with ‘scared, afraid, sad, angry, powerless, like refugees in our own country and unjust.’
There were various degrees of racism reported. At one end the racism could not seem too worrying, whilst at the other end could seem disturbing. One participant recalls an incident that happened whilst asking directions in a heavily populated street.

"you know if they're on their own and then they're walking passed they sorta, they, they shrink away from ya. Or they, they kind of cross the road to avoid ya ...and we were sayin' "Excuse me? Excuse me?" Trying to wave up to her. And she seen us and she, she crossed the road really quickly. And then we go "Excuse me? Excuse me?" like trying to get a bit louder, and next minute she started runnin' (laughs) down the road and I was only, I was only trying to ask her directions and you know, I was thinking ahh poor thing, she must have thought we were going to mug her or, you know, cause there is a lot of, you know negativity in the media about black fullas that try and mug ya"

Another participant felt that he had experienced racism from an early age. The participant recollected an incident that happened at primary school and then in high school, where in both scenarios he was fighting a non-Indigenous person. He felt victimised by the principal in one incident and then by a teacher in the other.

When I was at school, I remember when I was at school and I was only young. I was only in about year six. This um, this boy was hitting my sister with this willow tree. And so I hit him and actually he kicked me, he kicked me up the arse and I hit him. And the principal come across, the principal come across, the principal hit me straight away and did not hit the other person or do anything. And I was at school later on then, that, and I was in year ten I was fighting this bloke and the teacher come across from behind the other bloke and pushed me out of the road. When, you know, I was fighting this white bloke so he should have grabbed him first cause he come from behind him. And I turned around and jobbed him and that's when I got suspended from school.
Racism in the judicial system

Judicial racism was in several forms and ranged in degrees of extent. The forms include incidents with police in social settings, incidents with police in the police station, incidents with judges and magistrates in the court system and incidents with prison officers whilst incarcerated.

One participant recalled from an early age of about nine when he and his mother went to the police station to get his brother who had been picked up by the police earlier. The police station was in New South Wales and whilst there, a policeman called him a ‘gronk’ and when his mother said something about it, the policeman swore at her.

“He’s called her a black, black C, black cunt. Like “Fuck off you black cunt” It was like that. It was weird, you know at the time cause I was only young, and I was like, I remember, it still, it still stays with you, that sort of thing... It was like, they were like the police that were doing it to us, it was like, we feel powerless. Especially you know, cause they were the people who were supposed to you know, look after us and stuff like that.”

This same participant recalled an incident when he was first charged with an offence and claims that the Sergeant made a racial comment.

Like I was getting finger printed, hey, and umm it wasn’t a bad charge it was like hindering police or something, then he said look sarge you know, this blokes never been charged before. And like the sergeant has walked out and he goes, he takes one look at
me and he goes "no it's the first time this little black cunt's been caught" (Laughs) and he just chucked me straight in the (in audible) straight in the cell. I didn't do nothin' hey And so I thought, I thought that's bad hey tryin' to make out to me that I'm a criminal or somethin' you know, that's personal. I never done anything.

One participant commented on his court appearance when he was first incarcerated. He felt that he had been hard done by when he didn't even get the chance to present any evidence in his defense.

"Well when I first went to gaol I had about thirteen charges and I pleaded guilty to half of them and not guilty to the other half. And the judge said straight out he said your guilty on all charges. He didn't even hear what I had to say and he sent me to gaol for twelve months on all the charges."

The same participant commented on other prejudicial accounts asserted in court that he had experienced.

"with the court system there has been, there has been prejudice but I understand that they're only doing their job, you know what I mean and if I'm mucking up or get in trouble... You know there has been a lot of times I've been let off charges and that and there's also been a lot of times when I went to gaol for something that I didn't do..."

Another participant had been charged by police under his brothers name, for a crime that was committed when he was incarcerated at the time of the offence.
"He knew my name was (Participant say's his full name.) But then they charged me under (Participant say's his brother's name) for an offence that happened on the (participant say's a specific date) this year. But how could I have done it when I was in, I was incarcerated in prison. And I was telling them that, and they were saying "we're still charging you."

Another participant talked of being temporarily detained in a prison lock up and he had been taunted and threatened.

"Yeah umm, when I was umm, been in the (a N.S.W. local police station) cells, umm they have been really racist to me, they want to bash me, umm, they wanted to umm, gas me, they wanted to umm take my life away from me, they wanted to hang me. They were playing a lot of mind games with me...I was really scared hey, you know, I thought I was going to be dead there and then."

Another participant commented on an incident that happen in a N.S.W. police station.

They threw me in the thing you know, that's when the coppers said "I'm gonna kill you one day you little black cunt" you know and he said "you'll be floating in the river." I, I, said it, repeated it straight back to him, I said, "you’ll be floating in the river you cunt." You know.

According to the participants racism occurs in many levels of the judicial system. The racism is very severe as well as mild and the participants have commented on the short-term affects of racism such as anger, fear or sadness.
Living under white law

Historical accounts of racism were commented on. The Aboriginal experience of living in Western society and ‘under white Law’ was seen as significant. This participant felt that a penal mentality is still very much here today as it was back in the late seventeen hundreds. He felt that Australian racism is still very much apart of this society and it discriminates against Aboriginal people and other ethnic minority groups.

So it’s not only with Aboriginal people, but also with other ethnic groups, the Asian groups, that are discriminating now. So that in ground racism will always be a part of Australian society and because this country was built on a penal mentality umm from the day Captain Cook put his foot on this land here, that penal mentality is still a very, is still very much umm, a part of today’s society where umm, more institutions, more people are being umm incarcerate ahh people in a matter of ahh white ances, ahh, white heritage so to explain.

One of the reoccurring themes throughout the interview process saw the emphasis on Aboriginal people in Western society living under ‘white law’. Aboriginal people are up against white judges, white lawyers, white parole officers, white correctional service officers etc.

“And there was an old saying amongst our umm crims and that or Aboriginal men in gaol, you know, it was a white man who sorta like, who pinched ya, or you know arrested ya, it was a white man who turned the key on ya, if it was, if it was the screw or the…It was a white man who was defending ya, it was a white man who was judging ya, it was a
Another participant felt that Aboriginal people lose hope because they feel that the whole of society is against them. This participant surprisingly uses a similar example as the previous participant. The participants felt that they were disadvantaged by Western society and in a sense felt victimised.

"And they have to conform to this, to the white rules. And then they go to umm, they go to court, you know, they're up against, white layers, white judges, white police officers and they just, you know, they feel like the whole systems against them anyway, you know, and so that's making them angrier, and then they're trying to fight harder and they're lashing out at, at like what people would say is innocent victims of society, you know these white fullas, that they don't realise how the whole system is what is getting them all trapped in the first place."

Another participant commented on his experience with the court system. He felt that when it comes to Western Law he does not know much about the legal system and he feels that a lawyer is the person who understands the law and informs him if he will be sent to gaol, or receive a fine or be found not guilty.
"Well basically if I was to go to court I just, I don't know what's going on. I'll go and sit down and, and you know, if a lawyer say's I'm right, (then) I'm right. I don't know what's going on with court."

Aboriginal people are living under Western Law and are convicted under Western Law. According to the participants, Aboriginal people, in a sense feel victimised by white Australian society.

**Prison experience**

All the participants who had been incarcerated talked about the prison experience and most of them identified ways in which they dealt with it. The prison experience clearly shows how traumatic it is and one can understand why one would not want to go back there. Two of the participants spoke of how time was an issue and both showed how different people deal with time issues to help their time go faster whilst incarcerated. This participant spoke of drug use to make the time go faster.

You know and umm, but gaol to define it and that. "It was just hell...(Pause)...without no morals you know, it all goes for these people incarcerated and that. Cause a lot of people, umm, sorts like tend to rape usually, and they sorts can't go on no more and some of them end up killing themselves, and some of them you know, like I said before, take drugs, heroin to try and rid the frustrations and that and make their time go faster."

"It's just how you've been brought up!"

Bolt, 2001
The same participant felt that it was better to hurt himself then to be bashed by prison officers.

"I was in the maximum protection part, umm, and they put a belt buckle on me, (Participant put's his hands between his legs as if his hands are cuffed at the wrists and shows that they are then attached to a belt on his waist.) umm I, at, before that time I king hit a screw because he was calling me a black cunt and he said that he was gonna kill me, and umm, to stop all the thing, from getting bashed all the time, I umm, knocked myself out, I head butted the brick wall cause, I just went off me head, I couldn't hit him, cause otherwise I would have been charged and that, so I tried to hurt myself."

After this incident the participant was taken to the office and a meeting was held with the super intendant, the prison officers and a nurse. The participant talks about how the nurse knew him and wanted to support him, in the court of law if necessary. The participant explains how he had to be detained in segregation because the prison officers had to justify their actions.

she remembered my face before, and she said umm, I know Mr (Participiant say's his last name) this and that, "I've known him for a long time."
And the screws were dirty on it because umm, sometimes they connect with the screws, umm, the screws and nurses they cover up the, shitty things that happens. So then umm, she ended up backing me up, cause they was gonna charge me with assault officer execution of duty. And umm because she backed me up and told me uncle (Participant say's his uncles name) umm that what; what had happened about name calling and that, and umm the reason why I was placed in a umm, dry cell so she was, she was umm willing to back me up, than the screws, so they couldn't charge me with that offence, and umm, otherwise it would have been proven in court that it was umm, the screws fault not my fault. And then anyways, to justify, even though I was in the right, to justify their
actions, they put me in umm segregation. They said it was only for two weeks. But then umm, when the two weeks was up...they said no we're gonna give you three months.

A Black Mark against their name

One of the reoccurring themes that this research study has unveiled is the disadvantage that Aboriginal people have when they have a criminal record. The Australian society could label them with a black mark. They would therefore have a black mark against their name. One participant felt that a black mark against his name could also cause problems for his family. It would therefore give his family name a bad reputation, regardless of if the family had done anything wrong or not.

"...because I've got a black mark against me name now and what ever I want to do I can't do because of the black mark against me name and my families also got a black mark and they only mention the last name (Participant says his last name) and they, you know, things could happen to them..."

Another participant felt that the black mark against their name could also render police harassment.

"yeah because down home there, we have a lot of trouble with our boys in gaol. Their always, you know, if they get a record then they get, they get, you know harassed and they get automatically suspected if anything happens and, you know, And a lot of the time, they'll (the police) keep on umm, tormenting them, you know, they don't leave them alone..."
and another view from a different participant.

"If anything happens in town they'll come and see me or other people you know, cause they automatically think that I'm guilty, you know what I mean? So I think that we're very disadvantaged down here."

_Mental health in relation to incarcerated_

When the participants were asked if they feel that their mental health, or their families mental health has been affected by this incarceration, all answered yes, and had many different views on this issue. One participant expressed how the mental health of another family member had been affected. This family member had repeatedly been incarcerated on many occasions over a long period of time.

"The experience institutionalises them. Institutionalisation. Cause there's umm, my brother, he's been in and out of gaol for the last 12 years ash make that 13. 13 years and he has been out, he gets out, I think the longest time he's like actually stayed out of gaol is like about 3 months and that's, that's a good one for him. Usually its umm, it's about 6 weeks or less. The last time he got out, he was out, he wasn't even out for 24 hours, before he was back in gaol again, you know."

This participant uses the terminology 'a culturated product' to describe the institutionalisation process.
"The thing is that when you are in gaol there, you just have to forget about all of your family. You be accustomed to where, wha, wha, You be accustomed to your situation, if... you become a, what they call a culturated product."

One participant expanded on other issues related to the mental well being of a family member.

"his whole adult life is based on prison experience and when you sit down and have a yarn really, that's all he talks to you about, because that's all he understands, you know, and he talks to you about how umm, the morals that the boys have in there, and, and the code and the brotherhood and all that kind of stuff which is cool but, because they, you know, they need that to survive but out here it is harder for him because it's usually a bit different outside. You don't have to fight, you know, to prove something, you know where as in there, they do, they have to fight to get that and they have to fight to survive."

The previous participant felt that fighting to survive was something that people in society did not have to do. Another participant who had been incarcerated on many occasions expands on an experience where he felt threatened and had to fight, as he thought he was going to die.

I was sitting out, near the (PUB) there, and umm two coppers jumped out of, at that time I didn't know they were coppers, two of them like umm, both in uniform, not uniform, umm, plain, plain clothes, jumped out of a combi van and they started yelling out to my name. (Participant say's his name several times) Sayin all that. I was thinking, who the fuck's these cunt's. You know. They started walking towards me real fast, and I had a beer in my hand bra. I s, fully just smashed it clean in his face you know. Cause I thought I was gon, I thought I was gonna die bra.
Another participant whom had been incarcerated on many occasions felt that life was easier living in gaol as the role of responsibility diminishes.

"I think it is probably easier than living on the outside because you got no worries, you don’t have to pay rent, you don’t have to, you know, pay board, your clothes are washed for ya you get your three feed, three, three meals a day. You know the only thing that you miss in gaol is your family and your loved one’s that’s about it. But being on the outside like, you’ve got more opportunities to do things but in gaol you’ve got a lot of time to sit back and relax and reflect on what’s gonna happen when you do get out so, I know that sometimes in gaol is easier than what it is on the outside."

This participant who had only been incarcerated once felt that incarceration was a reason for his poor mental health condition.

"I am a different person since I’ve been out of gaol, umm, I’m more scared, umm sorta put me in the mind of frame (sic) that I want to hide, hide all of the time, I’m umm paranoid, umm, I’ve been to the Doctors and they’ve diagnosed me with paranoid Schizophrenia, so that’s happened ever since I’ve been to gaol, umm so that’s affected me that way umm."

The next participant felt that he was a victim of racism in the prison system when the prison officers told him he would be placed in segregation for two weeks. After the two weeks had passed they decided to place him in segregation for three months. He describes his thoughts on the matter.

"Well I had no T.V., no radio, no nothing. And for me to sit in a cell for three months, with out no, like contacts with people, it’s pretty hard, you know what I mean?"
The next participant had not been incarcerated for about 20 years and he now looks back on the experience of incarceration and looks at the positive aspects of the experience rather than the negative aspect. He sees his mental health as a part of a holistic view of his being and he integrates other experiences with present issue in today’s Aboriginal Australia. His outlook on the mental health issue is completely different to the other participants. He is in a different age group and different generation.

“Well actually a,a,a with my mental health it made me stronger, but ahh some people don’t make it through, you know, so, because of the family it made me stronger...I don’t carry the umm the sorrow language of the last 200 years or anything like that within it there, now the only thing that I see, is the future, a part of our language and in our family for next generation you know for that 21st, 21st century. If they can keep well on the path, then you’ve got this co-dependency of where kids who have come through broken homes and just goes into other institute of co-dependency and into another family and another family and another family. So then it’s gonna keep identifying with the past, identifying with the bullshit and it’s got no meaning. Ahh and you know, the thing is, it’s not my sickness, it’s the white mans sickness, or the government’s sickness or however they want to perceive it. It’s got nothing to do with me.”

**Loss of traditional roles**

Two of the participants felt that traditional roles for Aboriginal men were very important and as the colonisation process took place these vital roles were lost. This participant felt that this is one of the reasons why Aboriginal mental health problems occur in Australian society and points out the importance of family structure in Aboriginal families.
“the Aboriginal male he’s sorta like striped of all of his umm his identity, he’s spirituality, he’s loss of culture, he’s loss of umm skin lores, totem’s and you know this whole breakdown of the Aboriginal male within that society umm even as part of being the family, the family, umm family structure you know, to us the Aboriginal family was the main corner stone of Aboriginal society.”

As another participant expands on the importance of traditional roles the point is made that when these roles are lost, self-determination, self-esteem and confidence also deteriorate.

“you have a young man trying to find roles in society and their having trouble doing that because the roles that our men had traditionally, that’s a lot of that’s been lost and white society, because of the racism, it’s really hard for them to find the courage to go out there and, and be a part of it. Because they just get, they just get, they know they’re gonna come up against racism anyway.”

**Impact on Family**

Family was seen as an important factor to some of the participants. This participant claimed that he had been frequently visited by his family when he was incarcerated. He felt that this is the reason why he ‘coped alright.’

When I was in gaol I coped alright cause me mother and father and brother and sisters come and visit me all the time, and so I was right in gaol. And other people didn’t get visits and that but you know I got visits all of the time.
Another participant felt that his family had made an impact on him, which made him stronger.

“Well actually a, a, a with my mental health it made me stronger, but ahh some people don’t make it through, you know, so, because of the family it made me stronger.”

When this participant was asked if the incarceration effected the mental health of the family, the reply was,

“Yes, Cause. Because we don’t, we can’t all be together, you know. And when some one from your family’s missin’, you know that’s, that makes you feel sad, you know cause you’re missin’ and you’re worrying about them. Because it’s harder in there and there’s a lot of, a lot of heavy shit goes on in gaol, you know like they’re, they kill each other, and fighting and all that kind of stuff. So you don’t know if they’re, they’re safe.”

The participant appreciated his family more.

“And it was like it was hard for my wife, or my girlfriend, it was hard for her, like umm, it was like just being apart mainly, it’s like from the family that’s, that’s the main thing see, not actually being in gaol, it’s just that not being able to visit your...I’d missed, I’d missed my family heaps, it sort of made me appreciate ‘em more when I did get out. Like, Like I love them and that but, when I did get out, like now I try and spend a bit more time with them, then what I did before.”
This participant had a very different view when it came to family. All of the other participants felt that family was very important. This participant felt that it was better to sever all ties with family members so as not to fret for them.

"if you started worrying about your family or anything else outside your, your ahh, make your hard, your time harder, so you sorta like just gotta sever all your ties, all your ties with your children, with your families, your missus, and everything else. And umm I can understand why a lot of the blokes in there they bloody suicide or you know, they hang them selves because they are given the rope from the day they were born, so that's the old, that's the old bull shit about Westernised society in respect to Australia"

The findings of this research study has revealed many themes, including, experiencing racism, racism in the judicial system, living under white law, prison experience, having a black mark against their name, mental health in prison and after prison, loss of traditional roles, and the impact on families. In general the participants felt that they had experienced racism from a young age and still experienced racism in everyday life and in Australian society. Racist accounts were recalled by the participants in different settings, including social settings such as walking down the street or in a school yard, to settings such as in a police lock up and in a prison. More formal settings such as in a court of law, were also recalled. The participants felt that incarceration affects their mental health and the poor treatment of inmates at correctional centres can only contribute to this.
Chapter 7: Conclusions/Recommendations

The aim of this thesis was to seek a better understanding of the relationship between racism and mental health in Australia. The means of obtaining this was by looking to the literature and determine how bias and prejudice in values and attitudes is embedded in Australian society and its institutions, namely the judicial system. This thesis has looked to the difference in Aboriginal societal values and Western societal values. It looked at the impact that institutional racism has had on the lives of six Aboriginal people, from the Nowra Aboriginal community, documenting their experience, using in-depth interview techniques adopted from the qualitative methodologies.

The research questions were,

- How do Western societal values differ from traditional Aboriginal societal values?
- What is the relationship between societal values and Institutional racism?
- What impact has Institutional racism had on Aboriginal people?

Cuneen (2001) stated statistical evidence that, Aboriginal people have a higher probability of being incarcerated in Australia. Aboriginal people are roughly 2 percent of the Australian population and twenty percent of the Australian prisoner...
population. Two of the participants related this problem to the loss of Aboriginal traditional roles in society for Aboriginal men.

Edwards (1988) explained how the values systems of Aboriginal people differ to the value systems of the Western society. Aboriginal people have a different culture to that of the Western society. In terms of possessions, Aboriginal people share and use them. The Western society acquires and accumulates them. Aboriginal people belong to the land and have sacred significance to it. Western society farms the land and perceives the land as a possession that they can own. They see it as a resource, which leads to the acquisition and accumulation of it. As this is regarded as importance by the Western society it therefore leads to greed and exploitation of it. The difference in values systems leads to a difference in understandings and way of living.

Although the Aboriginal people interviewed were not living as hunter-gatherers as their ancestors did, and are some what Westernised, they described the urban Aboriginal experience in Western society. Many of the values analysed by Edwards (1988) had some likeness to the values that the participants held. For example Edwards (1988) contends that Aboriginal society is seen as unified, Rights and obligations of kin are important to Aboriginal people, therefore Aboriginal people are more family orientated. The participants felt that family was important and when they are taken away from their families it impacted on their mental and emotional health. They encountered feelings of sadness and they
missed their family members and vica versa. As one of the participant put it, ‘family is the cornerstone of Aboriginal societies.’ Another participant felt that because of the strong family ties he could cope better in prison.

The prison experience told by the participants were both chilling and moving. These Aboriginal people shared surviving accounts of racism and prejudice in the judicial system and in Australian society.

Historical racist accounts have been documented and attitudes towards Aboriginal people evident in the literature. Some of these racist accounts in the form of cartoon’s, were distributed throughout the Australian public via the use of newspaper media and given the illusion that this thinking was acceptable to Australian society.

Racist accounts were the subject of all the participant’s views in this research study. These include accounts when the participants were in their early stages of life, in social settings such as schools and playgrounds. Accounts of racism in the judicial system were recalled, including an account where a Judge would not consider the participants evidence in his defense. There were several confrontations with police officers where name-calling was very frequent. One of the participants who was only about 9-10 years of age at the time, experienced a racial account where the police officer swore at his mother, and being young he tried to understand how a policeman could do that, when the police officer was...
supposed to protect civilians and uphold the Law. These accounts of racism show that these Aboriginal people have been enduring racial accounts from their childhood. Prison officers and police officers threatened some of the participants by claiming that they would end the participant’s life. Participants were told that they are going to die and the participants were made to fear for their lives. Another participant described prison as ‘hell with no morals.’ This could only lead to mental health issues, including low self-esteem, low self-determination, fear, sorrow, anger etc. One of the participants felt that he was a victim of racism in the prison system when he was placed into segregation for three months and as Brodsky and Scogin, 1988; Grassiean 1983; Grassian and Friedman, 1986; Scott and Gendreau 1969, have suggested

“Anxiety, depression, severe anger, phobic reactions, hallucinations, somatic complaints and lowered self-esteem are all detrimental psychological effects from segregation.”

(Brodsky and Scogin, 1988; Grassiean 1983; Grassian and Friedman, 1986; Scott and Gendreau 1969; all cited in Miller and Young 1997.)

The mental health of people is affected differently when they have been incarcerated once compared to people who have been incarcerated on several occasions. One participant who had only been incarcerated once states that he is always scared since he has been to prison and he felt that he had been diagnosed with a mental health illness as a result of incarceration.
Other participants whom have been incarcerated on many occasions dealt with incarceration differently and one of the themes that emerged in the findings was the institutionalisation process that occurs when people are incarcerated over time. One of the participants used the terminology institutionalisation, whilst another used the terminology 'a culturated product.' Brodsky (1975) refers to Clemmer who points out the same process but uses the terminology, prisonisation process.

“In 1940 the Prisonization hypothesis was developed by Clemmer, who postulated that as individuals stay in prison they become emotionally separate from free-world individuals, and increasingly acquire values, standards and behaviour patterns of other prisoners.”

(Brodsky, 1975, P.10, Cited in Deane, 1988, P.25)

Participants who were incarcerated for a long period of time and on many occasions had different attitudes to the other participants who hadn’t been incarcerated on many occasions. The participants who were incarcerated for the first time felt scared and missed their families. One participant whom, had been incarcerated on many occasions, felt that it was easier to live in gaol than on the outside as his role for responsibility diminishes. Another participant, who had been incarcerated on many occasions, recalls an incident where he had felt that he had to fight to protect himself.
The participants in this research study have commented on real life experiences and have opened up their feelings on the issues that this thesis has covered.

During the late 1700's the Western society arrived in Australia with an ethnocentric view, which ultimately lead to racism. Due to the fact that the Western value systems were different to the values systems of the Indigenous peoples of Australia, Aboriginal people have had to deal with racism.

Aboriginal people are tried and convicted under Western Law in Australia. Western Law in Australia is a product of Western values and Western understandings and at the end of the day the judge or magistrate still has to make a judgment, which he or she feels is the right and appropriate judgment, based on his/her understanding of that Western law. It is acknowledged that if Aboriginal people are living in Western society, then they should conform to Western Laws, but it should also be acknowledged that Aboriginal people were forced to live in Western society whom, have had to deal with dispossession issues and assimilation laws and as a result have been oppressed. More culturally appropriate methods need to be applied to ensure that Aboriginal people receive a fair deal from these institutions. (Please see recent developments)

Aboriginal people still have to endure heartache and pain of everyday racism and institutional racism that is embedded in Australia’s institutions. “Deprivation of liberty is the strongest sanction available in the criminal justice system and is
generally regarded as a sanction of last resort.” (Cuneen 2001, P.21) yet Aboriginal people are over represented in all levels of the judicial system far more than any other group in Australia. Aboriginal people are more likely to be convicted of petty crimes or for minor offences. If an Aboriginal person commits a petty crime the law can and often does revert to it’s highest sanction which is supposed to be it’s last resort. Deprivation of liberty.

Recent developments

During the concluding stages of this thesis a pilot study was set to commence in the Nowra area, where this research study was undertaken. The pilot study is called ‘Circle Sentencing’. This particular study was piloted by the Aboriginal Justice Advisory Council and is designed to benefit the Aboriginal offenders and Aboriginal community. It is an alternative sentencing process where the Nowra local court is taken to a community setting. The magistrate and Aboriginal community members convene in a circle to discuss the offence and the offender. The circle will also discuss the background and effects of the offence to develop an appropriate sentence for the offender. This pilot administered from the Nowra local court will be evaluated after two years. After a guilty plea has been entered or the defendant has been found guilty, he/she can apply to have their matter dealt with by circle sentencing. If the application is denied, regular sentencing in the local court will occur. This pilot study will allow greater Aboriginal involvement
in the criminal justice process. It aims to increase Aboriginal satisfaction with the operations of the criminal justice system.

Koori mail (2001)
Reference


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"It’s just how you’ve been brought up!"

Bolt, 2001 ©
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Appendices

Appendix 1 map

The Shoalhaven location within Australia.

Appendix 2 map

The Shoalhaven and surrounding areas.

Appendix 3 Letter to Elders

REUBEN BOLT

Address
Town/City

Phone (02) 9!#@ $ %&*#

South Coast Aboriginal Elder Advisory Committee
C/O Mrs Isabelle McLeod

Re: Research in the Nowra Aboriginal community titled, 'It's just how you've been brought up!'

This letter is forwarded to the S.C.A.E.A.C. to inform you that I have commenced my research. I have conducted some interviews with some of the Aboriginal community members in the Nowra area. I am very busy and feel that my thesis is shaping up well. The final draft is due on the 16th of November 2001. After the thesis is marked which I imagine should be before the new year, a copy will be forwarded to you for your reference. If you have any queries about anything in regards to the research please do not hesitate to contact me on the above phone number, e-mail or by correspondence.

Sincerely,

Reuben Bolt
Appendix 4 Letter from Elders

Shoalhaven Aboriginal Elders Advisory Council
P.O. Box 116
NOWRA. N.S.W. 2541
Phone: 02 44214465

To Whom It May Concern

At a meeting held on the 21st February 2001, our organisation had the pleasure of hearing an address given by Reuben Bolt regarding his research proposal for his honour degree within the Nowra area.

We deemed it a privilege that Reuben paid his respects to his Elders in asking our permission to carry out his research before he even ventured to do so.

The Elders gave their approval most whole heartily and shall look forward to see the results and outcomes of his research concerning the subjects he has chosen.

Yours Sincerely,
Isabelle Mcleod J.P. B.E.M.
For and on behalf of the Elders
Ben Brown      Chairperson
Ethel Little   Vice Chairperson
Mona Brown
Jean Wellington
Dolly Fitzpatrick
Warren Cooper
20th March 2001
Appendix 5 AHMRC Approval

Aboriginal Health & Medical Research Council
of New South Wales

AH&MRC ETHICS COMMITTEE

Mr Reuben Bolt,
Honours Student
Yoorong Garang School of Indigenous Health Studies
The University of Sydney
PO Box170
Lidcombe, NSW, 1825

Dear Mr Bolt

Re: A Study to improve social understanding of the relationship between racism and mental health in Australia from an Aboriginal perspective

Concerning your request for our Ethics Committee to evaluate and support the above-mentioned epidemiological research proposal the Committee responds as follows:

Firstly, we apologise for the delay in responding. All evaluation and administrative duties are extra curricular, voluntary and not funded from any source. However, workloads have been restructured to accelerate the process in the future. It was assumed, as there were no negative ethical aspects in your work, the project, as part of your honours thesis, would have proceeded based upon the ethics approval granted elsewhere.

The AH&MRC Ethics Committee is committed to professional projects in essential epidemiological and medical research that increase scientific knowledge, demonstrate benefit to our communities and provide transfer of skills to our medical workforce.

Included in the criteria used by the Committee to evaluate applications for proposed research and publications of statistical data on Aboriginal health are the following principles which are contained within the AH&MRC publication Guidelines for Research into Aboriginal Health.

102 George Street Sydney 2000 - PO Box 1008 Strathfield NSW 2135 - Ph: (02) 9698 1099 - Fax: (02) 9690 1559 - Email ahmrc@ahmrc.org.au
ACN 085 654 397

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"It's just how you've been brought up!"

Bolt, 2001 ©
i. that in accordance with the priorities set out in the National Aboriginal Health Strategy and the Report of the National Workshop on Ethics of Research in Aboriginal Health, research proposals must advance scientific knowledge so as to result in demonstrated additional benefit to Aboriginal communities.

ii. that there be Aboriginal community control over all aspects of the proposed research including research design, ownership of data, data interpretation and publication of research findings.

iii. that the research to be conducted in a manner sensitive to the cultural principles of Aboriginal society.

iv. that Aboriginal communities and organisations be reimbursed for all costs arising from their participation in the research process.

v. that Aboriginal communities and organisations should be able to benefit from the transfer of skills and knowledge arising from the research project.

Furthermore, the Committee assumes that applicants of research proposals and epidemiological publications of Aboriginal health are conversant with the following documents.

1. Report of the National Workshop on Ethics of Research in Aboriginal Health (NAIHO) [1987]
2. Guidelines on Ethical Matters in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health research (NH&MRC) [1991]
3. NSW Aboriginal Health - Information Guidelines (NSW Aboriginal Health Partnership, NSW Health/AH&MRC) [1998]
4. Guidelines for Research into Aboriginal Health (AH&MRC Ethics Committee) [1999]

With specific reference to your application please note the following:

- #2.14 of the Application makes reference to the South Coast Aboriginal Medical Service and states that they will be informed prior to the commencement of the research study. We note that a letter of consent will be sought from the Aboriginal Elders Advisory Committee and at 5.4 reference is made to two Aboriginal elders in Nowra but no documentation to any of the above was included within the application. As the study incorporates a health component, consent from the AHS would seem appropriate and although it may be rather late to alter any documentation we enclose appropriate Organisation and Individual Consent Forms which may be of some assistance in this regard.

- #5.1 mentions that the sample size for this study is 6-8 individuals. We would caution whether statistical material of this nature can be extrapolated for valid wider application than the parameters of this study.
• Question 6 of the application implies the applicant has skills to follow up any trauma revealed in response to this question relating to mental health. We would suggest the question be rephrased to read as follows:
  “Did this experience cause you or your family distress?”
• We also draw your attention to the ethical standards relating to the publication and dissemination of Aboriginal health data and the need for ethical clearance from this Ethics Committee as mentioned in the NSW Aboriginal Health — Information Guidelines.
• We would also draw the applicant’s attention to the conclusions of the RCIADIC about racism.

The Ethics Committee has given careful consideration to the research proposal and grants ethical endorsement and wishes you well in your project.

On behalf of the AH&MRC Ethic Committee,

Yours sincerely

Kaye Mundine
Chairperson

10th July 2001
Information sheet

It's just how you've been brought up! A study to improve social understanding of racism in Australia from an Aboriginal perspective.

Dear participant,

You are invited to participate in a study which attempts to give better understanding of racism in Australia. The study will use interviews to ascertain participant's perception and understanding of race and racism in the community. Reuben Bolt, an Honours student at Yooroang Garang, will conduct the interview: School of Indigenous Health Studies, Faculty of Health Sciences-University of Sydney. The interview will approximately take about 30-45 minutes and will be conducted at the time and place of mutual agreement.

The study has been approved by the ethics committee of the University of Sydney as well as the Aboriginal Health Research Council.

The information that you give will be confidential and your identity will not be disclosed to any other person. The interview will be recorded using a tape recorder [after receiving permission from you] and field notes will be taken during the session. Your name, address or personal details will not be recorded in the final report, unless you give permission. During the interview you will have the opportunity to raise any questions that you may have. You can contact Mr Reuben Bolt at (02) 9643494, or Dr Kathleen Clapham at [02] 9351 9131 or Mr Shane Merritt at [02] 9351 9201 if you have any questions regarding this research.

Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Secretary of the Human Ethics Committee, University of Sydney on [02] 9351 4811.

Your contribution would be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Dr Kathleen Clapham, Head
Yooroang Garang: School of Indigenous Health Studies

P.O. Box 170, Lidcombe, NSW 2141, Australia,
Telephone, (02) 9351-9393, Fax (02) 9351-9400

The University of Sydney
Faculty of Health Sciences
YOOROANG GARANG
The Centre for Indigenous Health Studies
Appendix 7 Informed consent

The University of Sydney
Faculty of Health Sciences

YOOROANG GARANG
Indigenous Health Studies

Informed Consent

I, ............................................................................................................ hereby voluntarily
consent to participate in the research entitled:

............................................................................................................

............................................................................................................

Conducted by: Reuben Bolt.

I understand that the information obtained from this research may be used in
future research, and may be published. However, my right to privacy will be
retained, i.e., personal details will not be revealed. The procedure as set out in
the attached information sheet has been explained to me and I understand what
is expected of me and the benefits and risks involved. My participation in the
project is voluntary. I have been provided with the NSW Aboriginal Health,
information guidelines, (Aboriginal Health Information Strategy-August 1998) I
have read the guides and am satisfied with my understanding of them. I
acknowledge I have the right to question any part of the procedure and can
withdraw at any time without this being held against me. I have been informed
that should I encounter any psychological stress that I will be referred to the
Illawarra Area Health Service.

I have been familiarised with the procedure.
Signed by the participant ................................................ Date

Witness: .................................................................................... Name

............................................................................................ Signature

............................................................................................ Date

P.O. Box 170, Lidcombe, NSW 1825, Australia,
Telephone: (02) 9381-9993, Fax (02) 9381-9400

"It's just how you've been brought up!"
Bolt, 2001