MEMORANDUM TO

Miss Pamela Green,
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I am enclosing a copy of the thesis entitled "Value Orientations, Change and Stress", submitted by Mr. R.G. Hausfeld for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology.

The candidate successfully completed the requirements for the degree.

R.B. Fisher,
Registrar.

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24th September 1973
VALUE ORIENTATIONS, CHANGE AND STRESS

R. G. HAUSFELD

"Change begins when an individual seizes the chance of realizing an accepted value in a new way."


This thesis was submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Sydney, December, 1972.
VOLUME I
Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis is a result of my own original research.

R. G. Hausfeld.
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Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTION

I came to this study in search of answers. After working for seven years in the field of Aborigines' Welfare, and having completed an M.A. thesis on "Aspects of Aboriginal Station Management"¹, I felt there were more questions raised than answered. I was confident I could give sound advice about what not to do in field situations, but that I knew very little about what to do. I believed I had a positive contribution to make, but I was also convinced that my knowledge lacked cohesion and a theoretical framework within which a genuine understanding could be reached. My data was descriptive and from it it was possible to generalise to a limited extent, but my understandings were intuitive.

Furthermore, I found much of what I read seemed either too remote from day to day concerns of social practitioners, or too general and vague to be of more than cautionary value in field situations.

At the end of 1960 I withdrew from the field and took an appointment as lecturer in Anthropology and Aboriginal Studies at the Australian School of Pacific Administration, Sydney. There, I searched the literature for the kinds of practical guidance I could pass on to my students who were being trained as welfare officers, administrators or teachers of Aborigines. I sought also the kinds of theoretical frameworks that would make a coherent presentation possible.

Essentially, I have been, and remain, an applied anthropologist (sociologist?). This makes a great deal of difference in one's outlook. If one is successful as a teacher, then what is taught will be applied; and that means meddling in the lives of other humans, for good or ill. Knowing this, the responsibility is increased.

My value position is: If social science is of no practical value to society, it is a highly expensive accretion on society, serving only a favoured few. The task of the applied social scientist is to discover and make available those understandings of social processes which will assist those who attempt to help people towards a better life.

The need for knowledge in the social sciences has never been greater than it is today. We are more aware than ever before of the gross inequalities that exist between and within nations; and very large sums of money are spent year after year in the hope of improving the life chances of underprivileged segments of mankind. That is, the money is spent to bring about directed change.

For me then, change is the central issue in social science; but it is certainly not the only issue, since change can be understood only in the whole context of sociological and psychological theory. Nevertheless, static models of society are of slight relevance in this regard.

Little can be discovered about change, other than that it has occurred, by looking at static presentations at two points in time. The crucial factor of the process by which the change occurred cannot be determined unless static models are abandoned. In order to see society as a dynamic process it is necessary to know more than the structure of
the system. It is of at least equal importance to know the motivators of action within the system.

In the three Aboriginal communities with which I had worked (1953-60), there were so many individual differences and different factors at work that it seemed impossible to talk about a value system in any more than a very general way. Indeed, it seemed diversity, rather than homogeneity, was the rule; yet it was evident that there were cohesive factors which held these communities together despite the administrative pressures attempting to disperse the family units into the general society in what was then officially described as a process of "assimilation".

How, then, was it possible to stand back sufficiently far from the detail of unique individual events to see the pattern of dynamic interaction which was a community in the process of change?

The first light came with the reading of Leighton. His presentation of individuals and social organization "under stress" seemed fruitful, and his principles and recommendations offered advice to the

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practitioner of change, I was particularly impressed by his presentation of "Systems of Belief Under Stress" because my fieldwork had already suggested to me that what was central to an understanding of Aboriginal communities was an understanding of the belief systems which structured responses to situations. Leighton says:

The deeply ingrained systems of belief are fundamental assumptions regarding values, man's place in life, the nature of the world and the nature of the supernatural. Although influenced by observation and reason they are profoundly emotional rather than intellectual, and felt with certainty rather than thought through, and are acquired from other people by example and the pressure of general opinion rather than by argument and direct persuasion.  

Yet, after the first glow of discovery, it became clear that his work was based on qualitative, intuitive analysis; and that this was not enough for practical application in concrete social situations. For example, precisely which beliefs and values were under stress? What was the extent of the stress? How did it manifest itself? And, anyway, was not some stress necessary to produce the dissatisfaction which might lead to the acceptance of change?

Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, "Variations in Value Orientations" offered a more precise definition of values and introduced the concept of value orientations and their variation. They provided also a

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5 Leighton, A.H., ibid., p. 288.

methodology by which value orientations could be determined and compared. Their work appears to be the descendant of "The Governing of Men", but since they do not reference Leighton one must presume that his role was that of intellectual pater and not that of genitor. It was their work which opened the way for this present study which is substantially based on it.

The opportunity to carry out this study came after my appointment as Medical Anthropologist in the Department of Tropical Medicine, University of Sydney. In January, 1966 I commenced fieldwork for "The Coasttown Project" and a brief acquaintance with the community made it clear that the Aborigines at Coasttown contrasted vividly with those at Forestville, so there was the possibility of doing a worthwhile comparative study.

However, since my interest was in the relationships between value orientations, change and stress, there remained the selection of a methodology by which stress could be measured. The reading of Chance's article, "Conceptual and Methodological Problems in Cross-cultural Health Research", suggested the possibility of using the Cornell Medical Index

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Frith, N.C., Hausfeld, R.G. and Moodie, P.M., The Coasttown Project: action research in community health; report in preparation, School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, University of Sydney.

Coasttown and Forestville are pseudonyms for two areas in eastern New South Wales, Coasttown in the south and Forestville in the north.

Health Questionaire (CMI)\(^\text{10}\) as such a measure. The CMI seemed to offer a way in which the presence and amount of stress could be determined, at least by implication. That is, if stress was seen as a force acting externally to individuals to produce internal strain which manifested itself as emotional disturbance or somatic disorder in individuals, then the CMI could be used as a measure of stress insofar as it measured emotional and somatic disorders, both of which were a reflection of stress. This will be further discussed in the following chapter.

The study was then conceived as an examination of the relationships between value orientations, change and stress as perceived when two different Aboriginal communities were compared with each other and with a group of White Australians who might be thought of as representative, in a very general way, of the dominant pattern of Australian society. A number of stages were defined.

(1) By fieldwork, and the use of available literature, to establish the ethnographic background of the communities to be used in the study.

(2) To develop, and test on pilot groups, the schedules to be used.

(3) To select representative random samples of the adult (over 15 years) populations of the two Aboriginal communities

(4) The administration of the schedules.

The analysis of the data and a comparison of the groups in terms of value orientations, stress, attitudes and information relating to the education of children.

The development of generalisations emerging from the analysis and comparison.

The comparison of results achieved with other relevant work in Australia.

To examine the implications of the results as they relate to change theory, community health (medicine, medical training, and field personnel), education and social welfare.

In the course of this presentation six hypotheses will be tested, and a further two proposed as worthy of examination by future research. The hypotheses are set out below. The first four were generally in mind at the commencement of the study, while the other four emerged from the analysis and its implications. They are:

1. Value orientations are related to change.
2. Value orientations are related to age.
3. Stress is related to change.
4. Stress is related to value difference.

A research proposal has been submitted for approval for work during 1973. This work, if approved, will be carried out in collaboration with a number of colleagues, chiefly Dr. G. C. Scott.

(5) Stress is directly proportional to value dissonance.  

(6) Self-perceived morbidity is directly proportional to value dissonance.

(7) Morbidity is directly proportional to value dissonance.

(8) Within a society, the life chances of a sub-cultural group are inversely proportional to its value dissonance.

Hypothesis (7) is supported by this research, but requires more direct testing before it can be justified; while Hypothesis (8) can only be supported in a qualitative way by available information and must therefore be regarded as speculation at present.

During the course of this research I have been significantly influenced by two other works. The first of these, "Unobtrusive Measures" by Webb et al, has strengthened my confidence in the methodology of this research which uses both the anthropological approach of extended fieldwork, the more precise quantitative sociological approach of census, interviews and questionnaires, and the exploitation of information available about the communities from other sources (chiefly official records).

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13 The concept of value dissonance will be discussed and defined in Chapter 2.

14 For definition of life chances, see Chapter 2.

The other work, "The Social Construction of Reality" by Berger and Luckman\textsuperscript{16}, offered a congenial conceptual framework within which dynamic concepts could be expressed. The relevance of the Berger and Luckmann conception of reality will be discussed in the following chapter.

A total period of 60 weeks were spent on actual fieldwork during the study, most of this (47 weeks) being devoted to the Coasttown community with which no previous contact had been made by me. Only 8 weeks were spent at Forestville because the general background had already been established during previous work (1956-60) and good rapport had been achieved and maintained during the intervening 10 years. Six weeks were spent on fieldwork in Sydney on pilot studies and the administration of schedules to the College group. Although I visited the Commune on two occasions, the actual administration of schedules was handled by an assistant who was a member of the Commune group at the time (September-November, 1971).

The College group was made up of young officers of Government service who were undergoing training as Welfare Officers or Teachers for work with Australian Aborigines. The Commune group was drawn from residents of, or regular visitors to a communal house in The City; these people reject the views of industrial society, particularly its more extreme individualistic and materialistic orientations. That is, they are members of a counter- (or alternative) culture.\textsuperscript{17}


This report is organized in the following way:-

In Chapter 2 the conceptual framework of the study is presented. Chapter 3 deals with methodology. The ethnographic background of the groups is presented in Chapter 4, and a detailed analysis of the schedule data is provided in Chapter 5.

The comparisons of the groups and the testing of hypotheses is presented in Chapter 6, and these results are compared with other available Australian studies in Chapter 7. Some implications of these results, and suggested further research can be found in Chapter 8, and a summary and conclusions make up the final chapter.

The selected bibliography provided is not intended to be comprehensive; indeed, a comprehensive bibliography over the whole range of topics covered by this study would require separate volumes.

The card index bibliography of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, contains more than 1000 entries on the Aborigines of South-eastern Australia. Moodie's bibliography on Aboriginal Health contains more than 2000 entries. Polgar's review article contains more than 630 references on the relationships between health and human behaviour.


The literature on change and the problems of change is also vast, as is that on values, attitudes and educational problems of deprived groups. Any pretence that I have covered this whole literature is not intended. My hope is that my coverage has discovered the more important, directly relevant works. To those authors whose works I have overlooked, though directly relevant, I apologise.

I have attempted to minimise the statistical tabulations in the text and detailed material has been relegated to the appendices.

A detailed presentation of the schedules used is given in Appendix I.

The demographic data for Forestville and Coasttown may be found in Appendix II.

Appendix III contains the detailed responses of informants to the schedule items.

Appendices IV, V, and VI give the detailed statistical tabulations which support the analysis and comparisons presented in Chapters 5 and 6.


Chapter 2

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study is not thought of as theoretical in the sense that it might offer a general overarching explanation of social phenomena, but rather it is viewed as an empirical work placed in a given conceptual framework, and out of which the realisation of new relationships and concepts might emerge. It is then, in the Glaser and Strauss sense, a work in grounded theory: that is

...the discovery of theory from data - systematically obtained and analyzed in social research - ...such a theory fits empirical situations, and is understandable to sociologists and layman alike. Most important, it works - provides us with relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications.

It is my hope that this study makes such a contribution.

For this reason, it is not intended here to provide a critical review of general anthropological theory or that relating specifically to change. Some general introductory remarks, followed by a presentation of the conceptual framework within which this study is conceived is sufficient to allow the development of the thesis to proceed.

The reasons why I have not sought for explanations in terms of the structural-functional theory in which social anthropology has operated since Malinowski is best summed up by two quotations from

1Glaser and Strauss, ibid., p. 1.
Jarvie, he writes:

"...over the problem of explaining social change contemporary social anthropology proves inadequate. This means that the much-heralded 'revolution in anthropology' is also shown to be inadequate. The inadequacy is relative as well as absolute for the previous theories, evolutionism and diffusionism, were, ..., able to cope with social change. Post-revolutionary social anthropology cannot give so much as a satisfactory account of change, whereas the previous doctrines permitted satisfactory (but, perhaps false) accounts.

Further, ..., there is no explanation of (social change) within the framework of structural-functionalism in the survey and I try to argue that there can be no explanation of it within the limitations of the structural-functional framework."

A conceptual framework which does offer the possibility of a satisfactory explanation of social and cultural change is presented by Berger and Luckmann. Their presentation uses the method of phenomenological analysis and this does not produce a book which is easy reading for one who has not been schooled in this approach. However, this is not the place to present either a full account of their position or a critical appraisal of it. I have found their work heuristically stimulating, particularly their presentation of "Society as Subjective Reality".

Their conception is dynamic and concerned with social processes

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3Berger and Luckmann, ibid.
in which change is not an aberration of the normal but a result of dynamic interaction through time. Reality, for them, is what is internalised during primary socialisation (the first few years of life) in the deeply affective atmosphere of interaction with significant others — thus, their title: The Social Construction of Reality.

To bring about any radical change in that perception of reality requires a replication of the emotionally intense interaction of early childhood.\(^4\) Without this replication it is unlikely that individuals' perceptions of reality will be significantly changed no matter what objective changes may take place in their physical or social environment.

It follows that when changes do occur in the social or physical environment of individuals they will be perceived in terms of reality as it was constructed for them during the process of socialisation. Acceptance or rejection of change will flow from such perceptions — that which is consistent with those perceptions may be accepted (if rewarding in some way) and internalized to become an addition to reality, and that which is inconsistent will be either reinterpreted, rejected or ignored.

Berger and Luckmann emphasise the central and essential role of language in the structuring of reality. They say:

Society, identity and reality are subjectively crystallized in the same process of internalization. This crystallization is concurrent with

the internalization of language. Indeed, ... language constitutes both the most important content and the most important instrument of socialization.  

An important, perhaps all important, segment of primary socialisation is the internalisation of values which are implicit in both language and behaviour. The conceptualisation of values used here is that of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck.  

They define value orientations in the following way:

Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process - the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements - which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of 'common human' problems.  

This conceptualisation of value orientations differs from earlier ideas in that it sees value orientations as rank ordered sets, rather than as single dominant or basic values. They are variable only within limits. The variation is in patterning only.

They argue that the directive aspect of the value orientation process is of first importance, and that the complex principles are on an implicit-explicit continuum.

5Berger and Luckmann, ibid., p. 123.
6Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, ibid.
7Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, ibid., p. 4.
For all values except that relating to human nature they see a
three-point range of variation\(^8\) involved in the rank ordering of
orientations. For example, for the Time orientation, there is Past,
Present and Future; while for the Relational orientation there is
Lineality, Collaterality and Individualism. The human nature orien-
tation is complicated beyond the orientation of good, evil and neutral
by secondary principles of mutability and immutability; and also by
the logical position of a mixture of good-and-evil.

In their schedule they did not solve the problems involved in
such a complex patterning, and this value orientation has not been
considered in this study.

They say that "no claim is made that either the problems selected
as those most crucially important for all human groups or the ranges of
possible solutions of these problems represent more than a tentative
formulation."\(^9\) Their position is accepted and later a reformulation of
their value orientations will be proposed.

Certain assumptions are made by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck and these
are set out as follows:

That: 1. there is an ordered variation in value-orientation
systems;

2. there is a limited number of common human problems
for which all peoples at all times must find some
solution;

\(^8\)Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, *ibid.*, p. 13.

3. while there is variability in solutions of all the problems, it is neither limitless nor random but is definitely variable within a range of possible solutions;

4. all alternatives of all solutions are present in all societies at all times but are differentially preferred;

5. every society has, in addition to its dominant profile of value orientations, numerous variant or substitute profiles;

6. in both the dominant and variant profiles there is almost always a rank ordering of the preferences of the value-orientation alternatives;

7. in societies which are undergoing change the ordering of preferences will not be clear-cut for some or even all the value orientations.

These assumptions have been accepted in this study, with the exception of assumption 7 which, for reasons that will be presented later, does not appear to be a necessary assumption to make.

The five common human problems they treat are:

1. What is the character of innate human nature?
2. What is the relation of man to nature (and supernature)? (man-nature orientation)
3. What is the temporal focus of human life? (time orientation)
4. What is the modality of human activity? (activity orientation)
5. What is the modality of man's relationship to other men? (relational orientation)

The first of these has been left out of the present study. With the second, there are problems which are only partially solved here.

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10 Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, ibid., p. 10.
11 Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, ibid., p. 11.
Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck include "supernature" along with "nature" in the one conceptual framework, and this seems to be wrong both logically and in point of fact. It is logically possible to hold the view that nature and supernature are separate conceptually. Nature neither implies nor requires supernature. For example, man can hold the position that he lives in a lawful universe without invoking the supernatural as a causal explanation. In fact, that is my own position.

For this reason, in the modification of the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck schedule, supernature was excluded from the man-nature orientation. A separate value orientation, called here World View, is developed. Is the universe essentially spiritual or material or a balance of these? This provides a tripartite orientation set called spirituality, balance and materiality. The items developed for this orientation provided good clustering over the five items used, and good discrimination between groups used in this study.

The results, as we shall see later (Chapters 5 and 6), of the man-nature set of items suggests further problems with the man-nature conceptualization. It seems that the respondents in this study discriminated between items which suggested immutability (death and the weather) and other items which suggested mutability. The question can be asked: Is the nature of nature a crucial problem for man in all societies? Does man see himself as capable of manipulating nature only in certain defined areas? These questions are not answered in this study.
The time orientation and the relational orientation presented no problems. The time orientation has variations of past, present and future and presents no difficulty. The relational orientation's three variations are lineality (a hierarchical ordering of relationships), collaterality (democratic, or peer oriented ordering of relationships), and individualism (an independent or self-related ordering of relationships).

The activity orientation is also accepted as formulated by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, but I was not successful in developing items which would distinguish the three orientations - Being, Being-in-becoming, and Doing. Consequently I have followed Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck in using only Being and Doing. The activity orientation has variations of being ("a spontaneous expression of what is conceived to be 'given' in the human personality") and doing ("a spontaneous expression in activity of impulses and desires").

The five value orientations used in this study are set out in Table 1. The arrangement of the table is for convenience and is not intended to imply relationships of a fixed nature between different value orientation variations.

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12Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, ibid., p. 16.

13Compare, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, ibid., p. 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Postulated range of Variations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man-nature</td>
<td>Subjugation-to-Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harmony-with-Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mastery-over-Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activity</td>
<td>Being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Being-in-Becoming)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relational</td>
<td>Lineality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Collaterality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World View</td>
<td>Spirituality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Materiality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This orientation not covered by the items of the modified schedule used in this study.*

From the above it can be seen that for each value orientation three variations are postulated. These variations are dependent variables since the choice of one as first preference excludes the other two from that position. A similar situation occurs with the second preference alternative.

Taken together, the three variations form a field of possibility within which the position of any group's value orientation can be located. That is, there are an infinite number of positions within the defined limits of the conceptualisation. This appears to conflict with the view
held by Kluckhohn and Strodbeck,

...the variation theory argues that a clear distinction should be made between changes which are more of the same thing - the pattern elaboration of a dominant value-orientation ordering - and basic changes which are changes in the value-orientation orderings themselves. 14

This view cannot be held if, and this is implicit in the Kluckhohn and Strodbeck position, the variation of a value orientation is variation within the limits of three (or more) dependent variables. There seems to be no justification for describing one change as "pattern elaboration" and another as "basic change".

For example, on the time orientation, if the position of a group at one point in time was that the dominant valuation ordering was Future preferred to Present preferred to Past where the Future position was held only weakly, and at another point in time it was found that the dominant valuation ordering had changed to Present preferred to Future preferred to Past with the Present position held only weakly, this would be described as "basic change" by Kluckhohn and Strodbeck. However, if the second position of the group remained Future preferred to Present preferred to Past, but the Future variation was now held very strongly, this would be described as "pattern elaboration". If one thinks in terms of dependent variables within a limited field of possibility, the amount of movement in that field could be greater in the latter case than in the former, and therefore be a more basic change

14Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, ibid., p. 43,
in any reasonable understanding of that word. I conclude that either the terms chosen were unfortunate in their implications, or that Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck were themselves confused into sometimes thinking of the postulated variations as being independent variables.

In the analysis that follows in this study I will ignore the distinction between basic change and pattern elaboration as defined by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck and work on the assumption that it is the magnitude of a difference between value orientation variations that is important and not whether or not there has been a change from one rank order preference to another.

From the example given above (a change from Future preferred to Present preferred to Past to Present preferred to Future preferred to Past) there is no requirement that at any stage the value orientation of the group become equivocal in terms of the three variables since throughout the change the position of Past as least preferred does not alter, so that assumption 7 (see p. 17) made by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck deals only with a special case where all three dependent variables are changing simultaneously. For this reason their assumption seems to be unnecessary.

When discussing the relevance of value orientations to cultural change, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck write:

Many of the variant patterns required and permitted in societies arise because of strains created by the dominant orientations; hence they have as their primary function the mitigation of these strains to the extent that the system can be maintained, often over a very long time period, without serious
disruption. But even though this be the primary function of the variant patterns, they and the variant individuals who follow them are always also a potential source of basic change.

and further,

...that basic change is usually, if not always, the result of the interplay of internal variations and external forces which are themselves variable. 15

The idea that variant patterns relieve strain within a society and that this is their function, or their primary function runs counter to the material to be presented in this study. It is the argument here that variant patterns cause strain, and that change towards the dominant pattern is resisted because of the relative immutability of those patterns which are internalised during the process of primary socialisation.

Put another way, it is the argument of this study that in a situation where there is conflict it is not change, of itself, that causes strain, but failure to change - the maintenance of the conflict. As this applies to value orientations, it is assumed that the dominant pattern is that held by the dominant (high status) group in society, Variations from that pattern will result in strain. This, notwithstanding the fact that variant value orientation patterns may be required by the system for its own maintenance.

15 Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, ibid., p. 43.
Stress as used in this study is the external force acting to bring about strain in the individuals of a group. This stress might be expected to bring about change - a resolution of conflict, but, as has already been noted, the basic value orientations are internalised during primary socialisation, along with language and are relatively resistant to change, so neurotic adjustments are made.

The result of this impasse is that individuals tend to go on living in a conflict situation. What basic changes occur are most likely to result from changes in the socialisation of the young, so that in the long term this can be thought of as a drift (or development) towards the resolution of conflict, but in the short term it is more likely to be seen as a kind of generational lurch, which brings about a situation of conflict between the generations.

The situation of value orientation conflict is defined here by the introduction of the concept of value dissonance. By value dissonance is meant: the sum total of the differences between the value orientation variations of a group and those of an Ideal Type value orientation pattern.

It should be noted that while the idea of using dissonance in this way was stimulated by the work of Festinger\textsuperscript{16}, the concept of value dissonance is quite distinct from his concept of cognitive dissonance. Cognition is necessarily absent from the value dissonance concept since value orientations may be implicit. Further, because of the nature of

basic value orientations, there can be no easy shift in orientations which would be the equivalent of the resolutions of cognitive dissonance as proposed by Festinger.

One further aspect of the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck presentation of value orientations remains to be discussed. This is their use of the idea of **behavior sphere**. They say:

> in every society there are several more or less well differentiated kinds of activities all of which are essential to its successful functioning.

and further,

> because it seems almost certain that varying value-orientation emphases are related to a stressing of one kind of activity as against others, we intend to make use of four of these categories - the economic-occupational, the religious, the recreational, and the intellectual-aesthetic -

and,

> The only alteration proposed of any significance is the use of the term behavior sphere in place of institution... behavior sphere has the advantage of being less connotative of consciously defined and definitely separated spheres of human activity than the term institution.

and,

> because value orientations are a more generalized and more durable aspect of culture than the specific patterns of behavior spheres, there is first, a logical, and second, an historical reason for giving priority to the ordering of value orientations.\(^{17}\)

\(^{17}\)Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, *Variations in Value Orientations*, pp. 28-29.
This presentation does not appear to add anything of significance to their discussion, if I have understood it correctly. The substitution of behavior sphere for institution adds to confusion of terminology rather than to its clarification if there is not more to it than is indicated to me by the quotations given above.

It is of some importance because it may be that Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck would see the difficulties I have raised (see pp. 17-19) in connection with the man-nature value orientation items in terms of behavior sphere variation. For me, the problems are not solved in this way.

Turning now to other concepts which are used here, they can be briefly defined.

The Allport\textsuperscript{18} definition of attitude is accepted.

An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related.

Both values and attitudes are directive and are related, value orientations (as defined here) are more generalised and deeply internalised than are attitudes, and therefore less susceptible to change.\textsuperscript{19}


Attitudes are conceptualised as being specific and as being based on more generalised values.

Morbidity may be defined as "The state of being diseased or conducive to disease" where this is understood to include "any mental or psychic faculty that is unhealthy or that tends towards abnormality".20

In this study the distinction will be made between Self-perceived morbidity - that which is recognised and reported by a person as symptomatology - and morbidity - that which is observed by clinical examination or assessment.

Throughout this study the word Aborigines and its derivatives will be taken to apply to any person or persons who claim to be, or are recognised by members of their community to be, a person or persons of Australian Aboriginal descent in whole or part. In other words, the definition is wholly social in its import and is not intended to imply that persons so described are of full-blood racial origin.

White or other Australian is meant to imply any other person or persons who are Australian residents and are not covered by the definition of Aborigines. These definitions are used because they reflect the reality of the social situations which are the subject matter of this study. It is not my concern to demonstrate differences between groups based on racial origin, but on the contrary to show that valid explanations of differences are available on social grounds alone.

The term sociosomatic arose spontaneously out of the analysis

presented in Chapter 6, and it was my first impression that I would be introducing a new word, but Polgar's article\textsuperscript{21} drew my attention to the use of this term by Maclachlan\textsuperscript{22} in 1958.

Here \textit{sociosomatic} means: any morbid condition of the body of sociogenic origin; \textit{sociopsychiatric} means: any morbid condition of the mind of sociogenic origin; and \textit{sociogenic} means: resulting from the social position or social condition of a person or group.

\textit{Life chances} means: the ability to attain the valued goals of a society. In the Australian setting, \textit{life chances} would include the attainment of good health, long life, educational, occupational and social status, and the attainment of valued material possessions.

\textit{Need} as used here means: "the lack of something which, if present, would tend to further the welfare of the organism or of the species, or to facilitate its usual behavior"\textsuperscript{23}.

Within the general conceptual framework presented above the following model of activity is presented.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Need} \quad \text{activity} \quad \text{satisfaction} \\
\text{situation} \quad \text{value}
\end{array}
\]

That is, a need leads to an activity which is perceived as being appropriate (right) in that situation for the satisfaction of the need.

\textsuperscript{21}Polgar, \textit{ibid.}, p. 162.

\textsuperscript{22}Maclachlan, J.M., 1958, "Cultural Factors in Health and Disease", in Patients, physicians and illness (Edited by E. Gartly Jaco), Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press.

expressed. Viewed in this way, change can occur when any of the elements of activity, situation or value change.

In the confrontation of one culture with another, there is immediately a situation change; and there is, because of this, the availability of culture traits of the confronting culture. Where traits fit with the perception of reality of the confronted culture, they are likely to be accepted easily if they provide "better" solutions to their related problems. Where they do not fit, but conflict with the perception of reality of the confronted culture, they are unlikely to be accepted. They may be reinterpreted and then be seen as fitting with the confronted culture's perception of reality.

It might be expected that initial contact would offer many items which could be accepted easily, but that the further acceptance of items would become increasingly difficult for the confronted culture without some change in its value orientations. Because value changes are extremely difficult to bring about, when the confronting society is in a dominant position there is a direct conflict situation generated.

Whether contact situations are viewed as two societies in contact, or as one society with two sub-cultures depends on one's point of view. In this study both views are taken. On the one hand I will be concerned with the description and analysis of within-group differences, while on the other with between-group differences. In the first case the group will be viewed as a system in contact with another system, and in the second case the groups will be seen as sub-cultural units of the wider Australian society.
Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

The ideal way of testing the hypotheses set out in Chapter 1 would require a complete range of groups from the most tribal Aboriginal community available through others at various levels of acculturation to a randomly selected sample of White Australian society. Such grandiose plans had to be abandoned as quickly as they were formulated. It was quite unrealistic for one worker alone to attempt such a programme.

A scheme which involved working with a full-blood group at one end of the change spectrum, through two differently acculturated groups and a White group had to be abandoned also. An attempt was made to have a skilled linguist\(^1\) translate the values schedule into an Aboriginal language, but pressure of other work and severe problems in making a meaningful translation eventually ruled out that prospect.

The attempt has been made to simulate a diachronic study in a synchronic situation. By making the assumption that the Aboriginal communities involved both came from a basically homogeneous traditional culture\(^2\) before White settlement of Australia, it is reasonable to view present differences between them as resulting from the impact of

\(^1\)Mr and Mrs D.I. Glasgow of the Summer Institute of Linguistics made the attempt at translation. In a personal communication in August, 1968 they reported their inability to continue with the attempt for reasons of pressure of work and the extreme difficulty of the translation.

varying historical factors. The communities (Forestville and Coasttown) can be seen as two stages in the process of change resulting from that impact.

GROUP SELECTION

Four groups were selected for inclusion in the study. Two were Aboriginal communities in eastern New South Wales, one was a group of mature students undergoing training for work with Aborigines, and one was a group living in or closely associated with a counter-culture commune. The latter two groups were White Australians.

Information already available indicated that the Aboriginal communities at Forestville and Coasttown were different enough to enable useful comparisons to be made between them, yet both stemmed from the homogeneous traditional culture of eastern New South Wales.

Since it was not possible, for reasons of time, and money, to contrast these two Aboriginal groups with a random sample of a White community, the group hereafter called College were selected as being very generally representative of middle-class Whites and also being a group which would provide some measure of the differences between Aborigines and those who are employed by the Australian Government to work with them in Aboriginal Welfare and Education.

The group, hereafter referred to as Commune, was selected to provide a contrast in life styles with the College group. College members were working within the social system in a socially approved way, whereas Commune members were dropping out of the system in a socially disapproved way. Both these White groups were essentially middle-class in social background.
These two White groups are both young (average age of approximately 20 years) so they are not representative in respect of age. In the analysis of data in Chapters 5 and 6 they are compared with the Aboriginal samples as a whole and with the young Aborigines who are of approximately the same age. It is hoped that this avoids the major risk of bias, but it is recognised that some bias may remain.

There remains a further problem with these selected White groups. Both are essentially different from most other Australians in that they have not been content to settle into the grooves of middle-class Australian life. College is also a dropping out group in the sense that the members have elected to take positions in remote areas of the country in contrast to the norm of living and working in the large metropolitan and urban centres. The use of an Ideal Type value pattern in the final comparisons in Chapter 6 highlights this and to some extent overcomes it.

While I am confident that the results, because of the high correlations found, can be accepted as representing an accurate picture of the relationships examined, the warnings given above should be kept in mind when assessing the results of this study. In the section on future research (Chapter 8) suggestions will be made for further research which could assist in increasing the confidence with which the results of this study may be accepted.

CENSUS SURVEYS

The aim of these surveys was to locate every household in the areas concerned and seek co-operation in the studies which were proposed. At both Coasttown and Forestville the limits of the areas were defined in social and economic terms.
At Coasttown all Aborigines were included if their commercial and social activities centred on the town here called Coasttown, so that during the initial survey households were contacted north and south of the town until it was found that Coasttown was no longer the centre of activities. The area thus defined was approximately 40 miles (60 kilometres) north to south and approximately 20 miles (30 kilometres) east to west. It included two Aboriginal reserves, many Aborigines living in rural settings and the households in and around the township of Coasttown itself.

Forestville Aborigines were taken to be all those Aborigines who were linked to the Aboriginal reserve by visiting and kinship. This difference in delimiting the study populations was because at Forestville there are no strong links into the White society of the area, and the Aboriginal reserve at Forestville is the hub around which life moves for the Aborigines of the area.

Co-operation of the people with the research was to be obtained on an entirely voluntary basis. The emphasis was placed on the fact that participants would be "Doing us a favour"\(^3\), not on any suggestion that we were aiming to "do them good" nor on any suggestion that they had "something to gain" directly from the study.

It was stressed consistently throughout the study that its aim was simply to learn more about the factors which influenced the health of people like themselves, and that it was hoped that this would lead to greater understanding by people working with Aborigines.

\(^3\)"Us" because at Coasttown the anthropological fieldwork was to be the basis of another study in which the author was involved with two other workers.
The Aborigines were to be seen as human beings on whose time and patience the research would inevitably impose. Because of this the convenience of the Aborigines was, at all times, to be placed above the convenience of the researcher.

An absolute guarantee of anonymity was given to all who agreed to co-operate in the study. No material of any kind was to be used or published in such a way that it could be identified with an individual, nor were names or place names to be used that might lead to that end. No material would be made available to any agency or person which might be used against an informant.

Because of the semi-literate nature of the study communities, no material was presented to them in public in written form which might lead to the embarrassment of an informant participant.

Basic information was sought from each household and for each individual in the household. Copies of the Household and Individual Schedules are given in Appendix I. In addition, the fullest possible genealogy of household members was recorded. Where opportunity offered, further information on a wide range of topics was recorded in field notes.

At Coasttown there were problems in achieving good rapport. Because of the scattered nature of the population it was not possible to live within the community in the sense of living in a village. Reaction to the survey varied considerably from point to point in the Coasttown area, and it also varied over time, becoming more favourable as time passed. However, first class rapport was not established with young settlement males.
The main suspicious centred on any possible association with the N.S.W. Aborigines Welfare Board. This fear of the Board accounted for four refusals to co-operate. Fear of doctors "experimenting" on Aborigines was also present but it was possible to give assurances that overcame this concern. A further seven refusals were attributable to the assertion of independence at both the lower and upper ends of the range of living conditions.

The failure of 9% of the Coasttown study population to agree to co-operate does not appear to have biased the sample to any significant extent. The Fringe and Town areas were mainly involved in this refusal, but the households represented a range of living conditions rather than a segment of them.

The subjects of sex, religion, politics and finance were not brought up by the researcher during the initial contact with Aboriginal householders, though they were not avoided if they occurred.

The Coasttown population was resurveyed in 1971 to determine what changes had taken place during the five years of the study.

Forestville did not present the problems encountered at Coasttown. Good rapport had been established during previous work (1956-60) and this had been maintained by correspondence and visits during the intervening years. With one or two minor exceptions to be mentioned in the following chapter, full co-operation was given by the Forestville community. This result stresses the value of long term contact as a background against which research in depth is best carried out.
The College group was not a problem. They were my students and interested in the research as a means to achieving a better understanding of Aboriginal problems. A brief schedule (given in Appendix I) was used to determine their class background on occupational and income grounds.

Commune respondents were all either residents of a particular commune (community house) or frequent visitors to it who were committed to a counter-culture position. Because many of the people involved in the Commune setting were known users of drugs (chiefly marahuana or less widely LSD) care was taken that they were not interviewed while under the influence of drugs. Once the applied nature of the research was known to Commune members, they were happy to co-operate.

SAMPLE SELECTION

The College group was made up of the whole group of males available on the day of interview, who were engaged in a course of training as Aboriginal Welfare Officers, and all the females in a senior class of students being trained as primary school teachers for work in special schools for Aborigines.

Respondents completed the schedules themselves in two group situations in which they were first given an explanation of how the schedules should be completed. They were advised that their responses would be used as a control in a comparative study of Aborigines.

No names were recorded on any of the schedules, numbers having been previously marked on each schedule.

Commune respondents completed the schedules themselves, separately as individuals. Again, no names were recorded.
Because of the small numbers of people involved in each of these situations, no sample was necessary, since all available respondents were used.

For Coasttown, the population over 15 years of age was stratified on the basis of age (under and over 30 years), sex, and locality (two settlements, town, and fringe areas). By using random numbers, a thirty per cent sample was drawn from each stratum. These people were listed and then interviewed in order of listing until a ten per cent sample was obtained from each stratum.

The drawing of a thirty per cent sample allowed for absentees and refusals. The gap between the first survey and the schedule interviews was two years so that allowance had to be made for inevitable losses and changes to the population. This procedure was successful in achieving a ten per cent sample except in the case of the Storm Bay settlement where the under thirty years males were one short of the required number.

Of the two young males available at the time of interview in 1968, one repeatedly avoided all contact with the author and the other actually ran away and locked himself in a house at the time his father had arranged an appointment for him to be interviewed. This was one of the most depressing features of administering the schedules. In particular, I felt sad that two grown males found themselves incapable of facing me and refusing to be interviewed. All the Coasttown people had been made aware that one refusal on their part was a guarantee that they would not be approached a second time. The case of these two males is perhaps an
example of the high levels of inadequacy detected by the CMI for this community.

A similar procedure was followed at Forestville, but in this case the initial census survey and the subsequent administration of schedules all took place within a period of nine weeks so the losses due to population change were minimal; and excellent rapport existed. However, because of the smaller population size, a twenty per cent sample was interviewed with the schedules. No problems were encountered.

THE VALUES SCHEDULE

The two major aims attempted in modifying the Kluckhohn and Strodtebeck value orientations schedule for use with New South Wales Aborigines were: firstly, to use a simplified vocabulary which would be readily understood by the communities involved; and secondly, to reduce the word content as much as possible without losing the distinctions involved in the original.

The basic work on this modification was carried out by me in 1966, but the final wording and selection of items was done in collaboration with Betty Watts of Queensland University.  

The full schedule is given in Appendix I, Table 2, on the following page. It indicates the relationship between the modified schedule used here and the original. It can be seen that for four of the value orientations most items have a direct equivalent in the Kluckhohn and

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Table 2

Value orientations' schedule
compared with the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schedule item number and (name)</th>
<th>Based on Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck item number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACTIVITY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. (Employer selection)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. (Life Way)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. (Boat care)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. (Wives)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. (Leisure)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RELATIONAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (Migration)</td>
<td>2 &amp; (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. (Family Authority)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. (Selecting a Delegate)</td>
<td>9 &amp; (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. (Cattle Inheritance)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. (Work Style)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TIME</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (Child Training)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. (Children's Future)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. (Life Expectations)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. (Ceremonial Change)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. (Making a Plan)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAN-NATURE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. (Childhood Deaths)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. (Men and Nature)</td>
<td>6 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. (Garden Care)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. (The Weather)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. (Long Life)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WORLD VIEW</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. (Priorities in Life)</td>
<td>Apart from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck item 6, there is no equivalent to these items in the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck schedule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. (Bringing up Children)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. (Job choice)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. (Child Care)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. (Neighbours)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Strodtbeck schedule, however, for the reasons already discussed (see pp. 17-19) there are no direct equivalents of the World View items. In the preparation of the World View series the attempt was made to remain within the general framework and approach as indicated by the original schedule; that is, to make the items relate to "common human problems".

The schedule was pilot tested with both White and Aboriginal informants. It was found that the schedule presented no difficulties to Aborigines, but that with Whites the higher the level of education the greater was the objection to the forced choices involved. However, respondents with tertiary education were able to complete the schedule even though they seemed, in some instances, uneasy about the choices "forced" on them.

One further comment should be made about this schedule. Dr. Norelle Lickiss O. P. commented that the World View items showed a strong Protestant bias which might make it difficult for members of the Roman Catholic Church to give meaningful responses to them.\(^5\) This difficulty was not encountered overtly during this study, but my own early church background was Protestant so the bias could quite easily be present. Since all the Aborigines interviewed were nominally Protestants of one kind or another, it is not thought that any bias in the items could effect the results of this study.

\(^5\)Personal communication.
This schedule, and all others, was presented to Aboriginal respondents orally and the sheets were appropriately marked by the author. White respondents marked their own sheets for all schedules.

The rule was followed that each item was read as often as requested by the respondent but the author would not comment on or discuss any item of any schedule until all had been completed. In actual practice, three times was the maximum number of repetitions called for on any occasion.

THE CORNELL MEDICAL INDEX HEALTH QUESTIONNAIRE (CMI). 6

The CMI is a standardised diagnostic instrument containing 195 questions to which respondents are required to answer yes or no. It has a wide range of uses in the medical and psychological fields.

It is divided into 18 sections (A - L) covering all the bodily systems, and six sections dealing with moods and feelings (M - R). It is a copyrighted document and so is not included with other schedules in Appendix I. Section H (Genitourinary system) is varied for males and females, otherwise the questionnaire is the same for either sex.

Four kinds of questions are asked: those relating to bodily symptoms, those relating to past illnesses, those relating to family history and those relating to behaviour and moods and feelings. 7


7 Brodman and Wolff, ibid, p. 4.
The sections of the CMI are divided in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Questions refer to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Eyes and ears.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Respiratory system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Cardiovascular system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Digestive tract.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Musculoskeletal system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Skin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Nervous system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Genitourinary system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Fatigability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Frequency of illness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Miscellaneous diseases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Habits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Inadequacy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Depression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Anxiety.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Sensitivity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Anger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Tension</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mood and Feeling Patterns.

The Manual specifically suggests the uses to which the CMI is put in this study to compare the probable number of individuals with specified symptoms, medical disorders, or emotional disturbances in one population with the number in others.8

8 Brodman and Wolff; ibid., p. 3.
The CMI is here used in four different ways:

(1) as a measure of stress - stress in an external force acting on the individual which produces an internal strain which is manifest in symptoms as revealed by "yes" answers over the whole CMI;

(2) as a measure of emotional disturbance - the Manual\(^9\) says:

A medically significant emotional disturbance may be suspected when any of the following is evidenced on the CMI: a syndrome of "Yes" answers clinically suggestive of a psychological disorder; thirty or more "Yes" responses on the entire CMI; three or more "Yes" responses on the last page (Sections M - R) of the CMI; or four or more questions not answered, answered both "Yes" and "No", or with changes or remarks written in by the patient. ... When a patient has a significant emotional disturbance, more than one of these evidences are usually found.

(3) as a measure of self-perceived morbidity - the whole CMI is used for a total measure, section A - L used as a measure of physical symptoms; and section M - R used as a measure of moods and feelings disturbance;

(4) as a measure of morbidity - here there is some doubt that there is a direct proportional relationship between self-perceived morbidity and morbidity, but there is evidence for confidence on this in the Manual\(^10\):

\(^9\)Brodman and Wolff, \textit{ibid.}, p. 7.

\(^10\)Brodman and Wolff, \textit{ibid.}, p. 5.
The interpreters of the CMI identified almost all (94 per cent) of the diagnostic categories in which disease was found in hospital investigation. In addition, physicians could often infer (in 87 per cent of these categories) what specific diseases were present.

So that, accepting the caution given, the CMI will be used as a measure, or reflection of morbidity, in addition to its use as a measure of self-perceived morbidity.

Chance made some considerable deletions from the CMI before using it with his Eskimo respondents, but a careful examination of the items, and a small pilot study indicated that the problems he encountered were not likely to arise with the groups selected for this research. Consequently, the CMI was used unmodified. It was used orally, with the responses being marked by the researcher, so that missed questions, written-in comments, and double responses did not occur with the Aboriginal groups. As a result, these criteria were not used in assessing emotional disturbance. The use of clinical judgement was also avoided since an anthropologist cannot claim any expertise in that area.

No difficulty was experienced in administering the CMI once it became clear that allowing or encouraging discussion during the administration could prolong the time needed beyond all reason. The method was then developed of avoiding discussion during the completing of the CMI, and allowing for discussion afterwards. Presented in this way the CMI took from ten minutes to half an hour to administer.

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ATTITUDE ITEMS

The use of the list of attitude items is somewhat marginal to the central thesis, but they were included to provide extra descriptive depth and as an attempt to examine the relationship between the basic value orientations and the quite specific attitude positions covered by the items.

In no sense can the items be thought of as a scale. Initially a list of statements made by Aborigines which seemed to express attitudes was prepared. This first list contained 88 statements. These were then rephrased in some cases so that roughly half were expressed negatively and roughly half positively. The list was pilot tested on two small groups of Aborigines and Whites. All items which did not show clearcut preferences were then deleted, the remaining 36 items were then randomly allocated to the attitude schedule which is presented in Appendix I. The decisions on what was a "positive" response and what "negative" were subjective and are clearly indicated in the schedule as presented, one being the negative and 5 the positive end of the scale. In 15 items "to agree" was taken as the expression of a positive attitude, and in the remaining 21 items "to agree" was taken to express a negative attitude.

It was noted that some groups (in particular Forestville) were reluctant to either "strongly agree" or to "strongly disagree" with the statements. At first thought this might indicate a poor set of items, but since this unwillingness to express strong positions is consistent with the high levels of inadequacy shown on the CMI for Forestville respondents, the results do appear to express something about the groups
and the differences between them. This study is, of course, concerned with groups rather than with individuals, so the attitude items have value in this way.

No problems were experienced in administering the attitude schedule.

OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEW

Following the administration of the three formal schedules, each respondent was encouraged to talk about himself/herself. To give some direction to this interview, a list of prompt questions was prepared and used where necessary. The list is given in Appendix I.

This interview was taped and then later typed verbatim from the tapes. A small Minifon (7" x 4" x 1½") recorder was used. Some difficulty was anticipated in using a recorder, but very few problems occurred. The Minifon was small and unobtrusive and was an object of interest rather than of apprehension, for almost all informants. One informant, at Forestville, who co-operated very willingly in responding to the formal schedules, refused to be interviewed in the open-ended situation. There was nothing to suggest that this position arose because of the recorder.

Another old lady at Coasstown demanded to know what questions I wanted to ask. When I read two or three from the prompt list she told me they were "silly" and that there was nothing special about her life. She then went on giving details of her life for more than an hour to demonstrate how ordinary and uninteresting her life had been. The whole conversation was recorded on tape and later transcribed. With such informants any list of prompt questions is redundant.
The major problem with taped interviews is the labour involved in transcribing the tapes. My experience was that for each half hour of taped interview, three hours of typing was required for the transcription. There were many times when I felt that it was too much effort, but it was only necessary to read through some transcribed material to convince me to carry on with the method. The material which resulted from these interviews varied from the virtually useless to the exciting and illuminating.

GENERAL COMMENT ON SCHEDULES

The administration of the three schedules and the recording of an interview occupied between about one hour (with a poor interview) and three hours (with respondents who were anxious to talk). On average, about an hour and a half was needed for each interview. However, the making of appointments, the travel involved, and the transcription of tapes all added to that time to such an extent that I found that for one interview I averaged twelve hours of work. Always the preliminary socialising and post-interview conversation was an important but necessary consumer of time.

The reactions of respondents to the various schedules was interesting in itself. For those individuals who were emotionally disturbed, the GMI seemed to be an exciting occasion with obvious involvement at a strong emotional level. The young mother at Coast-town who eventually tallied 123 "yes" responses seemed carried along on her own involvement, and one wonders by how much that somewhat incredible total might have been reduced if each question could have
been taken separately and calmly. (This woman was not in random sample.) On the other hand, for the person who was calm and stable, the CMI was a dull and boring exercise, and my suspicion in these cases was that for such respondents it was almost producing an automatic "no" response to each question. However, looking back through the CMI's of very low scorers (healthy individuals) it is comforting to find that long runs of "no" responses are suddenly broken by an isolated "yes".

Almost all respondents reacted seriously to the values schedule. Each item was considered and talked about before the final choices were made.

However, the attitude item schedule seemed uninteresting to the high scorers on the CMI and very interesting to low scorers. Low scorers on the CMI most frequently reverted to some aspect or other of the attitude items in casual conversation later.

These reactions suggest that the emotionally disturbed respondents' interests are highly concentrated in themselves, whereas more healthy individuals find more interest outside themselves, and in their relationships with others. To what extent my own reactions to these situations had an influence on them is a problem which has to be left to others to solve.

OTHER INFORMATION

In addition to the information obtained formally from the schedules, the normal anthropological procedure of noting information informally obtained was followed.
Access was obtained to Council records at Coasttown and to Court records at Forestville. This made it possible to compare information obtained from Aboriginal informants with official records in some instances.

However, the most important additional information was obtained from school records which related to the Aboriginal children from the Coasttown and Forestville communities. In addition to much informal information received from school teachers, each school with Aboriginal pupils supplied completed forms for each of these children (Form G, Appendix I).

STATISTICAL METHODS

The central concern in the analysis of the schedule data is to make comparisons between the results obtained from the four groups with which this study is concerned. To carry out this analysis rank ordering of the results will be used. Except in Section D of Chapter 6, the actual magnitude of differences between the groups will be disregarded; and only the ordering of the groups will be considered.

However, in order to establish that the results obtained from the schedules are themselves statistically significant (not an outcome of a chance result) it will be necessary to test each result obtained from the values schedule against the null hypothesis $A = B = C$. Providing that most of these results are statistically significant it can
be assumed that the schedule does produce meaningful data, and that when a particular result is not in itself statistically significant, it can nevertheless be accepted as a valid and meaningful response from the particular group for that particular item or combination of items. Only when an item or set of items showed insignificant results over the range of the groups is there cause for suspicion that the schedule items themselves may be at fault. Even in this case, though it cannot be established by the methods used here, such results may reflect a situation in which none of the groups holds a strong enough ranking of preferences to provide any statistically significant results.\(^{12}\)

Where there are three possibilities (three dependent variables) Kendall's S statistic offers a suitable test for significance. Wherever there is the need to compare three things in rank ordering hereafter, Kendall's S statistic will be used to test the significance of the result.

The method for the calculation of Kendall's S is fully set out in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck\(^{13}\), and a hypothetical example is given below (Table 3.).

\(^{12}\)See Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, *ibid.*, pp. 121-134.

\(^{13}\)See Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, *ibid.*, pp. 124-127.
Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Rank Ordering of Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Column</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Observed sum (O)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected sum (E)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected less Observed (E - O)</td>
<td>(a) 7</td>
<td>(b) -1</td>
<td>(c) -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E - O)²</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ (E - O)² = s ]</td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of respondents (m) = 10  S/m = 8.6  p < .01
This is the method used in assessing the significance of value orientation variations and presents no problem where a single item of the schedule is being examined. However, where all the items for one value orientation are combined, there is a practical problem in determining the value of \( m \).\(^{14}\)

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck make the point that if the items are regarded as independent the correct value for \( m \) for the combined items will be equal to the total number of responses on all items. However, if the items are not independent, the correct value of \( m \) will be less than the number of responses, and in the case of dependence of all items the correct value of \( m \) will be equal to the number of respondents, not the number of responses. Throughout this study, the assumption has been made that the items for a particular value orientation are independent of each other. This has been done because it is the statistically conservative thing to do in that it is likely to underestimate the significance of a result rather than to overestimate it.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck use a graphical presentation of value orientation variations which they attribute to T.B. Lemann.\(^{15}\) Instead of the normal x and y axes, three axes (A, B and C) are used. These axes have both positive and negative poles and intersect at angles of 120 degrees to each other. The values of the graph coordinates can be

\(^{14}\)Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, ibid., p. 133.

obtained by dividing the value of $E = 0$ by the square root of $m$. The value of the $A$ coordinate is $a/\sqrt{m}$, of the $B$ coordinate is $b/\sqrt{m}$, and of the $C$ coordinate $c/\sqrt{m}$. These values may be positive or negative and when summed are equal to zero.

An example of such a graph is given in Figure I on the following page. This graph has been drawn for the case where $m = 20$, and this applies to all such graphs used in this study. The reason for this procedure will be discussed later.

It can be shown that where 20 respondents rank order three dependent variables $A$, $B$ and $C$, the maximum value of any graph coordinate is 4.5 in the case where one variable (say $A$) is always ranked first. In Figure 1, the dotted line represents the boundary of the field within which all coordinate values must lie. $K$ is the position which results when all respondents make $A$ their first choice and then equally choose $B$ and $C$ for their second choice. When 75% of respondents choose $A$ for their first choice and the remainder choose $A$ as their second choice, and otherwise $B$ and $C$ are equally chosen, position $L$ represents the result. $M$ represents the position when 50% of first choices are given to $A$ and 50% of second choices. $N$ the position where 25% of first choices go to $A$ and 75% of second choices, with $B$ and $C$ being otherwise equally chosen. $O$ represents the position where $A$, $B$ and $C$ are equally chosen—that is, respondents show no preference for one variation against any other.

When all respondents rank the three variables $A$ preferred to
Figure 1

The graphical presentation of the rank ordering of three dependent variables.
C preferred to B, P represents the position. In the graphs or the text, in the context of preferences, the greater than sign should be read as preferred to.

In this graphical presentation two dimensions have to be thought of together. Divergence from the central position 0 indicates the strength of the preference being expressed, and angular rotation expresses the relationship or ordering of the choices. For example, where A and C were equally chosen for first and second preferences, and B was always the third choice, Q would represent the result on the graph. The A coordinate would have a value of +2.25, as would the C coordinate, and the B coordinate would have a value of -4.5.

Because the value of a graphical coordinate is dependent on the value of m, it is necessary to standardise m if graphical comparisons between groups with different numbers of respondents is to be made. Throughout this study the following procedure has been followed:

(a) All calculations of statistical significance have been made on the basis of the actual number of responses to an item or group of items being considered.

(b) All graphical presentations (of three dependent variables) have been made on the basis of \( m = 20 \). This has been done by proportionately adjusting O and E (see Table 3).

This procedure has allowed accurate calculation of statistical significance, assuming independence of items, while at the same time has permitted the use of standard graphs and the use of graphical
comparisons. It has meant that the use of significance circles\textsuperscript{16} on the graphs, after the manner of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, would be inappropriate, so these have not been used.

In Chapters 5 and 6, three situations arise where it is necessary to ascertain whether or not a comparison of two variables is significant (unlikely to result from chance). The first of these concerns the analysis of Activity value orientation items. As was noted earlier, only two alternatives are offered in the items used. The second instance is where variation pairs of the other value orientation responses are considered. (For example, in the Time orientation, in considering the significance of choices made for Past preferred to Present.) The procedure followed was simply to count the number of times Past was preferred to Present.) The third instance is where it is necessary to test whether or not one group is significantly more like a standard than another group. (For example, are Coasttown responses more like those of College than are those of Forestville?)

In all three cases, a Binomial Analysis is an appropriate test to use, and the method and equation set out in Kluckhohn and Strudtbeck\textsuperscript{17} was followed.

Activity responses are presented as a line graph showing the actual percentage of responses which made one choice rather than the other. The central point (\textit{i.e.,} 50\%) represents the situation where no preference for either alternative is indicated.

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{16}]Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 128-129.
\item[\textsuperscript{17}]Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 130-132.
\end{itemize}
Where more than three variables are ranked according to some given criteria, the method followed was to use Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance\textsuperscript{18}. The procedure is very similar to that already explained for Kendall's $S$ statistic and is not exampled here.

The other statistical procedure used is that of Regression. This is used to examine the relationship between average CMI scores and value dissonance in Chapter 6. The procedure and formulae used here are to be found in Moroney\textsuperscript{19}. Since this is a standard procedure, no example is given here.


Chapter 4

THE COMMUNITIES

The two communities and two control groups used in this study will be described in this chapter. It is not intended that full ethnographic descriptions be presented, but only sufficient material to provide a realistic background against which the results may be assessed.

At the end of this chapter the basis on which the two Aboriginal communities are related on a change scale will be presented. This ranking of these two communities against White middle-class society will then be used in Chapter 6 to compare the result with that obtained by the use of the values schedule, the CMI, and other data.

Coasttown Aborigines

Coasttown, New South Wales, is the pseudonym for a coastal town which is the commercial and social centre for a dispersed community of approximately 750 people of Aboriginal descent, in a total population of 22,000.

In January, 1966, official figures from the Coasttown office of the Aborigines Welfare Board set the Aboriginal population in the area at 548. During the contact survey 750 people of Aboriginal descent were located in 128 households at Coasttown. Subsequently 33 people were excluded from the study population because they did not identify themselves as Aborigines and were not identified by Coasttown Whites as
The remaining 717 people in 119 households was taken as the study population. This total was 30% above the official figure.

The co-operation of the 119 households was sought. Co-operation was obtained, and detailed information recorded from 106 households. These households held a population of 659 Aborigines, so that co-operation was obtained from 89% of the households in which lived 91% of the Coasttown Aboriginal population.

A household contained an average of 6.1 Aborigines. At interview 15 households had one or more White residents. These persons have been taken into account when considering the economic support, and the space available, for each household. They have not been included in population figures.

The achievement of a 90% rate of co-operation in a study of a markedly suspicious and anti-authority community in which all informants were volunteers must be regarded as a good result. There were times during the early months when such a result seemed impossible to achieve. In retrospect, such times of gloom can be seen as times of testing by the community. One feels the Aborigines were saying: "Let's find out how serious he is about this. If we make it hard for him, he'll show himself in his true colours."

Since the work of seeking co-operation was based on the rule that once a household said "No", no further contact would be made (and this was made clear to the Aborigines), it is noteworthy that as many as ten visits were made to individual households before agreement was given and the basic household information recorded. They would neither say
"yes" nor "no". These visits were not wasted time since there was always the opportunity for observation and informal conversation.

Patience is probably the greatest asset a fieldworker can have in this kind of situation. Certainly, my experience of fieldwork in New Guinea and in Australia suggests that work within New South Wales Aboriginal communities is extremely difficult by comparison.

Coasttown area had contacts with Europeans very early in the history of the colonisation of Australia. From 1791 when a ship anchored in Shelter Bay, the presence of Europeans became more frequent in exploration and exploitation. However, it was not until 1822 that the first land settlement in the area occurred. The first settler established a large domain of landholdings in the area and undoubtedly set the tone for contact with the local Aborigines. He reported the Aborigines as being ferocious and he had them driven away by some of his work force which contained 100 convicts in addition to free men. Despite this, Bayley reports that "from the first" this settler had a good understanding with the Aborigines. In 1836 it was reported from the site of first settlement in the Coasttown area that:

The families did not encourage blacks to worship, them as they could not understand and were wanting in personal cleanliness.


2Bayley, ibid., p. 39.

3Bayley, ibid., p. 42.
Despite many private and Government sponsored efforts at charitable assistance to the Aborigines, the White attitude towards Coasttown Aborigines carried through for more than one hundred years after 1836.

By 1836, however, Aborigines were working as sawyers and farmhands, so that while they were not regarded as suitable partners in social and religious activities, the early settlers were quick to make use of them in economic relationships. There was violence on both sides reported from the Coasttown area during the first period of exploration and settlement, but this appears to have disappeared quickly with a mutual adjustment taking place. The adjustment meant that what had been the land of the Aborigines was thereafter the land of the Whites, and that the Aborigines adjusted from being their own masters to being the employees and servants of Whites.

Farming for crops was initially the pattern of settlement, but soon this was replaced by the introduction of livestock which flourished in the area. By the 1840's dairying was the mainstay of the settlers, with timber being an important subsidiary industry. This pattern, with minor modifications, persisted through until the 1940's. Tourism was one of the modifications which had taken place in the meantime.

After the Second World War two factories engaged in secondary industries were established in the Coasttown area and now provide employment for both Whites and Aborigines. However, for the most part, secondary industry does not provide a significant amount of employment for Aborigines.
Despite the developments that have taken place, there are still only limited opportunities for employment in positions requiring higher educational qualifications.

In 1966 the total population of the area was approximately 21,000 of whom approximately 700 were Aborigines, so that Aborigines were about 3% of the population. 4

There is evidence of racial prejudice in Coasttown at earlier periods, but in contrast to reports from other areas of New South Wales there is little to indicate that serious discrimination is practiced in Coasttown at present. For example, Aborigines appear to enter and obtain service in shops, cafes and hotels. It is said that Aboriginal women are served liquor in only one of the four hotels in Coasttown, and then only in the beer garden, the other hotels are said to refuse service in their lounges. I found no evidence of the exclusion of Aborigines from public facilities of any kind. In the past the local theatres allowed Aborigines to purchase tickets for the front stalls only, but this segregation has disappeared.

Another indication of the more relaxed racial atmosphere in Coasttown is the extent of inter-racial marriage (as opposed to mating) in the total population of persons of Aboriginal descent. While 20% of co-operating households had one White spouse involved, the figure for total households with persons of Aboriginal descent is about 30%.

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4 Note: It is not possible to be precise with these population figures as the boundaries of Census Districts do not coincide with the boundaries of the Coasttown study area. My best estimate is that the 3% figure given is accurate ± 0.5%. Population figures have been taken from: "Population of Local Government Areas and Towns: Field Count Statement No. 3, N.S.W., 1971", Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.
From the information contained in genealogies, this is certainly not a wholly recent phenomenon and legal marriages apparently took place between Whites and Aborigines at Coasttown in the grandparent generation of the present adult Aborigines.

Nor does the position of Aborigines living in the town area of Coasttown appear to be recent in origin. While only two of the Town families included in this study have lived in Coasttown for more than nine years, a case was recorded of a family who were living in the town area during the economic depression of the 1930's. This family moved to the settlement at Blackfish Point because the man was out of work and decided that he would have less worry about the maintenance of his family if he moved to the sanctuary of an Aboriginal reserve.

The offspring of this family with their spouses and children accounted, in 1966, for one third of all the occupied houses at Blackfish Point settlement. This movement back into the segregated settlement situation meant that the children and grandchildren of the unemployed man all grew up in the restricted Aboriginal settlement environment.

First settlement occurred at Blackfish Point about the turn of the century when Aboriginal families were moved from the homestead area of the estate of the first Coasttown settler. Blackfish Point area was later gazetted as a reserve for Aborigines and remains so today.

The other Aboriginal settlement at Storm Bay developed out of a fishing camp on the coast where there was intermarriage between Aborigines and White fishermen. Storm Bay, too, was later gazetted as
a reserve for Aborigines and remained so until 1966 when it reverted to normal Crown Land status.

Both these settlements were administered under residential management of the Aborigines Welfare Board of New South Wales until 1965 in the case of Storm Bay, and 1966 in the case of Blackfish Point. Storm Bay and Blackfish Point were very isolated before the recent development of tar-sealed roads to them provided ready access. Schools operated at both settlements as segregated institutions until the early to middle '60's when both were closed and the children integrated into other schools in the area.

A dramatic employment change occurred at Storm Bay in recent years. It resulted from the provision of permanent employment for many of the men in a Government Department. The men were employed as outdoor labourers in the beginning but some have now progressed to work as truck, tractor and equipment drivers.

None of the families from Storm Bay now follows seasonal work as pea, bean and potato pickers which was the former pattern for many of them. Seasonal beach fishing too has become an occupation of single males in almost all cases.

When this change was discussed with some of the women, they said they had no wish to go back to the days when money came in large amounts but irregularly. All claimed they were better off now because they knew what money they would get and when they would get it.

The men were pleased also because it has meant that they are home within a few minutes of finishing work each day, and they no longer have to leave their wives and families for long periods or
take them with them to work on farms where they were accustomed to living in very primitive conditions.

The poorest quality houses occupied by Aborigines in 1966 existed in long-established areas at Wallaby Flat and Gumtree. An old woman at Wallaby Flat said that she had lived within a hundred yards of her present dwelling for "more than thirty years". The houses at Wallaby Flat and Gumtree were all built by Aborigines from scrap materials and can only be classified as "shacks".

There is a definite contrast between life in these fringe enclaves (on Crown land) and life on the settlements. The fringe squattages are smaller in size and tend to centre on a key household whereas this trend is not apparent on the reserve settlements. The people from Wallaby Flat and Gumtree are far more mobile. In 1966 the workers from these squattages still relied heavily on seasonal work for most of their income. For this reason there were times of the year when Wallaby Flat was completely deserted - all the people being away further down the coast during the "picking season". To a lesser extent this also applied to Gumtree, but there a number of people in receipt of pensions formed a sedantry core of all-year residents.

At each of these squattages there is tap water which is supplied from a single tap at each site. Prior to the installation of piped water in recent years, water was drawn from dams or other surface water sources.

Living conditions at Wallaby Flat and Gumtree in 1966 were primitive by ordinary Australian standards. A visit to either
squattage in wet weather made the inadequacy of the accommodation very obvious. Some of the shacks had only dirt floors and the wall and roofing materials were not always waterproof. In one instance a six inch deep drain had been dug into the floor of the shack to carry away the water which was pouring in through a badly leaking roof. Where the shacks are weather-proof, they lack windows and are more or less light-proof.

Almost all the town houses are in the northern area of Coasttown and are usually in ones and twos rather than in clusters. They are much like the surrounding houses occupied by White families.

Because of prior field conditioning, during the initial contact period at Coasttown I noted particular dwellings as possible locations of Aboriginal families, but as often as not I found they were occupied by Whites. This applied to several very poor dwellings as well as to the tradesman-built type of house.

In general terms it can be said that the Aboriginal community at Coasttown is much like other such communities in New South Wales, but unlike any such community in some respects.

Aborigines who agreed to co-operate in this study were located in 106 situations. Of this number two were Children's Homes under the care of different Christian Church groups; two were cases of single Aborigines boarding with White families; and two were atypical examples of living accommodation, the first of which involved a man living in the back of a non-mobile panel van body, while the second involved three adult single males who claimed they lived "under the stars". In
the material which follows, these six cases have been excluded.

In the 100 remaining cases complete data was not available in every case so that the "total households" vary slightly. It should not be assumed that the same households have been excluded in the several instances.

Figure 32 (Appendix II) shows the relationships of households to each other and to Coasttown. Three focal points exist in the distribution. These are Storm Bay, Blackfish Point and Coasttown itself. Ninety per cent of the households are at these centres or adjacent to the roads which link them. The remaining 10% of the households are scattered in rural or semi-rural isolation.

The greatest road mileage from Coasttown is about 26, while the distance by road from the most southern to the most northern household is about 40 miles.

Apart from the two settlements, one of which is at the end of a road, the households of Aborigines at Coasttown are not apparent to the casual observer because they either look much like other dwellings around them or stand back from the roads in the shelter of trees which make them inconspicuous.

In Table 45 (Appendix II) is shown the distribution of the number of persons per household by the number of rooms in the house. The median house has four rooms and is occupied by seven to eight people.

Figures 33, 34, and 35 (Appendix II) show the distribution of persons per household, rooms per household and persons per room.
The range in persons per household is between one and seventeen, but less than 15% contain more than ten persons per unit. Extensions to the individual family, such as an aged relative or married child living at home, contribute to the high numbers in most cases, but the extensions are not a major contributor to the distribution shown.

In reckoning the number of rooms per household all rooms except bathrooms and laundries were counted. In 87% of the households there were three or fewer persons to each room.

When the distribution of persons is made by the number of bedrooms in the house, as shown in Table 46 (Appendix II), the picture is somewhat different. The median house has two bedrooms with the range between none and four. A single roomed dwelling was treated as having no bedrooms for the purposes of the compilation of Table 46 (Appendix II). The median number of persons per bedroom was four, but this seems less significant than the extreme cases in which there were eight instances of more than six persons per bedroom. This distribution is illustrated in Figure 36-37 (Appendix II), in which the single room dwellings are shown at the top of the appropriate columns.

Since these figures suggest a degree of overcrowding which might be expected to lead to a complete loss of privacy, an examination was made on the data for each household in accordance with the following rules:

1. Cohabitating couples require a private room from which all persons over one year of age are excluded.

2. Non-cohabitating persons over 12 years of age to share a room only with members of the same sex.
This examination showed that in only six cases out of 97 were these rules impossible to meet. If kitchens were excluded from the count, the rules could not be satisfied in 27 cases out of 97. In view of this it seems reasonable to suggest that while there is severe overcrowding in Aboriginal homes at Coasttown it does not compel a loss of privacy (in accordance with the stated rules) in more than 70% of the households. These results are set out in Table 47 (Appendix II). The addition of one room to each of 21 dwellings and of two rooms to each of six dwellings would enable all to provide minimum privacy according to the rules listed above.

While working at Coasttown one has the impression of children in abundance throughout the area but this subjective impression is somewhat different from the facts as shown in Table 48 and Figure 38 (Appendix II). Children, for this purpose, are defined as persons 0 - 14 years of age at 30th June, 1966.

In 20% of the households there were no children, so that the remaining households held the total of 325 children. While the average household contained only three children, and the average household with any children had four, half the children lived in households with four or more other children. There were only nine children who lived in households as an only child. At the other extreme there were 56 children who lived in households with eight or more other children.

Data from the town households suggest further differences, but the numbers are too small to be significant. There were 14 households within the town area but one case (two Aboriginal children who were State Wards boarded out in a White household where there were no other
children) has been excluded. Of the remaining households seven were established on the independent initiative of the householder, while six were established in houses provided by the Aborigines Welfare Board. The average number of children in the independent households was three, while the average number for A.W.B. sponsored households was 4.5. The range for independent town households was between none and five, whereas the range for A.W.B. sponsored households was between two and six. Half the children in independent households live with three or more other children, whereas half the children in A.W.B. sponsored households live with four or more other children.

These figures suggest that households with large families are unlikely to establish themselves in the town area at Coasttown on their own initiative. This and other evidence also suggests that where families do establish themselves in the town area early in marriage, they are less likely than average to produce large families. Further, it would appear that while it is necessary to have some family to acquire a house under A.W.B. sponsorship, a very large family may be a disadvantage in this regard.

Rowley discusses the question of "matri-focussed authority" and households with female heads. He writes:

In New South Wales, 20.8% of (Aboriginal) households had female heads; ...

This figure does not apply to the Coasttown population.

The Coasttown figures are given in Table 49 (Appendix II). The figures for the 80 households in which children were present show that 88.7% of the households had a cohabitating couple in charge of the household, and that in only 7.5% of the cases were females alone in charge. However, the availability of a male figure within the household does not necessarily indicate patri-focused authority.

Males at Coasttown seem, more often than not, to exercise final authority within the family but this is far from universal in the community. It is quite easy to list many instances where the female partner is the dominant influence. Among more sophisticated families it is common to find that authority in the household is shared between the male and female adults. There is no justification for characterising Coasttown as being either patri-focused or matri-focused in household authority.

A more general feature of the authority situation is that adults tend to be permissive in the upbringing of children, and that male children in particular are likely to assert autonomy at about the age of puberty and thereafter be more subject to peer influence than to that of either parent. Female children are more controlled than their male siblings, but they too become their own decision makers at an earlier age than is common in middle-class White families.

During the initial survey material was recorded on the availability of facilities in each household. On the basis of this information, houses were graded into three categories.
Grade 1 houses are those built by unskilled persons, usually of scrap material, and lack such facilities as bathrooms and water piped into the house.

Grade 2 houses are those tradesman-built dwellings which lack a bathroom.

Grade 3 houses are those which contain the facilities of piped water, bathroom and kitchen and are tradesman built.

In this grading no attempt was made to assess such subjective features as appearance and cleanliness, nor was the presence or absence of a laundry used as a criterion for classification. Generally speaking, Grade 3 houses had laundries, whereas very few Grade 1 or 2 houses had this facility.

The Grades mark off three broad categories within each of which there is a wide range of difference; but further breakdown would not be meaningful because the use of subjective criteria is very likely to be biased by the standards brought to the assessment. For example, the difference between clean and tidy, or between dirty and untidy can very often bring marked differences between different assessments.

Though the Coasttown area was sub-divided into nine geographical areas in the survey, only three categories of locality have been used in the analysis. The numbers in some localities were too small to provide significant results so areas were combined into three broad types.
Town houses are those which were actually within the Coasttown town boundary. Settlement houses were those which lie within the boundaries of Aboriginal reserves at Storm Bay and Blackfish Point where all the houses were supplied by or through the New South Wales Aborigines Welfare Board. Fringe houses were all other houses not classified as either Town or Settlement. This last category includes all such houses whether they existed on Crown or private land, and also includes one very poor shack erected in an isolated section of bush at Storm Bay settlement. This shack was built without the approval of the administration at Storm Bay and is so isolated from the village complex that it has been regarded as most reasonably falling into the Fringe category.

Table 50 (Appendix II) shows the distribution of houses by grade and locality. Only Grade 3 houses occur in the town area of Coasttown. Only Grade 3 houses were provided by Government at Storm Bay; but at Blackfish Point all the houses were Grade 2. Following the initial survey in 1966, some of the poorest houses at Blackfish Point were demolished and bathroom-laundries were attached to each of the remaining houses. In the Fringe area about half the houses were graded either 2 or 3 while the other half were Grade 1.

Information on the actual cash income of households was not collected routinely during the initial survey, but the occupational status of all individuals in the population was recorded. Using the information available, an attempt has been made, as set out in Table 50 (Appendix II), to establish a Household Economic Status Ratio (H.E.S.R.)
for each household, which relates available income to consumer demand within the household.

This ratio was established in the following way:

(1) The occupants of each household were converted to adult equivalents (A.E.) according to the following rules:

(a) a high school child or any person over 15 years of age was treated as one adult equivalent,
(b) two primary school children were treated as one adult equivalent,
(c) 2½ pre-school children (those not at school) were treated as one adult equivalent.  

(2) Income contributors to a household were converted to permanent worker equivalents (P.W.E.) according to the following rules:

(a) a self-employed worker was scored at 5, a permanent worker at 4, a regular worker at 3, a seasonal worker at 2, a pensioner at 2, and a casual worker at 1;
(b) the total score for the household was then divided by four, and the resulting number was taken as the P.W.E. for the household. If one person worked in two jobs, the score for each was added to obtain the total individual score.

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These figures were arrived at after discussions with Dr. F.W. Clements (expert in Child Health and Nutrition) of the School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, University of Sydney.
(3) The H.E.S.R. for the household was then determined by dividing the A.E. by the P.W.E., the resulting H.E.S.R. represents the number of adult equivalents supported by each permanent worker equivalent in the household. The number was then rounded to the nearest whole number, the one above being chosen when the number to be rounded terminated in ".5".

The reason for the rules for the establishment of Adult Equivalents was that persons at different ages and school status make different demands on available income, the ratios indicated by the rules seeming a reasonable representation of this difference in demand.

Similarly, persons of different occupational status make differing contributions to household income, and these variables are accounted for in the scoring rules indicated. The reason for the distinction between permanent and regular workers is that permanent workers are engaged in jobs where wages are received without regard to weather conditions whereas regular workers are engaged in employment (generally within the timber industry) in which standdowns without pay occur for various reasons (generally the weather or plant break-downs) throughout the year.

In accounting income contributors to a household, child endowment and maternity allowances were not taken into account directly, but an attempt was made to allow for this in the scoring which establishes a household's A.E.

In the circumstances, the H.E.S.R. gives a close approximation to relative income available so that households in the study may be
compared with each other. Because all the workers involved are either unskilled or semi-skilled, it is not thought that actual wage differentials would significantly alter the result achieved.

The distribution of H.E.S.R.'s obtained, by locality and by grade of house, are given in Table 50 (Appendix II). The average H.E.S.R.'s by grade of house and locality are given in Table 51 (Appendix II).

An examination of these tables suggests that there is little difference in distribution by locality, but H.E.S.R.'s greater than four are overrepresented in the Fringe group (ten out of a total 15), whereas H.E.S.R.'s greater than four are not represented at all in the Town group.

The highest H.E.S.R. for households in the town area of Coast-town is four. All town households appear to be operating without severe economic strain. Of the total households 84% are at least as well off by this measure as the worst off of the town households, so there is apparently no direct economic reason why they could not live in town if they chose to do so. The percentage of settlement households falling in H.E.S.R. category of less than five is 86 and that for fringe households is 80, while that for all Grade 1 households is 67. Briefly, by this measure, 82 of the households could live in the town area, but only 13 do so.

If the explanation of the small number of households found in the town area in 1966 is not an economic one, it is clear that social, cultural and perhaps historical factors will have to be taken into
account. That is, the search will need to be in the minds of people rather than in their pockets, when seeking an explanation of the geographical distribution of households at Coasttown.

Of the 15 cases of households with an H.E.S.R. greater than four, three may be regarded as temporary. The first of these was a woman living alone and no longer able to work. At the time of interview she had applied for a pension which, when available, removed her from this category. The second case removed from the category soon after interview by the re-employment of an adult temporarily unemployed at interview. The third case was also one of temporary unemployment. Six children were involved in these three cases.

A further nine cases had H.E.S.R.'s greater than four because of large families of school and pre-school age. In five cases the householder was a permanent worker and in the other four cases the household head was a regular worker. So that, without taking a second job, if available, there was little these nine households could have done to improve their economic status until such time as some of the children leave school and contribute to the family income. In such cases it is clear that the pressure on children to leave school at the earliest possible age must be extreme. There are 63 children involved in the nine households.

In only three cases, involving 17 children, might it be said that the high H.E.S.R. is attributable to the inability or unwillingness of household members to work regularly. One household, with nine children, had two persons casually employed and one unemployed, and
also received some support from the father of some of the children, who worked about 100 miles away.

The second case involved seven children and the breadwinner was casually employed. In this case the household contained a permanent worker other than the father of the children, so that if the father had obtained and held permanent employment the H.E.S.R. for the household would have been three. The third case was that of a Grade 1, Fringe household containing one regular worker and one unemployed. One child was involved.

From this it can be seen that of 325 children, 76 were in households with an H.E.S.R. greater than four, but of these only 17 could be said to be thus situated because of the unwillingness or inability of household members to work. That is, only 5% of the children involved in these households live in households with an H.E.S.R. greater than that which allows some households to live successfully in the town of Coasttown, and can be said to have been in that position because of the inability or unwillingness of parents to accept responsibility.

This analysis again indicates that factors other than directly economic ones are playing a preponderent role in deciding the actual living conditions found in the Aboriginal households at Coasttown.

Finally on this point, it must be emphasised that the foregoing discussion does not assert that there are few serious economic problems among the Aborigines at Coasttown. What it does say is that most households are as well off as the few who manage to live in the
town with an H.E.S.R. of four. An H.E.S.R. of four represents a man in permanent employment as a labourer (unskilled or semi-skilled) who was supporting himself, his wife and four primary school children, or some combination of persons equivalent to this. Even with ideal budgeting and home management, the standard of living could not be very high - for economic reasons.

In view of this it is worthwhile to look more closely at the small number of households that are established in the town area. This is attempted by using the information on period of residence of the householder in the house occupied at the time of interview, as set out in Table 52 (Appendix II).

It is necessary to state here that the appearance of every individual in co-operating households was recorded. Individuals were classified in three categories (Aboriginal, Mixed-race and Caucasian) on the subjective assessment of the author. The assessment was made in the following way:

(a) if I thought I could walk past the person in the street without identifying him/her as a person having Aboriginal ancestry, the person was recorded as "Caucasian";
(b) if I thought I would identify him as a person having Aboriginal ancestry, but not think of him as a full-blood Aborigine, he was recorded as "Mixed-race";
(c) all others were recorded as "Aboriginal".

Since, at the time of the survey (1966), I had worked closely with Aborigines for 14 years, it is fair comment to say that those identi-
fied as "Caucasians" by me would have no difficulty in passing as non-Aborigines in places where their social and racial background was unknown.

From Table 52 (Appendix II) it can be seen that the establishment of Aboriginal households in Coasttown has been a gradual process. Households were established at the rate of about one a year in the ten years prior to 1966. This rate has been stepped up considerably since 1966 because of a greatly increased Government effort.

Seven of the families had moved into the town on their own initiative. All the Aborigines involved in these families were classified as Caucasian in appearance. Four of the seven households had one European spouse (two wives and two husbands). In these four cases the Aboriginal partner had moved from Fringe living to Town at or soon after marriage to a White partner. Of the remaining three cases, one was a movement from another town to Coasttown and two were movements from Fringe to Town. There was no case of movement into the town area directly from either Storm Bay or Blackfish Point on the independent initiative of the household.

Six families living in houses in the town area had moved into houses under the sponsorship of the Aborigines Welfare Board. Three came from the Fringe areas and three from settlements. All the persons involved were classified as Mixed-race.

This evidence suggests that readily identifiable Aborigines at Coasttown do not take the initiative in establishing town residence. The fact that six families of Mixed-race appearance, when sponsored,
had established town residence might be taken to indicate that the reluctance to seek town residence springs from the Aborigines rather than from the unwillingness of Coasttown to accept such households. While this may be true of Coasttown as a community, there are too many reported cases of Aborigines finding difficulty in renting houses even on the fringes of the town to absolve the community, or at least the landlord section of it, from responsibility for the position as it was found in 1966. It would seem that "looking white" did facilitate access to non-sponsored town housing; while marrying "white" was of even greater assistance.

Of all the co-operating households only ten had all the occupants classified as Caucasian in appearance. Of those ten households, five lived in Coasttown town area, three lived on the settlement at Storm Bay, one on the settlement at Blackfish Point and one in the Fringe area. Early in 1967, after the survey data had been recorded, the Fringe household moved into a Housing Commission house in the town area. Also in 1967, one household from Storm Bay moved from the settlement, at the invitation of a Government Department, into a new house among a fringe cluster at Shelter Bay. All the other Departmental houses were occupied by Whites.

There were 12 households at Storm Bay in which the householder worked for the Department concerned. Of this number, only two had all occupants classified as Caucasian in the study data; one being the case of an aged widower living alone, the other the man who, with his family, moved into the new house. Further comment seems unnecessary.
From Table 52 (Appendix II) it can be seen that 37% of Fringe households had lived in their present house for less than one year at the time of interview, whereas only 9% of Settlement households had done so. The figure for Town households was 23%, but this figure is exaggerated by the influence on the very small sample, of two houses provided by the Aborigines Welfare Board (in co-operation with Coast-town community and Council) while the survey was in progress.

At the other extreme, 57% of Settlement households had lived in their present house for ten years or more, whereas only 17% of Fringe households had done so.

These figures suggest a different life pattern for at least a significant section of the Fringe population from that of Settlement dwellers. How much the pattern of residence changes among Fringe dwellers is influenced by an ebb and flow within the study area and how much it is a movement into and out of the area is difficult to ascertain. What evidence is available suggests that both factors are involved.

In Table 53 (Appendix II) is shown the distribution of households by house grade and ownership. Where houses were being rented or purchased, the weekly payment in dollars (1966) is shown. Of the 97 houses included in this table, ten were owned outright by the occupier and of that number seven were Grade 3 houses. A further eight houses were under purchase, five from private sources and three from Government.

The average weekly payments for houses being purchased from private sources was $7.50, whereas that from Government sources was
$4.50. Forty-one houses were being rented, 24 from Government sources and 17 from private owners. The average weekly rental for houses from private sources was $5.34 for Grade 3 houses and $7.50 for Grade 2 houses. Town houses supplied by Government had an average rental of $3.75 while those supplied by Government in Storm Bay settlement had an average rental of $1.66, for Grade 3 houses in each case. There was one case of a Grade 1 house being rented from a private source at $0.50 per week.

In respect of both purchase payments and rentals, Aborigines at Cooshtown were getting a better financial deal from Government than they could obtain from private sources. When the further observation is added that the houses rented from Government sources were usually superior to those obtained from other sources, this fact is emphasised. For example, there were three cases of Grade 2 houses being rented from private sources, the rental for one was $5.00 per week, and for the other $10.00; the rent for the third house was not recorded. In contrast, the Aborigines Welfare Board was making no charge for its 15 Grade 2 houses at Blackfish Point.

The 24 Grade 1 houses were occupied free, except in the one case where the rental was $0.50 per week. Only 14 of the 24 Grade 1 houses were on Crown Land and in most of these cases the occupier claimed to own the building but not the land. One Grade 1 house was owned by the occupier along with the land on which it stood. There were eight cases of permissive occupancy, without rent, of Grade 1 houses on private land. Four of these involved rural housing for employees, two
were cases of permissive occupancy on land owned by relatives of the occupier, while the other two were in the "kindness of the owner's heart" category.

These figures show that Aborigines had a financial responsibility in 59 of the 97 houses they occupied, and perhaps the four cases of employee housing should be added to the 59. However, of the 20 settlement houses at Storm Bay only six householders reported themselves as up to date with rental payments, a further three were paying extra rent each fortnight to catch up arrears of rent, whereas 11 households reported that they paid the rent sometimes. Administrative Officers were concerned about the problem of rent arrears.

During the survey, some landlords of Aborigines were met and they too indicated concern about non-payment of rent by Aborigines in the fringe areas. No similar comments were heard concerning occupancy of town houses, but since no overall survey of landlords was attempted, it would be unwise to draw comparisons. However, two factors need to be mentioned.

Many Aborigines living on settlements (land reserved for the exclusive use of Aborigines) believe they have a "right" to free accommodation when living on a reserve. Their misunderstanding of the legal implications of the original gazettal of land as reserved exclusively for the use of Aborigines was further confused by the historical fact that for periods as long as fifty years they were provided with shelter free of charge. For example, it was not until the Blackfish Point houses were upgraded to Grade 3 in 1967-68 that
Residents were asked to pay rent for the first time since the settlement was established in the early 1900's. It is not surprising that some of the Aborigines reach the conclusion that a demand for rent of a reserve house is an attempt by the Government to cheat them of their "rights". Some actively resist this "injustice" by refusing to pay rent.

Whether or not similar problems of rent arrears exist in the case of Whites of similar economic status, there is a special problem in the case of Aborigines. It is now being further complicated by an increasing demand by Aborigines for "land rights" as a compensation for the initial assumption of legal ownership of all Australian land by the British Crown when Australia was first discovered by Cook.

The Aboriginal population at Coasttown fluctuates from time to time, owing both to seasonal conditions of employment for some households and also to what seems to be a restless movement of one segment of the population. Any statistics on population therefore must refer to one point in time.

In Table 54 and Figure 39 (Appendix II) is given the age-sex distribution for Aborigines living in co-operating households at the 30th June, 1966.

Two things immediately stand out on inspection of the data given in the table. The first is the heavy preponderance of the young, 20.3% of the population being under the age of five years, 38.3% under ten years, and 54.1% under the age of 15 years; whereas only 3.2% of the population is over the age of 59 years. The second significant factor is the preponderance of males, there being 121 males to
each 100 females. This point has considerable social significance and will be discussed further in connection with conjugal status.

A possible explanation of the very high masculinity rate was that women, particularly young women, were leaving the Coasttown area through migration to the City. But this is not a satisfactory explanation of the high masculinity rate because if one looks at the under 15 years group there are 117 males for each 100 females. A sex-biased migration cannot be used as a suggested explanation in that case. Further, an examination of a fifty per cent sample of the genealogies collected did not indicate that females had migrated out of the community more frequently than males.

The conjugal status of the population over 15 years of age, by age and sex, is shown in Table 55 (Appendix II). Some most significant facts are evident. Contrary to my expectations after fieldwork in two other coastal areas of New South Wales, 86% of the persons living together as cohabitating partners were doing so within the framework of legal marriage.

No males, and only two females, under the age of 20 years had established permanent relationships; and only one out of 70 females over the age of 29 years had failed to establish a permanent relationship at some time. Out of 80 males over the age of 29 years, 25 had never established a permanent conjugal relationship.

This latter figure is probably associated with the excess of males over females in the Coasttown population. In fact, if all unattached females were to form permanent conjugal relationships with
men from the community, approximately 30% of the unattached males would still remain conjegally unattached.

That this presents a problem to this community can be better understood when it is realised that almost all the Aborigines referred to by Whites in Coasstown as "no-hopers" are drawn from the unattached adult male segment of the population. The employment record of this unattached male population is also inferior to that of attached males. It seems reasonable to suggest that the irresponsibility noted in the unattached male population is not a character impediment, but rather the result of family responsibility being unavailable to them.

Despite the shortage of women, only seven of the 37 single women had produced children, and only one of the 22 under the age of 20 years had done so. There is other evidence, from an examination of the relationship between date of marriage and date of birth of first child, to make it quite clear that pre-marital sexual intercourse is the rule rather than the exception among Aboriginal women at Coasstown. Either an effective form of contraception was in use, or Coasstown Aboriginal women do not indulge in sexual intercourse until they are contemplating the establishment of a permanent relationship, or the actual or expected birth of a child precipitates marriage.

In the 100 households, twenty cases of Aborigines establishing permanent conjugal relationships with Whites were recorded. Fifteen of these cases involved White men in 13 legal marriages and two de facto relationships. Three of the women involved in these fifteen cases were widows in 1966. Five of the cases involved White women in
four legal marriages and one de facto relationship (of over 20 years duration). When this latter couple was asked why they had never married, the woman replied: "At first we were too embarrassed, and then after a time it didn't seem to matter any more." All these cases involve a net loss of ten women to the Coasttown Aboriginal community in terms of availability of marriage partners.

It is of some interest that of the 20 Aborigines with White spouses, 15 were classified as Mixed-race in appearance, while five were classified as Caucasian. Of the five classified as Caucasian in appearance, four were living in the Coasttown town area and one on the fringe. All 15 classified as Mixed-race in appearance lived outside the town area. These figures provide further support to the suggestion that skin-colour and physical features are important in determining residential location at Coasttown.

Of the whole study population, 172 (26%) were classified as Caucasian but these persons were distributed through the households in such a way that there were only ten households in which all members were classified as not being physically identifiable as Aborigines. Of those ten households, five were located in the town area of Coasttown.

Information was recorded on the educational grade achieved by those who had completed their schooling. The results are set out in Table 56 (Appendix II). Only four cases were noted where individuals had never attended school. A further 170 (61%) of those for whom this information was available did not go beyond primary school. It
was seldom possible to record the grade reached in primary school, but
this would be of minimal value since the important point is standard
achieved, rather than grade reached. Many received their education in
Aboriginal Settlement schools where, until about 20 years ago, they
were taught by untrained Teacher-Managers.

Several instances were noted where an individual was said to have
attended primary school for a number of years and this statement was
followed by an unsought comment such as: "he can't read or write".

Thirty-eight per cent had attended secondary school but few had
gone beyond the second year. Only 3% (8 persons) had secured an Inter-
mediate Certificate. No person had a higher school qualification.

Of the eight who achieved an Intermediate Certificate, five were
females and three males. The oldest of this group was a female of 33
years who obtained her certificate while an inmate of an Aborigines
Welfare Board Children's Home. A female of 28 years and a male of 25
obtained their certificates at Coasttown High School and in each case
came from Fringe households and attended ordinary integrated State
schools throughout their school careers. The other five certificate
holders were all under the age of 20 years.

The male of 25 was married to a White woman, lived in the town
area at Coasttown and worked as a truck driver. The male of 19 lived
on Storm Bay settlement, worked in a sawmill and was single. The third
male was a lad of 16 years who joined the State Railway as a junior
assistant, and was the only one of the three who had made an obvious
economic gain because of his school achievement.
That all three men made some intangible gains as the result of their educational achievement is not doubted; however, at the lowest economic level in society, such intangibles are not likely to be perceived as worthwhile goals to be achieved as the result of prolonged application.

The two older females were (1966) married women with young families. One had married a White man and lived in the Fringe area. The other had married a Mixed-race man and lived on the settlement at Storm Bay. Both these women completed two years of nursing training successfully. Both resigned from training at that point. Each reported good relations with the White trainees with whom they worked.

One said she resigned because she was afraid of the responsibility she would have had to face in the third year of her training, particularly the administration of drugs. When she mentioned this I commented: "But surely many nurses make mistakes?" Her reply was: "Yes, but I was the only one who was black." The other explained that she resigned because she would have had to be "in charge" on occasions during her third year of training. She did not think the other girls would have accepted her as a "boss".

In each case the women reported that their Hospital Matrons had tried to persuade them to continue with their training, and neither produced any evidence that what they feared was more substantial than their own feelings. Perhaps these cases might be thought of as inverse colour prejudice, or perhaps the attitudes of these women were more realistic than Australian Whites might care to admit.
The three younger girls all held positions at the time of interview which could not have been achieved without their Intermediate Certificates. Two were working as assistant-teachers in their local pre-schools, while the third was employed as a clerk by Coasttown Shire Council. A senior Council employee reported most favourably on the latter girl's work.

Of the males only one, the youngest, benefited directly from school achievement, whereas all the females had done so. It can hardly be claimed, however, that these successful students have benefited so significantly as to constitute a model for young Coasttown Aborigines to emulate. Perhaps this is illustrated by the fact that of the 105 individuals who entered High School, only eight persisted long enough to receive an Intermediate Certificate.

Education is frequently linked with employment, and in Tables 57, 58 and 59 (Appendix II) is information on the occupational status of the Aboriginal workforce at Coasttown. In Table 57 it can be seen that 304 adults are shown under the male and female columns in various categories, from which number 62 females engaged in home domestic duties have to be deducted to arrive at the potential workforce of 242.

Of this potential workforce, 157 or 65% were employed at interview, while 19% were unemployed and 38 (16%) were in receipt of a pension of some kind.

In view of the high percentage of unemployed in the potential workforce, an analysis of this group by age, sex and marital status is presented in Table 58. Only one married male and one male living in
a de facto relationship were unemployed at the time of interview. Thirty-seven of the 47 cases of unemployment occurred in the single category. Within this unmarried segment of the population, males over 30 years of age and females 15-19 years contribute disproportionately to the total. Employment opportunities for young Aboriginal females without educational qualifications were very poor at Coasttown.

Table 59 (Appendix II) shows that of 80 permanent positions occupied by Coasttown Aborigines at interview, 50 were provided by Governmental or semi-Governmental establishments. Of the 28 permanent positions occupied by males in private employment, three positions were for farm labourers, four were permanent positions in the timber industry, and the other 21 jobs were in secondary industries in Coasttown. Most of the regular employment shown for males in Table 57 was in the timber industry, particularly in the sawmills.

An analysis of the places of birth of the Coasttown population shows how highly localised it is. The children from the two children's homes, and 26 other residents whose place of birth was not recorded, have been excluded.

The result of the analysis is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born in the Coasttown area:</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in The City (Nth. of Coasttown):</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born on Coast in N.S.W. (Nth. &amp; Sth. of Coasttown):</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in South-eastern Victoria:</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born on South-west slopes (South-west of Coasttown):</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total:</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sub-total (brought forward) 585 = 95%

Born on Coast of N.S.W. (North of The City): 18 = 3%

Born on Northern Tablelands (N.S.W.): 8 = 1%

Born on North-west plains (N.S.W.): 7 = 1%

Born on Central Tablelands (N.S.W.): 1 = 0%

GRAND TOTAL: 619 = 100%

Basically the Coosttown population is derived from the tribes which occupied the coastal strip south of The City, N.S.W. and which extended into south-eastern Victoria. This area, with the addition of an offshoot across the Great Dividing Range onto the south-west slopes of New South Wales, remains the country of the Coosttown Aborigines. Within it almost all (95%) have been born, and with few exceptions within it they live, work and will die.

Bell7 showed the link between the south coast and The City in the early development of Aboriginal reserves in New South Wales, and this link was further developed by the Administrative practice of sending pregnant women to The City for confinement when the necessary facilities were not available in Coosttown. For this reason the great majority of those recorded as born in The City were, in fact, born to Coosttown mothers who were in The City specifically for their confinements.

The "real" outsiders are from places like the far north-west of the State, the northern Tablelands, and the north coast. With the exception of one family, these people have come into the Coasttown community through marriage. The meetings that have led to marriage have occurred very largely in The City which was being visited both by someone from Coasttown and someone from another area of the State. The only other avenue of wider contact seems to be that of travelling carnivals, circuses and boxing troupes, all of which seem to employ some Aborigines. These travelling Aborigines sometimes have left their jobs and married in Coasttown.

Within this wider area of contact the Coasttown Aborigines form an interlocked network of kinship. Of all the families at Coasttown, only one could not be linked into a master genealogy of the whole population. Even in this case it was claimed by some informants that the family were "south coast" people. This seems doubtful since, as far as could be established, the family did not socialise with Coasttown families, lived at the northern extreme of the study area and toward the end of the study period it moved further to the north into an industrial area at Maintown.

Within the Coasttown community itself a few families have cut themselves off from the general Aboriginal community in their efforts to establish themselves in Coasttown or in its immediate fringe area. These cases are exceptions and the mainstream of kinship remains strong.

Two comments made by informants indicate this point. A woman said: "We are very close to all our first-cousins and we would never turn away
a second-cousin." A man said: "We treat our first-cousin women like sisters."

The evidence is sufficiently clear to say that the total study population is a kin community which functions socially as an interacting network in marginal communication with the larger total community of which it forms a significant minority segment.

During the six years the Coosttown community was observed there were many changes, but there was no fundamental change noted in the patterning of life for the Aboriginal people. Their personal interactions, community structures and economic conditions were a continuance of the former patterns.

However, there were some important changes within that very general framework as the people pursued their lives in increasingly closer contact with the White majority. In Table 4, on the following page, is summarised the population changes which occurred during the five years from 30th June, 1966 to 30th June, 1971.

There was a net study population increase of 92 (13.6%), but the net Aboriginal study population increase was only 84 (12.7%). For the whole study population there was a net gain in males of 47 against that of 45 for females, but for the Aboriginal study population there was a gain of only 41 males against that of 43 females.

The average crude birth rate for the five years was 38 per thousand of average population \( \frac{a + b}{2} \). 8

8See Table 4, p. 96.
### Table 4
Coasttown Aboriginal study population changes between 30th June, 1966 and 30th June, 1971.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORIES</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Subtotals</th>
<th>Adjusted Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recorded Aboriginal population at 30th June, 1966.</td>
<td></td>
<td>659</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White spouses of above</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*White migrants out to 30/6/71</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Migrants from Aboriginal Children's Home to 30/6/71</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Aboriginal migrants out to 30/6/71</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>563(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths from 1/7/66 to 30/6/71</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Births</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal migrants in as spouses from 1/7/66 to 30/6/71</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White migrants in as spouses from 1/7/66 to 30/6/71</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Aboriginal-non-White migrants in as spouses 1/7/66 to 30/6/71</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants in to Children's Home to 30/6/71</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Other known Aboriginal Migrants in from 1/7/66 to 30/6/71</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known study population at 30/6/71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total White spouses at 30/6/71</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Other Non-Aboriginal spouses at 30/6/71</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal population at 30/6/71</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>743</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Births and deaths for these groups not included in calculations.
The average annual rate of natural increase was 1.03 (3%).

Whites were 2.7% of the study population on 30th June, 1966, whereas they were 3.3% of it at 30th June, 1971. The masculinity rate for the whole study population on 30th June, 1971 was 121 males for each 100 females, but that for the Aboriginal segment of the population had fallen slightly from its 1966 rate of 121 to 118 males for each 100 females by 1971.

Table 5 shows the deaths that occurred within the study population during the five years from June, 1966 to June, 1971. The causes of death reported by Aboriginal informants are not necessarily the official causes of death, but reflect what Aborigines themselves believe to have been the causes. There is nothing unusual in the pattern of deaths - infection in the early years, accidents and violence in the middle years, and degeneration in the later years.

Of very great interest in this tabulation is the fact that despite the 117 births which occurred during the five year period, there were no infant deaths, nor did any women die as the result of complications of confinement.

However, it remained true of Coasttown Aborigines that both children and adults suffered from a chronic state of both physical and mental ill-health. The conclusion seems to be that while the medical facilities were very adequately taking care of crisis conditions, the general maintenance medicine was far less effective.

Thirty-two marriages or de facto relationships were established during the five year period under consideration. Twenty-five of these relationships were legal marriages and the other seven were de facto.

---

Table 5
Causes of death by age and sex for Coasttown
Aborigines from 1/7/1966 to 30/6/1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Cause of death as reported by Aboriginal informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Only 11 of these relationships involved both partners to the union being Coasttown Aborigines. A further 11 involved one Coasttown Aborigine and an Aboriginal migrant from outside the study area. Nine cases involved a Coasttown Aborigine and a White person (7 White men and 2 White women). The remaining union was one which resulted from the marriage of a Coasttown Aboriginal girl to a part-Japanese/part-European man.

Fifteen males moved into the study population from outside, whereas only five females did so. This suggests that there is a tendency towards matri-locality after marriage, but this cannot be taken too seriously for two reasons. Firstly, cases were noted where there was a tendency for a couple to share their time between the place of origin of the man and of the woman; and secondly, as has been noted already, one recruitment source for outside spouses comes from travelling shows of various kinds, and it is only males who are available in this way.

The figures given above also indicate that the rate of marriage between Coasttown Aborigines and Whites is increasing slightly to 9 in 32 (28%) of the unions recorded. With the number of households in the Coasttown town area more than doubling during the five years under review, it is reasonable to expect that the rate of inter-marriage will continue to rise. The rate, of about three white men to each white woman, of sex differentiation in these inter-ethnic unions appears to be much the same as was recorded for the 1966 population.

Of the 111 Aboriginal migrants who left the Coasttown area to live elsewhere, 62 (56%) went to live in The City (41) or other major cities (21). That is, Coasttown Aborigines were contributing roughly one
migrant per month to metropolitan Aboriginal populations.

The other 49 migrants, with the exception of three children committed to State Institutions, were examples of the ebb and flow of rural Aborigines moving in and out of Coasttown through the years.

This movement can be exampled by the fact that only 51 of the 100 (1966) households remained in the same house in June, 1971. Not all of these, of course, were migrants out of the community but it does convey the picture of the restless movement of change as better housing and better employment opportunities are accepted or sought.

One of the most dramatic changes noted during the study was the very rapid improvement in housing conditions which occurred. Table 6, on the following page, gives a summary of the housing position for 1966 and 1971.

Grade 1 houses (shacks) fell in number from 24 to 8, Grade 2 houses from 20 to 5, while Grade 3 houses rose from 53 to 90. Caravans appeared for the first time as accommodation, two of the four were owned by their occupiers, while the other two were rented from the caravan park in which they stood.

Even these figures do not fully reveal the changes that have occurred. After June, 1971 a further three households moved from shacks to Grade 3 (new) houses. Also, there were several cases where families moved from old and isolated Grade 3 houses to new houses in the Coasttown area. By July, 1971, 28% of the households were in the township of Coasttown, whereas only 13% were there in 1966.
Table 6.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>House Grade</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caravans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fringe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caravans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caravans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTALS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The people of Coasttown are real people with their own stories of life, of growing up and going to school, and leaving to work, and of facing the larger society around them, of getting married and becoming fathers and mothers. Life, seen through their eyes, is a life that is the same and is different from the lives of others. In the attempt to capture something of the reality of those lives, some of their own words are presented to speak for themselves.

ON BEING YOUNG

It was a pretty grim time then, and a happy time together. In them days it was pretty hard for anything to eat, you know...not like nowadays you've got just about everything you want. There was no work at all. There was only fishing ... and picking. The happy times we used to be playing around and sometimes we'd go away from here down the coast picking around ... pea picking and swimming around the river. My Dad used to take me out in the boat with him and pretty well everywhere he went he used to carry me on his back. (Male, aged 26).

My mother was pretty severe. If we got any dirt on our clothing or played in any dirt we used to get a hiding for it. My father more or less leaned to us a little bit, but when the time came around we did anything wrong, we got what was coming to us. (Male, aged 25).

I remember one thing when my sister was born. There was a very heavy snowfall. I forget just what year it was ... I was about five years old ... up on the Monaro district. It was cold. Very cold. We used to get cut into it there ... into the snow ... and roll snowballs down the hill until they got terrible big. We used to have great fun there. (Male, aged 60).
I wouldn't remember my mother. She passed away when I was four. My grandmother was a happy person. She was easygoing with us. She only had me and my young sister. (Female, aged 28).

My father used to work in the sawmills nearly all the time when we were kids ... small kids. We moved around a lot. We were very happy. There was a big family. She was a good mother. She never drank or smoked. We used to go to the pictures once a week when we were kids. That's all there was on in the towns in those days. (Female, aged 44).

I can remember I used to be my mother's pet and didn't have to do this, didn't have to do that. My father used to be pretty strict. We used to have to go and get the sticks to light the fire in the morning and, like, make our beds every morning. (Male, aged 18).

We were on a farm down there then. We moved around a lot when I was young. There were so many different farms I wouldn't know which one. (Male, aged 16).

My mother used to play an accordian. She used to go to a dance. She used to take me. Follow the dance and everything. She'd come home and she'd dance back home then. (Male, aged 53).

ON GOING TO SCHOOL

I never liked school. I liked going to school and playin' football, you know. That was about all I did like about it. I was at High School for six months. I didn't like it in there. Never used to have any mates ... you know, white kids. Like there was only me and another dark bloke that were mates. (Male, aged 26).
I liked school very much. Mostly when we'd be going on afternoon jaunts down along the sandhills with the teachers. Mostly the whole lot of the school would go down. We'd be looking for leaves and birds' nests, eggs and plants, insects, anything we could grab. (Male, aged 25).

I liked sums and woodwork and metalwork. We used to go to school in the bus, you know, and other kids would call you black and give you a lot of cheek and that. (Male, aged 20).

I suppose it was a way of mixing in with the other kids. There were other dark children there besides myself, attending those schools. But on the whole they weren't like they are now, you know, we mixed in with each other ... (Female, aged 45).

The Aboriginal kids stick around on their own. I don't know why, but when I was going there my cousin said that they've got to stick around by themselves, but I suppose they're frightened of getting bashed up or something, but I don't see why they should get bashed up. They're just ordinary people. (Male, aged 16).

I got on all right. I mixed with the children. I had a bit of trouble with my colour, but we soon got over that. You know, when there was a bit of strife they'd call me nigger, and things like that. It really annoyed me then. The teachers were fabulous. I got on really well. (Female, aged 20).

I've never ever come up against a child the whole time I was going through school ... primary and high school that had any colour bar or anything. (Female, aged 42).
I don't think there's any difference between 'em. Only that a white man's white and a dark man's dark. I just go with my mother and father. They're Aboriginals, so I came from them so I'm Aboriginal. (Male, aged 26).

I always mingle and make friends whether they're black, white or brindle. I think I'm just another human being, mostly. (Male, aged 26).

Well, if I'm speaking to someone, like joking, and they'll say: 'You're black' and I'll say: 'I'm not black. I'm white. That's just speaking like that, but I've been with the Aborigines that long, I've grown up with them that I just take it that I am dark. (Female, aged 28).

I actually class myself as being white. I like to try to live the same way. I don't class a white man as better than I am, sort of thing. (Male, aged 27).

Mum was part Aborigine. That must make me be Aboriginal too. (Female, aged 16).

Now I'm married, I'm white. (Female, aged 23, wife of a white man).

Somebody may say to me: What are you, you know? Where do you come from? and I say: I'm an Australian. And they say: But you've got colour. And I say: I'm Part-Aboriginal, Part-Indian and Part-European. And they say: Wow! A mixture. And I say: Yes, I'm a licorice all sort. (Female, aged 20).
Two blokes got locked up down here for drinking. One morning they appeared in Court before this new Judge they've got here ... or magistrate or whatever you call him ... and there was a crowd of people in the court house and he just sung out and said: "Right, I'll have the two blackfellows now." Well, I reckon he didn't have to say that. I said to my uncle. He's my mother's brother, and I said to him: why don't you report it or do something about it? But what can you do? I don't think anyone would take a blackfellow's word against a bloody magistrate's anyway. (Male, aged 26).

ON DRINKING

I usually watch what goes on down the street, and you see those blokes usually go in and out of the pub and they might be working but they go in and out of the pub every day of the week and have half a dozen beers or a dozen beers and they wallow all over the street and never get anything done to them. And a dark bloke comes down there like that and gets caught by the seat of the pants and the scruff of the neck and gets thrown straight in (into gaol) ... they (the police) don't care how you land ... they'll do anything. (Male, aged 26).

You can go into a pub and have a drink now. You can be members of clubs. I'm a member of a club over here ... a bowling club. (Male, aged 28).

Most of them is always looking for more, sort of thing, and they don't know when they've had enough. They reckon if you works hard all the week you deserves a few beers at the weekend. (Male, aged 20).
I don't drink anymore. I just sort of felt sick of it. I think I thought, well, I'm getting old and I'm doing myself no good. And I used to always drink beer ... beer was the only drink that I drunk. When I did drink I drank pretty heavy. I have had a few wines. I've even taken part with some of the fellows with a flagon. But methylated spirits for drinking purposes - no I wouldn't have it on. Brown muscat and Port. They drink quite a lot of Port. (Male, aged 69).

I was pinched (arrested) here in Coasttown not long ago for drunken driving, but I wasn't driving the car because the car couldn't move. They fined me forty dollars. I wouldn't drive me car when I'm drunk. If I want to have a good time I'd leave me car and catch the bus and go to town. (Male, aged 48).

ON GHOSTS, SPIRITS AND THE SUPERNATURAL

I've never seen one but I believe like what me parents been telling me. (Female, aged 26).

Well, I seen Dad (father deceased) once. It never frightened me. He was on the wall smiling at me. And I just smiled back and went off back to sleep. I told Mum the next day, where he was. She got a bit pannicky, I suppose. She sort of packed up and went. But I think I'd like to see him again, you know. (Female, aged 23).

About three months after my father died, my eldest girl heard shuffling feet in the kitchen at night. She called out. Her father said to her: Go back to sleep, It's nothing, he said. It's only your grandfather, he said. He could hear it, and I could. We only heard it for three times. (Female, aged 42).
I've seen a thing one night, and I'll never forget it ... me and my sister. My poor old mother said to us, she said: I want you children to go down town to the bakers and get two loaves of bread. Righto ... just before dark ... so we goes down town. So on this fence there's a big cat ... like tortoise coloured he was ... different browns, whites an' reds. An immense cat it was. He was sitting up watching us going down. So we gets the two loaves of bread, and it's getting later now ... winter time. So coming home we comes back to where this cat was. Well, the cat jumped down off the post and come. I said: Here's this big cat coming. Look at him. Isn't he a beaut? He was following my sister round all the time, and she started getting a bit frightened of it, see. So I said: It's only a big cat, it won't hurt you. She said: I don't like the look of him. Look at him. Aw! I said. I'll kick it away out of your road, I said. Well, me foot went right through the cat. It made me feel funny then, and I had another kick at it then and the foot went right through it again. So I started to get a bit pannicky meself then, see. I said: I'll shift him. I got the two loaves of bread in a flour bag and I made a scoop at the cat with the bread and that bag went right through it. So the two of us takes off, singing out now. The old lady, me mother, came running out. "What's wrong with you? What's wrong?" There's a big cat here, I said. I can't kick it. I can't hit it with anything, I said. Look at the cat. Look at it there at the door. She couldn't see it. Only just the two of us. Well, the following morning we got the telegram ... me mother got the telegram. Well, my uncle, he used to cart wool with a horse team, and the same time we seen that cat ... my sister was his favourite ... the same time we seen that cat was the time he got killed. The front wheel of the wagon went across him there, and the back wheel went across him and killed him instantly. That's the only thing I've really seen, you know, myself. (Male aged 61).
This brief selection from two hundred pages of verbatim records must stand to give a sample of the flavour of life of the Coasttown Aborigines. It is a life which is linked to their traditional past in a partial memory culture of decreasing relevance for the people themselves.

Only a very few now admit to any knowledge of their Aboriginal languages and in six years I was not present when any language other than English was used. There is little indication in their English speech that they might be bilingual; for example, their ordering of words does not have the strangeness apparent very commonly at Forestville where the Bandjalang language is still used.

Nor could I find men who knew the local country in a detailed tribal way. The population's ancestors were drawn essentially from the coastal strip both to the north and south of Coasttown, covering in all about 300 miles from north to south.

Stories of Aboriginal medicine men and "clever" women seem to date back to occurrences which took place at least thirty years ago, and always related to an "old man" or "old woman" as a central character in the story being recounted.

While the web of kinship remains important for the people, it no longer has a binding power over their behaviour. There is much talk among some of the men about "my dear old mother", but this does not seem to influence these same men to a practical concern for the welfare of their mothers in their old age. In fact, in at least three instances where there were women who appeared superficially to
stand in a matriarchal relationship to a group, there was evidence of neglect by members of the sub-group. In one case there was evidence of assault on the old lady by her son. One case was recorded of two first cousins who married without causing undue discussion or expressions of concern by other members of the group.

It is only in the area of the supernatural that there appears to be a reasonably consistent approach by even a majority of the Coasttown Aborigines. Very few people indeed were prepared to say that they rejected ghosts and spirits as mere superstitions. Most were intensely concerned following a death in the community and many of the statements about the supernatural concerned the spiritual reappearance or activities of a deceased relative. Bush spirits ("little hairy men") were mentioned by a number of informants, and a majority of people questioned admitted they had heard stories about such beings. Only a few of the youngest (under 20) informants denied the existence of these bush spirits.

Despite this, the Coasttown material I collected lacked the specificity that was commonplace at Forestville where spiritual beings were spatially located as belonging to particular sites, were known by unique names and associated with particular kinship groups and individuals within them.

My impression is that I have studied Coasttown at a time when the traditional is finally departing, and that when those now over fifty years of age have died there will be little but pigmentation and nostalgia to identify the Coasttown Aborigines.
It is perhaps for this reason that so many of those interviewed seemed troubled with identity problems, finding it difficult to express themselves clearly as to what it was that constituted their Aboriginality. Not one informant, even under repeated probing questions, claimed their Aboriginality rested on a link with the traditional belief systems of their ancestors. The most commonly expressed view was that of "blood"; even a tiny proportion of Aboriginal ancestry being enough, in the view of most, to establish a person as being an Aborigine.

Forestville Aborigines

Forestville, New South Wales, is the pseudonym for an area around an Aboriginal settlement in the north-eastern coastal region of the State. It is an area of mountains and beautiful forests which suggested its pseudonym. The physical beauty of the Forestville environment is not reflected in the ethnic relations in the area.

While in the field (early 1969) I negotiated, at the request of the Aborigines, with a hotel licensee to have him accept Aboriginal men as patrons in the public bar at his hotel. Despite the fact that all legal restrictions on Aboriginal access to alcohol had been removed for a number of years, the licensee of this particular hotel was most reluctant to accept them as patrons. He eventually did so, but the incident is indicative of the unfavourable racial
situation at Forestville. This stands in marked contrast to the Coasttown experience.

A census of Aboriginal households was carried out in this area in February-March of 1969. A 20% random sample of this population over 15 years of age was drawn, and responded to the formal schedules.

Two hundred and one Aborigines were found living in thirty-four households. Of this number, one household (five people) declined to co-operate in the research, leaving slightly more than 97% of the households and individuals as willing co-operators.

The household head of the one household which was unwilling to co-operate was a man against whom I had initiated serious legal action during my term as an Aboriginal Station Manager (1956-1960). This was a very good reason for him to refuse to co-operate in my research.

However, despite this one loss, the very high level of co-operation is a good indication that prolonged contact with a community is a very considerable asset. Good rapport had been established with the Forestville people during my earlier contact with them, and this rapport had been maintained through the intervening years.

The detailed material on the Forestville community presented here was obtained during the research period in 1969. The earlier material used here to indicate change, and the historical background of the Forestville situation are drawn from my earlier research.  

In 1969 a Forestville household contained an average of 5.9 Aborigines. There was only one household in which a White was living with Aborigines. This man was the de facto husband of an Aboriginal woman classified as Caucasian in appearance. The man involved was not a Forestville man by birth.

In 1969 Aborigines at Forestville represented somewhere between 6 and 10 per cent of the total population of the area. It is not possible to be more precise than this because census data for Whites is not available either for the precise time of the fieldwork of this study, or for precisely the area covered by this work. However, using 1971 census data\textsuperscript{11} for one village in the area Aborigines were 20\% of the village population (64 out of the total population of 309).

Compared with the Coasttown situation, it is reasonable to suggest that Forestville Aborigines represent two or three times greater percentage of their area's population than do the Coasttown Aborigines in theirs. It is of passing interest to note that it was not in the village where Aborigines represented 20\% of the population that they were being denied access to the hotel, but in another where they were only about 5\% of the village's population.

The Forestville area was first penetrated by Whites in the 1830's, but it was not until the next decade that the land was settled by pastoral squatters. That is, at the time when Coasttown was already sub-divided into share-farming small holdings,

Forestville was being settled by pastoral holdings for the first time.

In an even more important way the settlement of Forestville differs from that at Coasttown. Coasttown was already closely settled by the early 1840's but the fragmentation of large pastoral holdings did not occur at Forestville until after 1900 and the last of the cattle stations was not subdivided until 1920. The two main villages at Forestville were not established until about 1909. Even during the period of maximum White occupation of the Forestville area, Whites were never in the large numbers noted for Coasttown. During the period between the censuses of 1966 and 1971, the total population of the Forestville area declined by about 8%.

The early contact period at Forestville was violent. Though no serious incidents were noted for the study area itself, all the areas immediately around it were involved in troubles. Members of the Forestville people's tribe were shot, poisoned and driven off their lands. Aborigines too were responsible for killings during that first period of contact, and Forestville informants claimed that these killings were in revenge for the sexual liberties taken by White men with Aboriginal women.

Violence continued to occur sporadically in the general Forestville surroundings until about 1870, but thereafter a more peaceful period ensued during which Aborigines were incorporated into the economics of the cattle stations and the timber industry which had developed as Whites exploited the rich stands of cedar in the area.
When the pastoral properties were sub-divided into small dairy holdings occupied by family units, Aborigines were no longer welcome to camp where they chose. Small areas of land were set aside and gazetted as Aboriginal Reserves and the Aborigines were concentrated on them. The settlement at Forestville was established in this way in 1908, and since then it has remained the focal point of Aboriginal activities in the area.

The economy of the area has from the first been based on pastoral and farming activities with the timber industry providing the only significant source of work off the farms. There has been little change in this regard since 1909.

Education, except in a few isolated cases, was not available for Forestville Aborigines until 1925, and trained teachers were not available until the mid 1940's. Prior to the appointment of qualified teachers, the highest grade available for Aborigines at Forestville was Grade 4 of the primary school, so that no Forestville Aborigine over the age of thirty at the time of this study had had the opportunity to get beyond the fourth grade of primary school unless he or she was educated elsewhere. Australians generally tend to forget that in areas like Forestville our shabby treatment of Aborigines is something belonging to the immediate past rather than to a remote historical period of first White settlement of the continent.

Even in 1969 at Forestville there were Aborigines alive whose lifetime covers the whole period of closer settlement of Forestville,
whose parents were young adults during the period of the big cattle stations, and whose grandparents were alive during the period when Aborigines were being shot and poisoned by White cedar getters and pastoral squatters.

In more immediate ways the traditional past is very real for Forestville Aborigines. During the earlier study (1956-60) all the tribal clan countries in the area were mapped, and within the clan countries many of the patrilineage countries were also mapped. The location of sacred and increase sites were known and respected and a considerable body of mythology associated with the sites was also known. Kinship and marriage rules were still recognised as being important.

Hausfeld\(^{12}\) reported:

Thirty-nine marital unions were detailed during the study period, of which 33 were fully investigated and 24 of that number were found to be correct by Aluridja kinship rule. Only 2 unions were completely outside kinship influence.

Another way in which Forestville Aborigines maintain a considerable link with their traditional past is through their language. Hausfeld reported in 1960:

Of the Bandjalang group belonging to (Forestville), those over 30 all speak the aboriginal language; those between 20 and 30 either speak or understand it; and those under 20 understand much of what is said to them in the aboriginal language but, with one exception, do not speak it.

\(^{12}\)Hausfeld, R.G., `ibid., pp. 68-69.
In general terms it may be stated that the older the aborigine the more fluent he or she will be in Bandjalang.\(^{13}\)

In 1969, during the fieldwork for this present research, 18 informants were interviewed in depth and they were a random sampling of the population over 15 years of age. Each was asked about his/her ability to speak or understand the language.

7 reported they were speakers of the language - their average age was 54 years and the youngest was 34.

5 reported they could speak "a little", and their average age was 31, and the youngest in this group was 19.

6 reported they were non-speakers of the language and the average age for this group was 23, with the eldest being 27.

16 out of 18 reported that at least one of their parents had been or were speakers of the language, and only 2 (a boy and his sister) reported that neither of their parents speaks the Aboriginal language.

In summary, 67% of those interviewed had some ability to speak the Aboriginal language of Forestville, and only 6% reported that they had no understanding of the language at all.

The poorest quality housing occupied by Aborigines at Forestville in 1969 was on the Aboriginal reserve. Eleven of the seventeen co-operating households were classified as either Grade 1 or Grade 2,\(^{13}\)

and all but one of the houses was in very bad repair. Most were some modification of the forty year old two-room-and-two-verandahs units which were originally built. Some were lined and ceiled and some were only partly so.

At Forestville there is no equivalent to the Coasttown squattages at Wallaby Flat and Gumtree. Life at Forestville continues to revolve around the reserve. The poor relations between Whites and Aborigines at Forestville has maintained the importance of the reserve as a social centre for the Aborigines.

In recent years many families have been moved from the reserve into houses in a nearby village, but these families spend a lot of time at the reserve settlement, especially at the weekends. There is no evidence that families established in the White village for more than a year had become even marginal members of the social life of the village.

Marriage with Whites is not approved by Forestville Aborigines and the only case involved in the 1969 population is that of a woman who does not "belong" at Forestville. In the period between 1960 and 1969 at least two permanent unions were established by Forestville Aboriginal women with white men. In both cases they followed the pattern of the past - the women and their spouses moved away from Forestville.

Forestville Aborigines who agreed to co-operate in this study were living in 33 dwellings. Figure 40 (Appendix II) shows the relationships of households to each other and to the Forestville
reserve. Of the total of 34 households, 18 were located on the reserve and one on a farm immediately adjacent to it. A further 10 households were in villages A and B within four miles of the reserve and so too were two additional farm households, leaving only three households in isolated conditions with respect to the reserve.

Despite the fact that there were 8 households in Village B, the whole focal point of Aboriginal social life is centred on the reserve. Six of the households in Village B were occupied by former residents of the reserve. They moved into houses (purchased by the Government) under what they described as "pressure" from Government officers. One of the other households in Village B was occupied by a deserted wife and her family. This woman married an Indian about twenty years ago and went to live in Queensland, but returned to her home country at Forestville after her husband deserted her. The other household is occupied by a family which moved into the area because a house was available there, and the members of this household are not related to the Forestville people. Local tenants could not be found for this house despite the very poor standard of the housing on the reserve.

In Table 60 (Appendix II) is shown the distribution of the number of persons per household by the number of rooms in the house. The median house has four rooms and is occupied by six people. This is below the figure of seven to eight persons per household noted for the median Coasttown household in 1966.
Figures 41, 42 and 43 (Appendix II) show the distribution of persons per household, rooms per household and persons per room. The range in persons per household is between one and fourteen, but only three out of thirty-three households held more than ten people. Eight of the 33 households had some extension to the nuclear family; in most cases this was the addition of a single adult or a married daughter temporarily living at home. In only two cases were two nuclear units sharing a single house.

In reckoning the number of rooms per household all rooms except bathrooms and laundries were counted. There were only three cases out of thirty-three in which there were more than three persons per room.

When the distribution of persons is made by the number of bedrooms in the house, as shown in Table 61 (Appendix II), the picture is not as good. The median house had two bedrooms with a range between none and five. A single roomed dwelling was treated as having no bedrooms for the purposes of the compilation of Table 61 (Appendix II). The median number of persons per bedroom was three, but there were four cases with four or more persons per bedroom. This distribution is illustrated in Figure 44 (Appendix II), in which the two cases of single roomed dwellings are shown at the top of the appropriate columns.

To check if overcrowding led to a loss of privacy (for rules followed, see page 68), a distribution of households was made according to their provision of minimum privacy. The result is set out in Table 62 (Appendix II).
In only one case (a cohabitating couple and the 10 year old daughter of the woman) in which three people were sharing a single-roomed dwelling were the minimum rules for privacy impossible to meet.

All these considerations indicate that even though more than half the housing at Forestville was sub-standard by normal Australian standards, it was nevertheless better than that provided for Coast-town Aborigines in 1966.

To maintain perspective, it must be added that since the fieldwork of 1969 fourteen houses and eight aged person's units were built on the reserve at Forestville. This new housing, of excellent standard, has transformed the situation at Forestville, but it has also placed a heavy burden of rental payments on a community of people who have never before been required to pay rent for accommodation. Since even the permanent workers draw wages near to the bottom of the Australian wage scale, it is not surprising that many of the Forestville people regard the houses as a mixed blessing. According to reports I have received, a number of persons have had eviction orders taken out against them within the first year as tenants in the new houses.

Table 63 and Figure 46 (Appendix II) show the distribution of children through the households at Forestville. In 10 (30%) of the households there were no children, but there were four households in which there were eight children. Four children lived in households as only children, but 58 (56%) of the children lived in households with at least five other children; and 32 (31%) lived in households with at least 7 other children.
Sixty-nine (67%) of the children lived off the Forestville Aboriginal reserve. This result appears to have been directly influenced by an Administrative policy on the part of the Government Department involved to put pressure on young working fathers to accept tenancy in a group of houses which were bought cheaply in a nearby village. The fact that good quality new housing has since been built on the reserve suggests that there has been some reversal of this policy which informants claimed had caused them considerable stress.

In the households with any children, there was a cohabitating couple in charge of the household in 21 (90%) of the cases (Table 64). In the other 2 (10%), a mother alone was in charge. In general terms, authority at Forestville is focused in the men; and this holds even in two cases where the men concerned might be judged to be ineffectual by ordinary White standards.

Table 65 (Appendix II) shows the distribution of houses by grade and by settlement and non-settlement; and also shows the average figures for the H.E.S.R. for each category. (For the rules concerning house grade and the calculation of the H.E.S.R., see pages 71-75).

The numbers of households involved were too small to make definite statements about the minor categories, but it is noticeable that the non-settlement households were somewhat worse off economically than those living on the settlement. Substantially, this was due to the greater number of children in the off-settlement houses.
When it is remembered that in 1969 only one of the settlement houses was paying rent, but that most of the non-settlement households were doing so, it comes as no surprise to find that some of the families felt that the Government was attempting to "get at" them economically.

Table 66 (Appendix II) shows the distribution of H.E.S.R.'s by grade of house. Two households, at the time of interview, had no income at all; the occupants were seasonal workers who were living temporarily on savings from previous jobs. The Table also shows the percentage of households with an H.E.S.R. of 4 or less, and more than 4, for both Forestville and Coasttown. Forestville in 1969 had 36% of its households with an H.E.S.R. of more than 4, whereas only 16% of Coasttown households came into this category. On this basis alone it can be said that Forestville Aborigines were worse off financially than those at Coasttown.

Another factor only accentuates this picture. While it was not possible at either Coasttown or Forestville to record actual wages in every case of a household with workers, this was achieved in a majority of cases. It was clear from a comparison of recorded wages for workers in the timber industry that Forestville men were being paid ten to fifteen dollars per week less than those at Coasttown for comparable jobs.

While there has been considerable movement of people at Forestville, Table 67 (Appendix II) shows that the settlement (reserve) population was more stable in housing pattern than was the
non-settlement group. Sixty-five per cent of the settlement households had lived in the same house for more than two years, whereas this only applied to 25% of non-settlement Aborigines. But here again it is difficult to assess the significance of these figures because at least seven of the non-settlement households had been former residents of the reserve who had moved out under the twin pressures of administrative action and the dangerous state of some of the reserve housing (at least two houses had blown down in wind storms during the few years prior to 1969).

In Table 68 (Appendix II) is shown the distribution of households by house grade and ownership. Where rent was charged for a house, the weekly payment in dollars is shown. Of the 33 houses only 2 were owned outright by the occupiers, and one of these was built on land which did not belong to the owner of the house who had only a verbal permissive occupancy from the owner of the land.

Seven houses were being rented from the Government at an average rental of $3.78 (range $3.30 to $6.00) and three houses were being rented from private owners at an average rental of $2.67 (range $2 to $4). All rented houses were classified as Grade 3.

All these rentals are small compared with non-settlement Coasttown charges, but this reflects the difference between the two communities; at Coasttown there is a rapidly expanding population with pressure for housing which is in short supply and of high value, whereas at Forestville the general population is falling and land and houses are cheap.
The result of this situation is that Forestville Aborigines find themselves paying higher rents to the Government than they do to private owners, but at Coasttown the reverse is the case. Forestville Aborigines have always (at least since 1956) been anti-Government, and this rental situation is unlikely to convince them that the Government is benevolent.

Table 69 and Figure 47 (Appendix II) show the distribution of the Forestville population of Aborigines by age and sex. The percentage of the population under 15 years is very high (53%), and in a general way the figures reflect the picture that was noted for Coasttown. At Forestville, however, there is a slightly higher percentage of the population over 60 years of age but the numbers are too small to justify any confident comments.

Unlike the situation noted at Coasttown, there is an equality in numbers between the sexes at Forestville. (see pages 85-86).

However, when the Forestville Aboriginal population over 15 years of age is distributed by age, sex and marital status (Table 70, Appendix II) it can be seen that there are some problems of imbalance not unlike that noted at Coasttown. There were 20 males who had never formed a permanent relationship, compared with 5 females; unattached males over 15 years of age numbered 26 whereas the comparable figure for females was 13. Of more importance in this regard was the fact that of those between 15 and 40 years there were 15 unattached males and only 5 unattached females.
Of the couples living together in permanent relationships at Forestville in 1969, 74% were legally married. The comparable figure for Coasttown in 1966 was that 86% of couples were legally married.

When education is examined the picture for Forestville is not as good as that for Coasttown which itself was poor by normal Australian standards.

Table 71 (Appendix II) shows the figures for 90 Forestville Aborigines who had completed their education. Of that number 4 (4.4%) had never been to school, 62 (68.9%) had received some primary school education only (a great many of these reporting fewer than four years at school), 23 (25.6%) reported that they had been at high school for from 1 to 3 years, and only 1 claimed he had achieved a Junior School Certificate. This lad was, at the time of interview, working as a seasonal worker poisoning bush and had made no economic gain as the result of his better education.

Tables 72, 73 and 74 (Appendix II) give tabulations of the occupational status of the Forestville Aborigines in February-March 1969. Of the total of 196 there were 90 who had left school, but of this number 25 were females engaged full-time in home duties and 20 were pensioners (old age, widows, and invalids), leaving a potential work force of 45. Of those available for work only 23 (51%) were in permanent work at the time of interview, a further 10 (22%) were regularly or seasonally employed, while 12 (27%) were unemployed and, so far as I could establish, none of that number was in receipt of unemployment benefit.
The Table which shows the distribution of unemployed by age, sex and marital status also shows the number of children dependent on the unemployed. Whereas 27% of the work force was unemployed, only 15% of the children were dependent on those who were out of work. Nine of the sixteen child dependents belonged to the two unemployed married men. One of these men was away in the nearest city seeking work at the time of interview of the household, the other married man had a chronically ulcerated leg. As was the case with Coasttown Aborigines, there is the suggestion that those Aborigines who have responsibilities for a family do accept that responsibility.

The third Table in this set shows that of 23 permanent jobs occupied by Aborigines at Forestville, only 3 were with Government or semi-Government agencies. This figure contrasts with that for Coasttown where 50 of the 80 permanent jobs were supplied by Government or semi-Government agencies. Job security for Aborigines at Forestville is consequently considerably less than it is at Coasttown. All but one of the other permanent jobs were in sawmills, so that the core economic stability of Forestville Aborigines is highly dependent on a single industry.

It is of some importance to know where the Forestville Aborigines "belong". With the exception of one family, already mentioned, all the Woodenbong households have strong ties to Forestville, both in terms of the Aboriginal tradition and the sentiment associated with the place of birth and rearing.
An analysis of the place of birth of the members of the study population will indicate how highly localised this community is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born at Forestville or in the hospitals that service it:</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born elsewhere in Bandjalang country:</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born elsewhere but linked by parent to Forestville:</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born elsewhere but linked by marriage to Forestville:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (all one household):</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace unrecorded:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td>196</td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures show that only one household out of the 33 involved in this study can be thought of as an "outsider" in a tribal sense. This family originates from a woman from further down the coast, the husband is from Thursday Island. As noted earlier, they were imported into the area by a Government agency when in desperate need for accommodation for their eight children and the Agency was unable to find a local tenant for a house which had been purchased for rental to Aborigines.

In a situation which seems so firmly rooted in the past, it is worthwhile to look back to 1959 and to see what changes can be discerned by examining the situation at these two points in time.
Hausfeld\textsuperscript{14} wrote in 1960:

There is no sign that the younger members of the aboriginal population are breaking away from this group. Two of the three most recent "marriages" have been correct marriages by Aboriginal kinship rule.

Since then at least two legal marriages have occurred which Forestville Aborigines would have regarded as very "wrong" in 1959. In the first case a girl married a boy who was her actual mother's mother's brother's son's son. In the second a girl married her actual father's mother's brother's son's son.

Two comments indicate the kind of reactions informants showed when I queried these marriages. A man with a high stake in the past tradition said: "They can get away with anything now," and refused further comment. A woman member of the local church group which supported these marriages said: "Well, aren't the Queen and Prince Phillip cousins? If it's good enough for them it must be all right for us."

The fact is that the past ten years has seen a weakening of the control exercised by the older members of the Forestville community in determining who shall marry whom. The young people commented to me that they were entitled to marry anyone they chose.

Another way of looking at the changes that have occurred is to see what happened to the 169 Aborigines who were recorded as residents of the Forestville reserve on the 31st December, 1959.

\textsuperscript{14}Hausfeld, R.G., \textit{ibid.}, p. 148.
Population on Forestville reserve at 31/12/59

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>31/12/68</th>
<th>169</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remaining at Forestville</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In gaol</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living elsewhere in N.S.W. and Queensland in a pattern similar to that which was seen during the years 1956 and 1960. Forestville still recognised as &quot;home&quot;.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Queensland metropolitan areas: (2 working, 1 in hospital).</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living in The City (New South Wales).</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living in other metropolitan area (female member of Permanent Defence Forces)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures given are surprising to the author because of the 29 members of the 1959 population who were living in metropolitan areas in December, 1968. On the basis of the previous research (1956-1960) such a situation was not anticipated. When one informant was asked about this migration to The City, he replied: "They'll be back. They always come back. You'll see."

This confidence cannot be accepted by the author. There seem to be a number of factors working against this possibility. Firstly, as has been noted already, the authority of the older people has been weakened. Secondly, seven of the sixteen deaths that have occurred were of people who were strong carriers of the language and the old
tradition, and since the 1969 fieldwork a further very important older man has died. Thirdly, the population has already strained a diminishing supply of jobs in the area and the rate of decline in job opportunities is likely to increase as further mechanisation occurs in the sawmills ... the major source of permanent work for Forestville Aborigines. Fourthly, as the Forestville Aborigines become accustomed to living in more sophisticated housing, they will probably be less capable of making-do with makeshift accommodation. This will mean renting houses which can only happen when there is regular income available from permanent employment.

There are also a number of factors which support the prolonged continuance of at least a substantial core of Aboriginal settlement at Forestville. The first of these is that there is evidence that Aborigines who leave Forestville do return there at a later time. A number of 1969 residents had spent some time in The City between 1959 and 1969. There was also the case of the woman who had been away for nearly twenty years, but who returned when her husband deserted her. A second factor is the strength of the church group at Forestville. This Pentecostal Church has been strong in the Forestville area since the 1920's, but a marked change was noted in its outlook between 1959 and 1969. While in the field for this research, the author noted that the church group had become more withdrawn and exclusive than was the case ten years earlier. A woman whom the author regarded as a personal friend gave him a very cool reception when he first returned to the field in 1969, and seemed
troubled by his presence. Four days later the woman was once again all smiles and welcome and the author was invited into her home for tea. She explained to him that she had had to pray and meditate on the problem of whether or not she could associate with him "because he was not saved". Eventually, she decided that it would be all right for her to be friendly with the author. From that point on the relationship resumed its former friendly and co-operative form.

This woman nominated 14 men and 10 women as being full members of the Church at Forestville; that is, twenty-seven per cent of the 90 adults. However, of those interviewed 44% claimed to be members of the local Pentecostal Church (sometimes referred to as The Assemblies of God).

It is clear that this exclusive church group will maintain its identity and purpose with considerable conviction, and it seems reasonable to expect that this influence will tend to hold the community together. Being involved in the church means attendance at services several times each week, in addition to being associated in the daily visiting within the church community. There is in these interchanges a highly emotional social interaction, and this is particularly characteristic of the cottage meetings held during the week nights.

Yet another factor which may tend to hold the Forestville community together is the recent building by a Government Department of new homes and a community hall (opened 1972) on the reserve. These new amenities should remove some of the physical hardship associated with living at Forestville in the past.

These factors for and against the continuance of Forestville Aborigines as a community may resolve themselves by the maintenance of a home community on the reserve, and the migration out of the surplus population, but the evidence of the past ten years suggests that about half of the migration might be to other country areas rather than to the city sources of mass employment.

Another way to look at change over the period for which data is available is to examine the number of convictions which have occurred at the local court for various years. The following figures are for all offences for which convictions were recorded at the local court, which involved Aborigines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL CONVICTIONS</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hausfeld\textsuperscript{16}, in examining the problem of law and order in the Forestville community, used the figures 1956-1959 above to argue that:

...the evidence suggests that there is a direct causal relationship between 'feelings of oppression' and 'the need for restrictive law'.

\textsuperscript{16} Hausfeld, R.G., \textit{ibid.}, pp. 129-133.
He claimed that the steady decline in the number of convictions for all offences during the years 1956-1959 resulted from a deliberate attempt by the local manager of the Aboriginal Reserve and the local Police Officer to create a better understanding between Aborigines and local Authority figures. The fact that the figure for convictions has returned to the 1955 total indicates that with staff changes among administrative authorities, the good relations developed during the 1955-1959 period had disappeared. At least to this extent, changes that had occurred during the period 1956-1959 proved to be only temporary. It is the view of the author that the convictions of Aborigines at Forestville may be read as an index of the ethnic relations there, rather than as a measure of the degradation or depravity of the Aborigines. Forty-eight of the seventy-four convictions in 1968 were for charges involving alcohol. Yet when the author sat down with a number of informants and discussed the population individual by individual the result was that only 27 of the population of 196 were designated as "drinkers" (not abstainers) and of that number only 12 were described as "heavy drinkers", and only 6 were described as "likely to cause trouble" when drunk.

Important movements in population have occurred in Forestville during the period between December, 1959 and December, 1968 (see page 130). Table 7, on the following page, gives further details of these population movements.

During the nine years under review, there has been a net increase in Aboriginal population at Forestville of 32 (18.9%)
Table 7
Forestville Aboriginal population changes between 31st December, 1959 and 31st December, 1968.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Sub-totals</th>
<th>Adjusted totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recorded Aboriginal population at 31/12/59</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Migrants out to 31/12/68</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>57 *(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths to</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant spouses in to 31/12/68</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Births to 31/12/68</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>59 *(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Aboriginal migrants in to 31/12/68</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One white spouse to be excluded</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four occupants of house not co-operating</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operating population at 31/12/1969</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Births and deaths for these groups not included in calculations.

+The non-co-operating household is shown (p. 112) as having five occupants, but one of these was not a member of the 1959 household.
(non-co-operating household of 5 individuals included); that is, an average net increase in Aboriginal population at Forestville of 2.1% per annum. This compares with an average net increase of 2.5% per annum for the Coasttown study population. This result is despite a net loss of 11 through migration.

The average crude birth rate for the nine years was 48 per thousand of average population \( \frac{a+b}{2} \). The average annual rate of natural increase was 1.03 (3.5%). Whereas Whites were 3.3% of the Coasttown study population at 30th June, 1971, there was only one white spouse at Forestville, 0.5% of the study population at 31st December, 1968. This one man, a de facto husband of a woman classified as caucasian in appearance, lives in one of the villages within the Forestville study area and his presence is a change from the earlier study when such a situation would have been unacceptable to the Forestville Aborigines.

Of the 37 migrants into Forestville between 1959 and 1968, excluding spouses, only 10 were individuals who did not have claims to Forestville as their home country either through the male or female line. All but the one family of 10 were either known of, or known personally to the author from his previous research.

Table 8 shows the causes of death for members of the 1959 population who were not alive in 1968. The fact there there are no deaths recorded for the 0 - 9 years age group does not mean that there were none, since children could have been born and died during the interval between the two pieces of research and would not have
Table 8
Causes of death for the Forestville Aborigines recorded as residents in 31/12/59 and deceased before 31/12/68

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group (years)</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Cause of death as reported by Aboriginal informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80+</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
entered the records. However, an inspection of the family records indicates that there are few gaps which might have been filled by such children. There is good evidence then for suggesting that the death rate in small children at Forestville was very low during the period between 1959 and 1968. This, coupled with accurate figures from Coasttown over a five year period suggests that there are wide variations between localities for infant and child deaths; otherwise the very high figures reported for deaths of Aboriginal children cannot be accounted for.

It remains now to allow the Forestville Aborigines to speak for themselves in the same way and on the same topics as the Coasttown people. The following extracts are slightly edited versions of verbatim recordings of open-ended interviews with the Forestville random sample which responded to the formal schedules.

ON BEING YOUNG

Aw well, I just had to do what I was told and every time I come home from school I used to change me trousers and shirt and go for bloody morning wood and this and that. I used to get up in the morning and chop wood. There were three of us and I copped the lot because I was the oldest. (Male, aged 26).

Round about 1900, I think. Yes, a happy time. Well, I can easily say we lived on milk and honey as the saying is. Plenty of work. Plenty of bush tucker, plenty of tucker anyway. We had to get our own honey, and so forth ... wallaby, possum, turkeys and so forth. I had to carry wood...supply wood and water. And look after the younger ones. (Male, aged 67).
The only thing I can remember from these parts from when I was a boy... Grandfather used to go snaring... shoot kangaroos and snare possums. That's in the early days before the houses were up around here. This was all scrub here. It was a good time. (Male, aged 68).

I can remember my father was a wiung (clever man). When I was sick he was always... you know... doctoring me in his own way like... a lot of people, and boys and girlies... he was doctoring them too, you know. He was pretty good on... like... on women, you know... on bringing children. (Male, aged 64).

We had to walk to school, about six miles. We had to be home at the right time from school. We had to do what our mother wanted us to do. My father was pretty good sometimes, you know. You couldn't mix in with the wrong crowd. And we couldn't have anything to do with boys, you know, until we got to be a certain age... (Female, aged 24).

She was an easygoing mother... Dad too... But he was very strict. When we were little girls, it wasn't so bad, but I mean as we got older, you know, he was strict then when we were about eleven or twelve... that was when he was strict then. (Female, aged 49).

ON GOING TO SCHOOL

I remember I liked school because I had more friends there... more playmates. I didn't like the work at school... I didn't like school work. (Male, aged 25).
I was round about sixteen. I went to school for a few months... a lady teacher she was ... she was very nice. After being there a little while, a few weeks, what work she used to give me for the week, I used to do it in a day... and had to get out of school and work around the Manager's house or something like that. Well, I soon got sick of that. (Male, aged 67).

They placed me up there at the police station while they were working about, with a tracker. He was the first tracker here. And I went to school there when I was about six or seven.... That's how I come to go to school. And then from there on I didn't learn too much. My Dad, he was one of these fellows, he used to move here and there you know, following the jobs up. He wouldn't stop here doing nothing. (Male, aged 68).

... when I used to go to school the only thing I enjoyed was to be a runner... for a start. I didn't like cookin', and I didn't like sewin'. Well, the white girls, they were alright, but I'd sooner my own kind... (Female, aged 27).

I like writing at school, and playing, of course... high jumping and playing rounders. I left school when I was fourteen. I was in fourth class. (Female, aged 49).

The first school we went to was a school near (town) and after that we went to a place called (town) and me step-father, he got a job at timber-cuttin' out in the bush and we haven't been to school there for very long, and he must have been workin' there for about a year or so, and I got a job with a bloke drovin' up
there and I took the job and I was gettin' one pound a day, and when I come home we shifted to a place called (town) and we put a tent up there and we stayed for a couple of days and then we came up to (town) and we got a job on the railways there at a place called (town) and there wasn't any school there so we didn't bother goin' to school and after that we got the sack .... (Male aged 15...back at school in 1969).

I liked school at first, but when I got up into High School, I never used to like it. Sometimes I used to wag school. You know, the High School pupils didn't like us sittin' next to them and we had to sit on our own. (Female, aged 18).

He used to cane us if we did something right and he used to bully us around if we did something wrong and stand us in the corner...Just all Aboriginal children ...we never had no white children to play with us. (Female, aged 34).

ON BEING AN ABORIGINE

My sister ... if there is many in the street, you wouldn't think she's an Aborigine ... It's the dark blood in me ... (Male, aged 25).

Well, a white fellow...he looks at a dark bloke and he classes him as lower. A white fellow always looks down at a dark bloke...Some of them. Yeah, nearly all. (Male, aged 26).
Well, I've always reckoned if a black man did to a white woman what a white man did to a black woman, there wouldn't be any difference...It's been said to me, it's been said earlier, and it's been said after, not to marry into white...yet the women, we couldn't stop the women. (Male, aged 67).

...to assimilate us into the white community whenever you wish. That's wrong. It's all right living alongside, but not that way. The way they try to put us up in these compartments... well, there's no background there, not with an Aboriginal. He's flat, that bloke. Everyone of us. The white man, he has a farm behind him. That's what the problem is with our people. (Male, aged 68).

Well, first of all, a white man he'd like to keep a coloured man down all the time... and a coloured man, he tries his best to do what he thinks he should do, but he doesn't get the chance by any white man so he'll have to travel to some other places where a white man might see what he's going to do for himself. (Female, aged 27).

Aw, well, talking about nature. A dark woman can go copulatin' with a white man and then she has this white child. The child would be half and half... Like half Aborigine and half white. Yet it's born on the Aboriginal settlement. (Female, aged 34).

Well, when we was young we wasn't allowed to play with boys and we wasn't even allowed to swim with 'em, and as for our cousins, oh, we'd get a belting if we were caught playing with them. Of course, that was in those days, but now they even marry. I don't agree with it. ...aw, well, they're just going along with the white people, I would say. One time ago the lesser we seen of white people, the better. Well, now, we're sort of in with them so we just go along with them. (Female, aged 47).
ON THE SUPERNATURAL, SPIRITS AND CURING

Yes. Well, I can say I was cured by a cleverman, as you call him. It would be twenty year ago. He was there with me...the old chap... wiunggulli, we call him. He came in the afternoon, but he didn't work on me, as the saying is, until the night. My father was there, and my brothers was there. And I can really say that he must have taken something away from me, because the pain that I suffered before, and then how I felt afterwards when he was finished. (Female, aged 47).

Old (man) fixed up (girl) (now aged 22). (Female, aged 18).

Yeah, I've been shown a lot, and told the stories about them ... the old places, you know. (Male, aged 30).

What I was going to tell you about....There was an old bloke out in the bush there, this one day, and this storm was coming ... and green hailstones ... you know, you can tell, it's a real sort of green. Anyhow, they were only in a tent and the other old bloke was real sort of worried, see, he sort of didn't know what to do. The old bloke who can split storms, he said: 'I'll fix it.' Anyhow, he got these two axes, and in a certain way he sticks them in the ground like a cross, and, anyhow, he takes off his hat first and he talks some sort of lingo, you know, and sticks the axe in the ground and all of a sudden the storm just broke up just like that and this other old bloke, he couldn't believe his eyes. It's hard to believe but it is done. Well, he done it. You tell some blokes and they just laugh at you, but there are blokes who can do it. I've seen it done. (Male, aged 29).
Dad made a swing for us when we were kids. My sister was then about 11 years old. She was swinging on the swing, and she fell, and fell on her stomach and bruised her insides, and she was crying in pain till late towards evening ... and mother sent for an old bloke who used to live there, and he was one who, according to the Aborigines was weird, and he came down and he had a look at her and just rubbed her belly and he asked for a bowl, and when I got him a bowl, one of those enamel basins, and he just rubbed that, and then he bent down he sucked the blood out and spit it into that bowl ... and after that the sister was as good as gold. I was only a lad and I stood there and marvelled over that. (Male, aged 47).

Well, I did see something (ghost or spirit) in my time. I've heard them ... plain ... plain as I'm talkin' to you. (Male, aged 68).

I was fixed up by a wiung. I could show you the mark on me now. I was about two year old when that happened. (Male, aged 67).

Not face to face I haven't (seen a spirit), but say about as far as from here to that tree, I suppose. (Tree about twenty feet away) They reckon it was my wife's grandfather. (Male, aged 26).

Despite this selection from the conversations with Forestville Aborigines, it is true that even in the ten years between 1959 and 1969, there were changes as some of the oldest people died and took their knowledge with them. For example, the last cleverman I knew of personally at Forestville died during this period. But one has to be cautious in this area because at Forestville there is often considerable reluctance to admit to knowledge of spirits, the super-
natural and personal experiences of them. For example, the author has in his possession "news notes" from the school prior to 1959 which explicitly refer to the writer having seen "a hairy man" and "a dead man" on the previous night. One of these children, now grown up, denied he had ever heard or seen any such phenomenon.

COASTTOWN-FORESTVILLE COMPARISONS

Some similarities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Workforce.</th>
<th>Coasttown</th>
<th>Forestville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% unemployed:</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% casually or seasonally employed:</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% regularly employed:</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% post-school who were pensioners (all types):</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural increase per annum:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude birth rate per 1000:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% net increase in population per annum:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These summary figures tell their own story. Both populations have a high birth rate, and therefore large families, yet their unemployment figures are high (12 times the highest current rate for Australia as a whole), and the percentage of each workforce in

in regular or permanent employment is low, between fifty and sixty per cent. The rate of pensioners in the adult populations is also very high\textsuperscript{18}, probably indicating the poor health picture of these populations in the past, as well as the further handicap of severely limited education received by most adult Aborigines in these two communities.

But these similarities do not tell the whole story. There are very considerable differences between them. Below is set out a number of important ways in which the communities differ from each other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coasttown</th>
<th>Forestville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>History</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First settlement...</td>
<td>1820's</td>
<td>1840's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closer settlement...</td>
<td>1840's</td>
<td>1900's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethnic Relations</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermarriage with Whites:</td>
<td>Common and accepted.</td>
<td>Rare and not accepted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-Aboriginal interaction:</td>
<td>Fair to good</td>
<td>Poor to bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tradition</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Aboriginal language:</td>
<td>Virtually nil</td>
<td>Commonly known to those over 30 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of tribal country and mythology:</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Considerable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{18}In 1968-69, the percentage of the Australian population over 15 years of age in receipt of old age, invalid and widow's pensions was 10\%. This figure was computed from figures available in the Commonwealth Year Book, 1970.
On the basis of the above comparisons, Coasttown has been ranked as having changed much more towards White Australians in culture than has Forestville. Since both groups originally stemmed from a homogeneous culture, it seems reasonable to think of the current communities as two points on a change scale from traditional Aboriginal culture at one extreme to full assimilation into White Australian culture at the other. In this sense, though the study is synchronic essentially, it can be thought of as diachronic, with the time lapse between the two communities of somewhere between 30 and fifty years.

White Control Groups

These two groups were not researched with the intensity used with the Coasttown and Forestville communities. The College group was selected because it was representative in a general way of what might be thought of as successful middle-class (without being critical of the precise meaning of this category) and also because all members of the College group were undergoing training to work in official programmes of assistance for Aborigines.

The Commune group was selected as a contrast to the College group; and was thought of, before interview, as a disenchanted middle-class grouping. As will be shown below, only about half the Commune members derive from the middle-class.
A comparative listing of facts about these two groups is given on the following page. The average age of the groups is comparable (22 & 20), as is the marital status. At that point the groups differ importantly. All the College group are committed to career work with Government agencies, whereas the members of the Commune are variously engaged in jobs or unemployed. Some of the jobs are below what one might expect on the basis of educational attainment.

The College group is more rural (33%) than the Commune members (15%) and only one (6%) of the College group was foreign born but this applied to four (20%) of Commune.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Commune</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average age:</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Church attendance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not attend:</td>
<td>2 (11%)</td>
<td>9 (45%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attends sometimes:</td>
<td>9 (50%)</td>
<td>8 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attends regularly:</td>
<td>7 (39%)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deserted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of Birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan:</td>
<td>11 (61%)</td>
<td>16 (80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural:</td>
<td>6 (33%)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated:</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign born:</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>Commune</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers-in-training:</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare officers-in-training:</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses:</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student nurses:</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students:</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Screen printer:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer operator:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen maid:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed:</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average income (workers only) $3000 $2100

Father's occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>Commune</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 x farmers</td>
<td>1 x professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 x station managers</td>
<td>1 x doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x agricultural advisor</td>
<td>1 x architect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x design engineer</td>
<td>1 x anthropologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x school teacher</td>
<td>1 x veterinary surgeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x mechanic</td>
<td>1 x E.D.P. manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x hairdresser</td>
<td>1 x wholesale butcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 x production managers</td>
<td>2 x public servants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 x office managers</td>
<td>1 x warehouse manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x toolmaker</td>
<td>1 x taxi driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x carpenter</td>
<td>1 x factory foreman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x defence forces</td>
<td>1 x cable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x police</td>
<td>1 x jointer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The employment status of the Commune members is very varied as compared with the College group who fall in only two categories but this is by selection. Of more importance is the fact that the average income of the College group is 50% above that of the Commune workers in which group 4 (20%) were unemployed at interview. This contrasts with the fact that the average salaries of the fathers of the groups stands in an opposite relationship; Commune fathers average salary was $8100 against College fathers average of $4300.
The occupations of the fathers of the College group might be described generally as solid middle to lower middle class, whereas those for the fathers of the Commune members are split between upper-middle class and working class. Put another way, the occupations of the College fathers might be thought of as filling the gap in the occupations of the Commune fathers.

Some of the College group from rural backgrounds are seeking security within the existing system by entering respectable occupations which will keep them in a rural environment, but others can be thought of as individuals who are dropping out of the system within it (being escapist) by ignoring job opportunities in the metropolitan environment of birth and seeking work in remote rural settings.¹⁹

The Commune members, on the other hand, have dropped out of the system by rejecting its goals of ambitious achievement, personal possessions, and material acquisitiveness. Some, but certainly not all have experimented with drugs (both hard and soft) and the smoking of marahuana is accepted as normal although only about sixty per cent of the group are themselves smokers. The members of this group are not political activists, but might better be described as passivist humanitarians.

Other important differences between these groups will be analysed in the following two chapters.

¹⁹ For discussion of this point in a similar situation, see Black, R.H., "The Health of Patrol Officers in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea", The Medical Journal of Australia, September, 26, 1959.
Chapter 5

SCHEDULE RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter are presented and discussed the data obtained from the values schedule, the Cornell Medical Index Health Questionnaire (CMI), and the attitude schedule, for each group.

Additionally, the material obtained from the schools concerning the children of the Forestville and Coasstown communities is presented.

The results from the different groups will be described and the validity of accepting the combined items results as representative of the individual item sets will be assessed. To do this the degree of consistency within each particular value item set will be examined.

Some within-group comparisons of the sub-groups based on age, sex and locality of residence will be made. This will define significant features of the groups and give some assessment of any consistent patterning of results emerging from the analysis. Particular interest will be taken in the age sub-groups because these are of direct importance to our major hypothesis.

The levels of statistical significance of the results obtained from all groups and sub-groups will be presented and examined. However, as was explained in the methodology presentation (p. 49) I will be more concerned with the overall patterning of these results than with the precise level of significance of any particular result.
FORESTVILLE

VALUE ORIENTATIONS

ACTIVITY

Statistical significance

Table 9 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined items and individual items by total group and sub-groups. The combined items are significant but only item 16 of the individual items reaches the 5 per cent level.

Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Item Analysis

The graphical presentation of Activity orientations for the Forestville sample are shown on the following page (Figure 2).

Forestville respondents showed a definite preference for "doing" over "being", with this choice being most pronounced in the over-thirty years of age group and least in those under thirty years. Females and settlement dwellers grouped with the young, while those living off the settlement and males grouped with the old. When the responses of the sub-groups are treated as a set of ranks, Kendall's coefficient of concordance shows significance at the one percent level \((s = 328.7, k = 5, n = 6)\), however this test suggests no significant difference between males and females.

Item 6, dealing with two people talking about the "way they liked to live", shows the most discrimination and the ordering of the sub-groups reflects those obtained when all five items are combined. The young and the old occupy the polar positions on this and all other items, with the young tending towards a neutral position on the scale (i.e. 50%) in distinction to the old sub-group which has a definite preference for "doing" as expressed by item 6: "I like doing things. I feel good when I have done something as well or better than other people. I like to see some results for my work."

Although the females fall on the "being" side of the mean, there is no clear-cut preference shown throughout the items on the basis of sex.

Item 16, the only individual item which is statistically significant, shows a high degree of agreement within the Forestville
Figure 2

ACTIVITY orientations.

Item responses are expressed as the percentage of the total responses of a group or sub-group, which chose "Being" in preference to "Doing."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
<th>(d)</th>
<th>(e)</th>
<th>(f)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settlement</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-settlement</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scale: %

0 20 40 60 80 100

Doing > Being  Doing = Being  Being > Doing

(a) All items combined.

(b) Item 1.

(c) Item 6.

(d) Item 11.

(e) Item 16.

(f) Item 21.
community on the ideal of female behaviour in the domestic setting, showing a strong preference for the sub-item: "My wife likes to work hard for her family and keeps herself busy most of the time. She enjoys getting lots of work done."

**RELATIONAL**

**Statistical significance**

Table 10 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined and individual items by group and sub-groups. The combined items and individual items 2, 7 and 12 are significant at the one per cent level, whereas items 17 and 22 fail to reach significance at the five per cent level.

**Item analysis**

Responses to the Relational items are presented graphically on page 157 (Figure 3). Forestville respondents are only positive on the individualism scale and weakly negative on both lineality and collaterality. Their adherence to individualism is weakly expressed.

Items 17 and 22 show the greatest within-group discrimination. In each case females, the young, and non-settlement dwellers are more individualistic than are males, the old, and settlement dwellers.

When the items are combined, only the non-settlement dwellers and females are distinguished from the settlement dwellers and males on the individuality scale. The movement shown by the young away from the old is in the direction of greater collaterality rather than increased individualism. This movement is most pronounced on
Figure 3

Forestville

RELATIONAL value responses on items 2, 7, 12, 17 and 22


(a) All items combined  Lineality

(b) Item 2

(c) Item 7

(d) Item 12

(e) Item 17

(f) Item 22
Table 10

Statistical Significance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value: REATIONAL</th>
<th>Group: FORESTVILLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%
* : indicates result significant at 5%
** : indicates result significant at 1%

F: females  S: settlement dwellers. N: Non-settlement dwellers

Test: Kendall's S. (see Tables 115-120, Appendix IV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

items 2 and 17, but on the other three items the graphs show a much smaller movement in the opposite direction. This is a distinction which we will find of some importance later when comparisons are made between the groups which are the subjects of this study.

TIME

Statistical significance.

Table 11, below, shows that all items, except 8, are significant at least at the five per cent level.
Table 11

Statistical Significance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value: TIME</th>
<th>Group: FORESTVILLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blank:</td>
<td>indicates result not significant at 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* :</td>
<td>indicates result significant at 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** :</td>
<td>indicates result significant at 1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T: total group. Y: < 30 years. O: > 30 years. M: males

Test: Kendall's S. (see Tables 127-133, Appendix IV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Item analysis

Forestville responses on the Time items are given graphically on the next page (Figure 4). These responses reveal a number of interesting details.

All items except 18 cluster in the graph segment "Future greater than Present greater than Past", while item 18 responses fall into the opposite segment "Present greater than Past greater than Future". Item 18 deals with change in religious ceremonies. The old and settlement dwellers chose the alternative: "I do not like the changes. Ceremonies should be
Figure 4
Forestville

TIME value responses on items 3, 8, 13, 18 and 23

N=Non-settlement dwellers.

(a) All items combined

(b) Item 3

(c) Item 8

(d) Item 13

(e) Item 18

(f) Item 23
kept the way they have always been," while the remaining sub-groups chose: "The way ceremonies are now is right. They should stay like they are now and not change any more."

At first thought it might seem that 18 should be regarded as a poor item and rejected, but we shall see later that the Forestville response is paralleled in the Coasttown data but not in that from the College or Commune groups. It apparently reflects a more traditional orientation still held with some strength in both Aboriginal communities. We saw earlier (pp. 138-144) that there was strong evidence for this at Forestville and some indication of lingering traditional influences at Coasttown (pp. 102-108). For these reasons the item is accepted and the combination of all five items will be used in the later comparisons. Included in Appendix IV are the details of analysis which excludes item 18, but these are not graphically presented.

The young, females and non-settlement dwellers are more positive on the Present orientation than are the old, males and settlement dwellers. Females rank lowest on the Future orientation and this is highlighted by the female responses to item 8, where they are weakly positive on the Past sub-item: "My children will have a hard life. Things are getting harder all the time. They won't even be as well off as I am now." One can only wonder what impact this is having on the primary socialisation of the present generation of children.
Table 12

Statistical Significance

Value: MAN/NATURE  Group: FORESTVILLE

Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%
* : indicates result significant at 5%
** : indicates result significant at 1%

T: total group.  Y: < 30 years.  O: > 30 years.  M: males
Test: Kendall's S.  (See Tables 140-147, Appendix IV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MAN/NATURE

Statistical significance

Table 12 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined and individual items by group and sub-groups. The combined items result is not significant, nor are the total results for items 4, 14 and 24. Individual items 9 and 19 are significant at the one per cent level.
**Item analysis**

On the next page (Figure 5) the Forestville responses on the Man/Nature items are presented graphically. It can be seen that there is a wide dispersion of the results from the individual items. This dispersion presents a problem. Can we have any confidence in these results?

The problem arises mainly from items 4 and 19 which fall into the segments where Subjugation to Nature is dominant. The other three items fall into the segments where living in Harmony with Nature is the dominant orientation.

Item 4 (Childhood Deaths) is expressed: "Three people were talking about a certain woman. Most of her children had died.," and Forestville respondents chose the sub-item: "You cannot blame her because these things happen sometimes and there was not much she could have done about it."

Item 19 (Weather) is expressed: "Three people were talking about storms and wind and rain.," and here the dominant choice was for: "Storms and wind and rain just come and nothing can be done to change them. Man has to put up with good times and bad."

These items seem to reflect "behavior-sphere variations"1 within Forestville value orientations, and we shall see later that they are also reflected in the other study groups.

The other three items cluster well, but when all items are combined the result suggests no agreement within the community on the

---

1 See Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, p. 121.
Figure 5
Forestville
MAN/NATURE value responses on items 4, 9, 14, 19, 24


(a) All items combined
Subjugation to nature

(b) Item 4
Subjugation to nature

(c) Item 9
Subjugation to nature

(d) Item 14
Subjugation to nature

(e) Item 19
Subjugation to nature

(f) Item 24
Subjugation to nature
Man/Nature value. This seems to be a distortion of the facts, and this problem will be considered further in the following chapter.

It is only on items 9 (Men and Nature) and 14 (Garden Care) that there are positive responses on the Mastery over Nature scale. In each case the young are more positive than the old. Only on items 4 and 14 is there a clearcut difference between males and females, and in each case males are more positive on the Mastery over nature scale.

The Settlement/Non-settlement comparison gives a generally more positive position to Mastery over Nature to the settlement dwellers, and this is particularly pronounced on items 4 and 14.

WORLD VIEW

Statistical significance

Table 13 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined and individual items by group and subgroups. All results, except that for settlement dwellers on item 15, are significant at the one per cent level. The exception is significant at five per cent.

These consistent and highly significant results, when compared with the Man/Nature series (p. 162), reinforce the argument presented (pp. 18-19) for the development and inclusion of the World View series of items in this study. We shall see later that the discrimination of the World View series of items holds consistently throughout all groups examined.
Table 13

**Statistical Significance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value: WORLD VIEW</th>
<th>Group: FORESTVILLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*: indicates result significant at 5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**: indicates result significant at 1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Test: Kendall's S (See Tables 156-161, Appendix IV).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Item analysis**

The graphical presentation of the Forestville results is given in Figure 6 (next page). The results cluster very well over all items with the combined items result indicating a roughly equal choice between the Spirituality and Balance orientations and show an outright rejection of Materiality as expressed in the five items.

The old, females and non-settlement dwellers show a consistently higher preference for Spirituality than do males, the young, and settlement dwellers.
Figure 6
Forestville
WORLD VIEW value responses on items 5, 10, 15, 20 and 25


(a) All items combined:

(b) Item 5:

(c) Item 10:

(d) Item 15:

(e) Item 20:

(f) Item 25
These results give confidence in accepting the combined items as fairly representing the Forestville orientations on this value.

HEALTH

Cornell Medical Index Health Questionaire Responses.

The detailed Forestville responses to the CMI are given in Appendix III (Table 106). Table 14 gives a summary of those results.

Remembering (p. 43) that a total of 30 or more "yes" responses on the whole CMI or three or more "yes" responses on the last page are symptomatic of a "medically significant emotional disturbance", it is clear that Forestville may be regarded as an emotionally disturbed community.

The average score over the whole CMI for the whole sample is 34.3, and no sub-group tested has an average score below 31. The average score for the whole sample on the last page is 11.7 and the lowest average for any sub-group is 9.6.

The young are more disturbed than the old, males more disturbed than females, and settlement dwellers more disturbed than those who are not settlement residents.

An analysis of the whole sample's responses on the last page (Table 15) reveals that Inadequacy, Sensitivity, Anger, Tension, Anxiety and Depression rank in that order in the extent of their importance (statistically, not clinically determined).

For the young Sensitivity drops to fourth place in ranking with anger and tension becoming of more importance. This latter point,
Table 14

FORESTVILLE Cornell Medical Index Health Questionnaire responses. Average number of "yes" responses by Section, by age, sex and locality. (Number in brackets is number of respondents).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group or sub-group</th>
<th>Sections</th>
<th>Total M - R</th>
<th>Total A - R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A - L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (19)</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;30 yrs (8)</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≥30 yrs (11)</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males (11)</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females (8)</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement (9)</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-settlement (10)</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15

FORESTVILLE - Moods and Feelings

"Yes" responses on the last page of the CMI expressed as a percentage of total responses, by sections M - R

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CMI section</th>
<th>&quot;yes&quot; responses as a % of possible &quot;yes&quot; responses</th>
<th>Rank Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M Inadequacy</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Depression</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Anxiety</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Sensitivity</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q Anger</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Tension</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total M - R</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

coupled with the high level of disturbance in the young, suggests that there is a high potential for violence in this community which, for the most part is presently directed inward perhaps because of the very high level of inadequacy felt by Forestville respondents.

Physical symptoms (Sections A-L) (Table 14) shows a high level of perceived ill-health at Forestville, which is expressing itself, not only as disturbed moods and feelings but also in those symptoms for which some medical therapy would commonly be sought.
At the individual level, sixty three per cent of Forestville respondents had more than 29 "yes" responses on the whole CMI and more than two "yes" responses on the last page of the CMI. This confirms that the disturbance noted above is widely felt throughout the community.

ATTITUDES

Forestville responses to the attitude items are given in Appendix III (Table 110). These responses show an overall positive set of attitudes, but the responses are noteworthy in that very few informants expressed a response in the form either "strongly agree" or "strongly disagree".

One respondent made a point of seeking me out on the day following his interview, to request that he be allowed to change his response to one item: ("Aboriginal women should never marry white men."). He had disagreed with this statement the previous day. He explained that he had been thinking over what we had talked about and realised that he had not meant to disagree with this statement. He then said: "People should stick to their own colour. If they don't they only make half-breeds and mongrels." The informant was himself a full-blood Aboriginal. He changed his response to "strongly agree" with the statement in question.

The whole sample showed negative attitudes on eight items, as follows:

They disagreed with: "The more white women marry Aboriginal men, the better.", and "Most policemen treat Aborigines very well.".
They agreed with:

"If a white man and an Aborigine both work for the same boss, it's always the Aborigine who gets the sack first."

"Aboriginal women should never marry white men."

"There is no satisfaction in working hard."

"Most policemen treat Aborigines worse than they do white men."

"Aborigines can't save any money because they don't get paid enough to live on."

"The first white people in Australia were thieves who stole the land from the Aborigines."

Four of these statements express negative attitudes to white Australians generally, two to policemen (who may also be thought of as white Australians), while three statements indicate negative attitudes to work, the work situation, or the rewards for work.

EDUCATION

The data obtained from the schools at Forestville is not presented in detail because an undertaking was given to the N.S.W. Department of Education that the material would not be used in a way that could possibly lead to it being identified with an individual child.

Information was obtained from the Forestville schools on 66 children - all the children from the Aboriginal community who were in school in 1968-69. For various reasons all information was not available for all children. For example, I.Q. tests results were available for only 27 children - the remainder were generally too young to have been assessed (various A.C.E.R. group tests were used).
One child was recorded as having a test result "Too Low to Assess" and was excluded from the figures given here. The average I.Q. of the remainder was 75.5, the median 74.5, and the range from 59 - 95. The results approximated a normal distribution around the median. Ten children had been tested more than once, and in each case the highest figure was used in computing the figures given above. This is a conservative procedure in that it tends to minimise the difference from the expected median of 100.

Teachers were asked to give a figure for each child for "estimated educational retardation". This was supplied for 47 children. The average retardation was 2.8 years, the median 3 years, and the range from 0 - 5 years of educational retardation on teacher assessment.

Absences for the whole school year 1968 were recorded from class rolls. This information was available for 56 children. The average days absent was 59.2, the median days absent 53.5, and the mode fell in the category 20 - 39 days absent. One child was not absent from school on any day, and at the other extreme there were three children who were absent for more than 120 days. There were 202 school days in 1968, so the median child was absent for 26.5% of the school year.

High school children were present more frequently than those at primary school. The average high school pupil was absent on 36.6 days, while the median child was absent from high school on 24 days. Among the 11 high school students for whom a full year record
was available, three were absent for more than 70 days.

These figures all suggest that despite the favourable attitudes expressed towards school teachers by the Aborigines, the schools had very weak attractive power for the Aboriginal children.

Most absences from school were unexplained, and of those where excuse was offered, sickness was the major reason.

Two schools enrolled 62 of the 66 children. In the one case Aboriginal children represented 22.9% of the total enrollment, and in the other case 10.6%.

\[ \text{COASTTOWN} \]

\text{VALUE ORIENTATIONS}

\text{ACTIVITY}

\underline{Statistical significance}

Table 16 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined items and individual items by total group and sub-groups. The combined items and individual items 1, 11 and 21 are all significant at the five per cent level. The sub-group comparisons are also significant except in the case of items 6 and 16.

\underline{Item Analysis}

The graphical presentation of Activity orientations for the Forestville sample are shown on page 176 (Figure 7).
Table 16

**Statistical Significance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coasttown respondents showed a definite preference for "doing" over "being" and this holds for all individual items except item 6 ("the way they liked to live") where the preference is reversed.

When all items are combined, the young, females and non-settlement dwellers show a stronger preference for "being" than do the old, males and settlement dwellers. However, we cannot have confidence in this result since when the individual item results are treated as ranks of sub-groups, Kendall's coefficient of concordance is not significant at the five per cent level (s = 118.5, k = 5, n = 6).
COASTTOWN

**ACTIVITY orientations**

Item responses are expressed as the percentage of the total responses of a group or sub-group, which chose "Being" in preference to "Doing".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-settlement</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scale: %

- Doing > Being
- Doing = Being
- Being > Doing

(a) All items combined

(b) Item 1

(c) Item 6

(d) Item 11

(e) Item 16

(f) Item 21
Item 1 (employer selection) showed most discrimination among the sub-groups. Males, settlement dwellers and the old preferred the boss who was a "hard man who expected his men to work really hard and not take time off, but the wages he paid were very high", while the young, females and non-settlement dwellers preferred the boss who "paid just enough wages for his men to get along on, but he did not expect them to work too hard, and did not mind if they had time off to have fun or go visiting".

**RELATIONAL**

**Statistical significance.**

Table 16 (a) shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined and individual items by group and sub-groups. The combined items, and individual items, 2, 12 and 17 are significant at the one per cent level, whereas items 7 and 22 fail to reach significance at the five per cent level.

**Item analysis.**

Responses to the Relational items are presented graphically in Figure 8 (p. 179). Coasttown respondents are positive only on the Individualism scale but this is weakly expressed. They are slightly negative on both Lineality and Collaterality.

The young, non-settlement dwellers and females are consistently more positive on Collaterality than are the old, settlement dwellers and males.
Table 16(a)

**Statistical Significance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value: RELATIONAL</th>
<th>Group: COASTTOWN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%</td>
<td><strong>indicates result significant at 5%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* : indicates result significant at 5%</td>
<td><strong>indicates result significant at 1%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**T:** total group. **Y:** < 30 years. **O:** > 30 years. **M:** males. **F:** females. **S:** settlement dwellers. **N:** Non-settlement dwellers.

**Test:** Kendall's S (See Tables 115-120, Appendix IV).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No clear pattern of differences on Individualism emerges, but certainly there is no significant change among the young towards greater Individualism. This is important in education and in the economic sphere. Success, in Australian middle class terms demands a strong idea of individual responsibility and effort. It is only on Item 7 (Family Authority) that the young are clearly more individualistic than the old, but even in this case the distribution of subgroup positions is suggestive of a rejection of Lineality rather than a positive acceptance of Individualism among the young.
Figure 8
Coasttown
RELATIONAL value responses on items 2, 7, 12, 17 and 22.


(a) All items combined:

(b) Item 2:

(c) Item 7:

(d) Item 12:

(e) Item 17:

(f) Item 22:
Collaterality is expressed most positively by the group and sub-groups on item 17 (Cattle Inheritance), with females and the young being more positive than other sub-groups.

Item 22 (Work Style) shows greatest preference for Lineality and the young, females and non-settlement dwellers reject the idea of individual responsibility in the work situation.

Decisions on family migration are seen as an individual matter for the father (Item 2). There is more within-group agreement on this item than any other and it yields the highest positive responses on the Individualism scale.

TIME

Statistical significance.

Table 17 gives the statistical significance of group and sub-group responses on combined and individual items of the Time sequence.

Only individual items 18 and 23 fail to reach at least the five per cent level of significance for the sub-group analysis.

Item Analysis.

Coasttown responses on the Time items are presented graphically in Figure 9 (p. 182).

On the combined items there is little within-group discrimination. Insomuch as there is discrimination, the young, females and non-settlement dwellers are more positive on the Present orientation than are the old, settlement dwellers and males. They are also slightly more negative on both Past and Future orientations than their
Table 17

Statistical Significance

Value: TIME
Group: COASTTOWN

Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%
*: indicates result significant at 5%
**: indicates result significant at 1%

Test: Kendall's S (See Tables 127-133, Appendix IV).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

counterparts. Though the young are somewhat different from the old on Time orientations, the movement has not been in the direction of a stronger Future orientation.

What was said about item 18 in the case of Forestville (pp.159 and 161) applies with equal force at Coasttown.

The responses on items 3 and 13 show that the young were more positive on the Future orientation than any other sub-group, but the opposite is the case for items 8 and 18. On the one hand they prefer
Figure 9
Coasttown
TIME value responses on items 3, 8, 13, 18 and 23.

(a) All items combined

(b) Item 3

(c) Item 8

(d) Item 13

(e) Item 18

(f) Item 23
the statements: "It is best to get children to think about the future and learn new ways to live.", and "I believe that things get better all the time. If we work hard now the future will be better than the present.". On the other hand they prefer "My children will have a hard life. Things are getting harder all the time. They won't even be as well off as I am now." and "I do not like changes. Ceremonies should be kept the way they have always been." Perhaps these respondents believe they ought to behave in a certain way, but have no confidence that such activity will change their circumstances in any significant way.

MAN/NATURE

Statistical significance.

Table 18 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined and individual items by group and sub-groups. The results of the combined items and those for items 4 and 24 are not significant. Individual items 9, 14 and 19 results are significant at the one per cent level.

Item Analysis.

In Figure 10 (p. 185) the Coasttown responses on the Man/Nature series of items are presented graphically.

As was the case with Forestville, the individual item responses are dispersed in such a way that their combined effect is one of neutrality (Figure 5 (a), p. 164).
Table 18

Statistical Significance

Value: MAN/NATURE  
Group: COASTTOWN

Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%
* : indicates result significant at 5%
** : indicates result significant at 1%

Test: Kendall's S (See Tables 140-147, Appendix IV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So far as there is discrimination, Coasttown respondents prefer living in Harmony-with-nature over Subjugation-to-nature over Mastery-over-nature.

Females and non-settlement dwellers cluster together consistently, as opposed to males and settlement dwellers. The age analysis does not produce consistent results.
Figure 10
Coasttown
MAN/NATURE value responses on items 4, 9, 14, 19 and 24.


(a) All items combined
Subjugation to nature

(b) Item 4
Subjugation to nature

(c) Item 9
Subjugation to nature

(d) Item 14
Subjugation to nature

(e) Item 19
Subjugation to nature

(f) Item 24
Subjugation to nature
Item 19 (Weather) shows a high positive orientation to Subjugation-to-nature but this is not reflected in other items. On the other hand, Item 14 (Garden Care) shows a positive response to Mastery-over-nature which, in its turn, is not reflected in the other four items.

Combinations of items 4 and 19, and of items 9, 14 and 24 (not graphically presented) show more discrimination, but we have to question if this combination is justified. Reference will again be made to this point in the following chapter.

Table 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statutory Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Value: WORLD VIEW Group: COASTTOWN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>* : indicates result significant at 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** : indicates result significant at 1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WORLD VIEW

Statistical significance

Table 19 (above) shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined items and individual items by total group and sub-groups. All totals are significant at the one per cent level. All sub-group comparisons are significant at least at the five per cent level.

As was the case with the Forestville sample, the statistical significance of the World View items is consistently high, and this is in marked contrast to the Man/Nature responses.

Item Analysis

Responses to the World View items are presented graphically in Figure 11 (p. 188). Coasttown respondents are positive on both the Balance and Spirituality scales, although a positive position on Spirituality is not held consistently throughout all individual items.

The old and males are consistently more Spiritual than the young and females. There is no consistent pattern in this regard for the Settlement - non-settlement comparison.

All items cluster well in the Balance-greater-than-Spirituality-greater-than-Materiality segments of the graphs.

The change on World View orientations between the old and the young is in the direction of a more negative position on the Spirituality scale and a more positive position on both the Balance and Materiality scales. The young are positive only on the Balance scale, while the old are positive on both the Spirituality and Balance scales.
Figure 11
Coasttown
WORLD VIEW responses on items 5, 10, 15, 20 and 25.


(a) All items combined: Spirituality

(b) Item 5: Spirituality

(c) Item 10: Spirituality

(d) Item 15: Spirituality

(e) Item 20: Spirituality

(f) Item 25: Spirituality
Females tend to cluster with the young and males with the old. Insomuch as there is difference between settlement and non-settlement dwellers, it tends to associate non-settlement dwellers with the young and settlement dwellers with the old.

**HEALTH**

**Cornell Medical Index Health Questionnaire Responses.**

The detailed Coasttown responses to the CMI are given in Appendix III (Table 107). Table 20 gives a summary of those responses (see Chapter 4 for health environment).

The average score over the whole CMI for the Coasttown sample is 24.5, and no sub-group tested has an average greater than 30.5. This means that the Coasttown sub-group (females) with the highest score on the CMI have a lower score than the Forestville sub-group (females) with the lowest score for that community. In the following chapter when a direct comparison of the communities is made, the question of why females achieve the highest CMI in the one community and the lowest in the other will be considered.

The average score on the last page of the CMI for the whole Coasttown sample is 6.7, and the highest average for any sub-group (females) is 9.2 which is below the lowest sub-group average for Forestville.

The young have a lower score than the old over the whole CMI, but score higher than the old on the last page. Females score higher than males on both the whole CMI and on the last page. Settlement dwellers score higher than those who live off settlements.
Table 20

COASTTOWN Cornell Medical Index Health Questionnaire responses. Average number of "yes" responses by section, by age, sex and locality. (Number in brackets is number of informants.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group or sub-group</th>
<th>Sections</th>
<th>Total M - R</th>
<th>Total A - R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A - L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (33)</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 30 yrs (16)</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 30 yrs (17)</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males (18)</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females (15)</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settlement (14)</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-settlement (19)</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 21

COASTTOWN - Moods and Feelings

"Yes" responses on the last page of the CMI expressed as a percentage of the total responses by Sections M - R.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CMI section</th>
<th>&quot;yes&quot; responses as a % of possible &quot;yes&quot; responses.</th>
<th>Rank order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M Inadequacy</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Depression</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Anxiety</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Sensitivity</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q Anger</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Tension</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals M - R</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twenty-one per cent of respondents scored more than 29 on the whole CMI and more than two on the last page. However, if three "yes" responses on the last page are symptomatic of emotional disturbance, then, 58% of the Coasttown sample are in this category.

An analysis of the Coasttown responses on the last page of the CMI (Table 21 above) shows that Anger, Inadequacy, Tension, Sensitivity Anxiety and Depression rank in that order of statistical importance. However, the levels achieved at Coasttown are down very much on the
Forestville figures (p. 170). Again a potential for violence is noted as important, and again it is coupled with Inadequacy.

ATTITUDES

Coasttown responses to the attitude items are given in Appendix III (Tables 111-112). Over the whole range of the items, Coasttown respondents were generally positive in their attitudes. More Coasttown respondents took the extreme positions on items than occurred at Forestville.

Negative attitudes were expressed at Coasttown on the following items:

Coasttown respondents disagreed with:

"The more white women marry Aboriginal men, the better."

"Most policemen treat Aborigines very well."

They agreed with:

"Most white people treat Aborigines like dirt."

"If a white man and an Aborigine both work for the same boss, it's always the Aborigine who gets the sack first."

"Most policemen treat Aborigines worse than they do white men."

"The first white people in Australia were thieves who stole the land from the Aborigines."

All these items express negative attitudes to white people, and this is somewhat surprising since we have already noted (p. 88) that there is a good deal of intermarriage between Aborigines and whites at Coasttown, and that some of these marriages involved white
women. Despite this, in a situation where there is a shortage of Aboriginal women for the men to marry, Coasttown Aborigines do not agree that the "more white women marry Aboriginal men, the better".

Coasttown attitude responses are more positive than those from Forestville, but in the critical area of ethnic relations Coasttown Aborigines hold negative attitudes towards the general community into which they are currently integrating.

EDUCATION

At Coasttown in July, 1971, 243 Aboriginal children included in this study were attending 13 different schools in the area. Of that number, 182 were in infants or primary classes and 61 were attending high school. Of those at high school, 13 were 15 years of age and a further 5 were 16 years old. Only 4 of these children remaining at high school beyond the permissible leaving age had reached the fourth form.

In four of the schools (all small), Aboriginal children represented more than ten per cent of the school enrollment. In the extreme case, Aboriginal children were 34.5% of the total enrollment.

From all schools, I.Q. assessments were available for 127 children. In all cases where more than one test had been administered, the highest score was accepted. The average I.Q. was 84.8, the median 84, and the range from 51 - 125. At the upper extreme of this range there were four children with I.Q.'s in excess of 110: all were members of one family living in the town throughout their lives, the children of an Aboriginal father and a White mother.
Absences from school during the whole of the 1970 school year were recorded for 193 children. The average was 27.3 days absent, the range was from 0 (in four cases) to 109 in a school year of 207 days. The median child was absent for 22 days during 1970; that is, for 10.6% of the time.

Teachers' estimations of children's educational retardation were recorded for 189 children; the average was 1.4 years, the median 1 year, the mode less than 1 year, and the range was from 0 - 7.5 years.

Grim as this information seems, it is still less disastrous than the school information reported for the children from Forestville.

---

**COLLEGE**

**VALUE ORIENTATIONS**

**ACTIVITY**

**Statistical significance.**

Table 22 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined items and individual items by total group and sub-groups. The combined items and individual items 6, 16 and 21 are not significant. Only items 1 and 11 reach the five per cent level of significance for both total group and sub-groups.
Table 22

Statistical Significance

Value: ACTIVITY  
Group: COLLEGE

Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%
* : indicates result significant at 5%
** : indicates result significant at 1%

Test: Binomial analysis (See Tables 180-185, Appendix V).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Item Analysis

The graphical presentation of Activity orientations for the College group are shown on the following page (Figure 12).

College respondents showed a slight preference for "being" over "doing" on the combined items, with little to distinguish males from females.

In contrast, in response to item 1 (Employer Selection) College showed an extreme preference for "doing". Their choice for "doing" also applied in the generalised case of item 6 (Life Way: "I like
Figure 12

**ACTIVITY Orientations**

Item responses are expressed as the percentage of the total responses of a group or sub-group, which chose "Being" in preference to "Doing."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scale:

- **Doing > Being**
- **Doing = Being**
- **Being > Doing**

(a) All items combined

(b) Item 1

(c) Item 6

(d) Item 11

(e) Item 16

(f) Item 21
doing things. I feel good when I have done something as well or better than other people. I like to see some results for my work.

Again in contrast, their responses to the specific situation of item 11 (Boat Care) showed an extreme preference for "being".

Items 16 (Wives) and 21 (Leisure) brought definite responses in favour of "being".

In summary, it appears that while College respondents preferred "doing" in the job situation, and in a generalised way, their preferences are for "being" in the non-work specific situations of life.

Table 23
Statistical Significance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value: RELATIONAL</th>
<th>Group: COLLEGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* : indicates result significant at 5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**: indicates result significant at 1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Test: Kendall's S (See Tables 121-126, Appendix IV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RELATIONAL

Statistical significance

Table 23 (above) shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined and individual items by group and sub-groups. All totals are significant at the one per cent level, and all but one of the sub-groups responses are significant at least at the five per cent level.

Item Analysis

Responses to the Relational items are presented graphically in Figure 13 (on the following page). College respondents are highly positive on the Individualism scale and also consistently positive on the Collaterality scale, but at a lower level. These results show an almost total rejection of the Lineality sub-items and this rejection is consistent throughout all items with the possible exception of female responses to item 17.

Item 17 (Cattle Inheritance) is also the only item on which Collaterality slightly outscores Individualism as a first preference for the whole group and for the males. Otherwise, there is a strong preference for Individualism over Collaterality over Lineality.

In this ordering males are slightly more extreme than females, but this does not hold consistently over all the items. Generally, there is no clearcut difference between the sexes.
Figure 13
College
Relational responses on items 2, 7, 12, 17 and 22.
T = Total group  M = Males.  F = Females.
TIME

Statistical significance

Table 24 gives the statistical significance of group and sub-group responses on combined and individual items of the Time sequence.

All totals are significant at the one per cent level, and all but one of the sub-group responses are significant at least at the five per cent level. There is nothing exceptional in these results.

Table 24
Statistical Significance

| Value: TIME | Group: COLLEGE |
|------------------------------------------|
| Blank: indicates result not significant at 5% |
| * : indicates result significant at 5% |
| ** : indicates result significant at 1% |
| Test: Kendall's S (See Tables 134-139, Appendix IV). |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group of Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Item Analysis

College responses on the Time items are presented graphically in Figure 14 (on following page).

There is a high level of consistency within these results and strong clustering within the graph segment Future-preferred-to-Present-preferred-to-Past. College respondents are strongly positive on the Future scale and strongly negative on the Past.

Items 3, 8 and 13 give positive responses on the Present scale, but those for items 18 and 23 are negative.

Item 18 responses are unlike those obtained from Aborigines at Forestville and Coasttown where the responses were negative on the Future scale for that item.

No clearcut differences exist on the basis of sex. What differences there are suggest a slightly more extreme position for males on both Future and Past scales, but little emphasis should be placed on this.

MAN/NATURE

Statistical significance

Table 25 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined and individual items by group and sub-groups. The results of the combined items and for item 24 are not significant. Items 4, 9, 14 and 19 yield results which are significant at least at the five per cent level.

Here, as in the Forestville and Coasttown cases, the individual items, when combined, tend to neutralise each other.
Figure 14
College
TIME responses on items 3, 8, 13, 18 and 23.
T=Total group. M=Males. F=Females.

(a) All items combined.

(b) Item 3.

(c) Item 8.

(d) Item 13.

(e) Item 18.

(f) Item 23.
Table 25

Statistical Significance

Value: MAN/NATURE       Group: COLLEGE

Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%
* : indicates result significant at 5%
** : indicates result significant at 1%


Test: Kendall's S (See Tables 148-155, Appendix IV).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
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<td>combined</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Item Analysis**

In Figure 15 (on following page) the College responses on the Man/Nature series of items are presented graphically.

Items 4 and 19 (Childhood Deaths and the Weather) are positive on Subjugation-to-Nature, and item 4 is very strongly positive. The orientations for these two items are: Subjugation-to-Nature preferred to Mastery-over-Nature preferred to living in Harmony-with-Nature.

In these situations College respondents seem to see it as a clearcut issue: man can or man cannot control, rather than giving any
Figure 15

College

MAN/NATURE responses on items 4, 9, 14, 19 and 24.

T=Total group. M=Males. F=Females.

(a) All items combined: Subjugation to nature

(b) Item 4:

(c) Item 9:

(d) Item 14:

(e) Item 19:

(f) Item 24:
recognition to the possibility that man might work in Harmony-with-Nature. On both items males are more positive to Subjugation-to-Nature than are females.

On the other three items College, as a group, prefer Harmony-with-Nature over Mastery-over-Nature over Subjugation-to-Nature.

The combination (not graphically presented) of items 4 and 19 and of 9, 14 and 24 yield results which are significant at the one percent level.

Generally, females are slightly more positive than males on the Harmony-with-Nature scale; and males are more positive than females on the Mastery-over-Nature scale. There is no clearcut difference between the sexes on Subjugation-to-Nature.

WORLD VIEW

Statistical significance

Table 26 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined items and individual items by total group and sub-groups. All totals are significant at the one percent level. All but two of the sub-group results are significant at least at the five percent level.

Item Analysis

College responses to the World View items are presented graphically in Figure 16 (p. 207).

Generally the results show a high level of consistency and of discrimination on the basis of sex. The combined items show that Balance is preferred to Spirituality is preferred to Materiality. However,
Table 26

Statistical Significance

Value: WORLD VIEW  
Group: COLLEGE

Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%  
* : indicates result significant at 5%  
**: indicates result significant at 1%

T: total group.  M: males.  F: females

Test: Kendall's S (See Tables 162-167, Appendix IV).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
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<td>combined</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16(a) shows that on combined items males have Materiality as second preference, as opposed to females who follow the pattern of the total group.

Females are consistently much more positive than males on the Spirituality scale, and more negative on the Materiality scale. This discrimination between the sexes is completely consistent on all items. There is no consistent distinction between the sexes on the Balance scale.
Figure 16
College
WORLD VIEW responses on items 5, 10, 15, 20 and 25.
T = Total group. M = Males. F = Females.
These results contrast importantly with those obtained on the College Man/Nature series. Here, where the distinction is between Spiritual or Material ascendancy in man's World View, we find our respondents have a consistent position over the whole range of the items; whereas, in the Man/Nature series, our respondents distinguish between those areas where technology can intervene from those areas where it is seen to have little or no impact. The conceptual problem raised in Chapter 2 appears to be only partly resolved by the way in which values have been conceptualised in the schedule used in this study.

**HEALTH**

**Cornell Medical Index Health Questionaire Responses.**

The detailed College responses to the CMI are given in Appendix III (Table 108). Table 27 gives a summary of those responses.

The College group have an average score over the whole CMI of 19.7. Males had an average of 16.6 and females averaged 22.1.

On the last page of the CMI the College group had an average of 6.6 "yes" responses; the male average was 4.8 and that for females was 8.0.

Seventeen per cent of this group scored more than 29 on the whole CMI and more than 2 on the last page. This is a high figure for a group of people being trained to assist with the solution of other people's problems. If three or more "yes" responses on the last page of the CMI alone are symptomatic of emotional disturbance, then 67% of College respondents are in that category.
An analysis of the College responses on the last page of the CMI (Table 28) shows that the sections rank in the following order:

Inadequacy, Anger, Sensitivity, Depression, Anxiety and Tension from greatest to least important.

When compared with Aboriginal responses, we note a depression of the importance of Anger and Tension and an upgrading of the importance of Sensitivity and Depression. But even though Inadequacy ranks highest for the College group, the percentage of "yes" responses on this section is less than half that recorded for the Forestville respondents.
Table 28

COLLEGE - Moods and Feelings

"Yes" responses on the last page of the CMI expressed as a percentage of total responses by Sections M - R.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CMI section</th>
<th>&quot;yes&quot; responses as a % of possible &quot;yes&quot; responses.</th>
<th>Rank order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M Inadequacy</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Depression</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Anxiety</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Sensitivity</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q Anger</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Tension</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total M - R</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ATTITUDES

College responses to the attitude items are given in Appendix III (Table 113). Over the whole range of the items, College respondents were generally positive in their attitudes. Many more College respondents took extreme positions than did Aborigines from either Forestville or Coasttown. College respondents expressed negative attitudes on more individual items than did either of the Aboriginal groups. The range of
items over which College respondents expressed negative attitudes was more varied than for either of the Aboriginal groups.

The College group disagreed with:

"The more white women marry Aboriginal men, the better."

"Working is more important than having a good time"

"Aborigines have as much chance as anyone else to get a good job."

"The more things change, the better life gets."

"Most school teachers think Aborigines are clever."

"Most policemen treat Aborigines very well."

"Having money saved up is more important than having a good time."

"If you save your money other people will try to help you."

The group agreed with:

"If a white man and an Aborigine both work for the same boss, it's always the Aborigine who gets the sack first."

"Most policemen treat Aborigines worse than they do white men."

The attitudes expressed show that College respondents see Aborigines as socially disadvantaged in employment and in their dealings with police. They also show an emphasis on pleasure rather than work, and some disillusionment with change as a means to life improvement. This latter attitude is somewhat surprising in a group whose value orientation on Time shows a very strong preference for the future.
VALUE ORIENTATIONS

ACTIVITY

Statistical significance.

Table 29 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined items and individual items by total group and subgroups. The combined items and individual items 11 and 16 are significant at least at the five per cent level, but items 1, 6 and 21 are not significant.

Table 29
Statistical Significance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value: ACTIVITY</th>
<th>Group: COMMUNE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* : indicates result significant at 5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** : indicates result significant at 1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Test: Binomial analysis (See Tables 186-191, Appendix V)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Item Analysis

The graphical presentation of Activity orientations for the Commune group are shown on the following page (Figure 17).

Commune respondents showed a definite preference for "being" over "doing" on the combined items, with little to distinguish males from females.

Only on item 6 (Life Way) did a sub-group (males) choose "doing" in preference to "being". Males preference on this item was for the sub-item: "I like doing things. I feel good when I have done something as well or better than other people. I like to see some results for my work." However, even in this case the preference was not strongly expressed.

It is on item 1 (Employer Selection) that there is most contrast with the College group. Commune respondents chose "being" over "doing", whereas College responses showed an extreme preference for "doing" on this item.

Commune have clearly rejected work as a good in its own right, seeing it as instrumental only. The emphasis in Commune responses is on "living" rather than "doing". Their responses suggest a willingness to accept a reduced standard of living in order to attain this objective. However, Commune females appear to be less convinced in this position than do the males.
COMMUNE

Figure 17  ACTIVITY orientations

Item responses are expressed as the percentage of the total responses of a group or sub-group, which chose "Being" in preference to "Doing".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scale: %  
0 20 40 60 80 100  
Doing > Being  Doing = Being  Being > Doing

(a) All items combined

(b) Item 1.

(c) Item 6.

(d) Item 11.

(e) Item 16.

(f) Item 21.
RELATIONAL

Statistical significance.

Table 30 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined and individual items by group and sub-groups. All totals are significant at the one per cent level, and all but one of the sub-groups responses are significant at least at the five per cent level.

Table 30
Statistical Significance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value: RELATIONAL</th>
<th>Group: COMMUNE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>* : indicates result significant at 5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** : indicates result significant at 1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T: total group. M: males. F: females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Test: Kendall's S (See Tables 121-126, Appendix IV).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>**</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 18
Commune
RELATIONAL responses on items 2, 7, 12, 17 and 22.
T=Total group.  M=Males.  F=Females.
(a) All items combined:

(b) Item 2:

(c) Item 7:

(d) Item 12:

(e) Item 17:

(f) Item 22:
**Item Analysis**

Responses to the Relational items are presented graphically in Figure 18 (see previous page). Commune respondents are highly negative on the Lineality scale, and about equally positive on both the Collaterality and Individualism scales. On the combined items the group's preferences are for Collaterality over Individualism over Lineality, but this ordering does not hold true over all the individual items. Responses on item 2 (Migration) fall wholly within the segment Individualism over Collaterality over Lineality; and females on item 7 (Family Authority) and males on item 12 (Selecting a Delegate) also show the same ordering of preferences.

Despite these variations, it can be seen from Figure 18 (see above, p. 216), that there is general agreement over the whole range of items, with marked clustering of responses.

Commune respondents differ from those of the College group in a weaker adherence to Individualism and a compensating emphasis on Collaterality. There is little difference between the groups on their rejection of the Lineality orientation.

**TIME**

Table 31 gives the statistical significance of the group and subgroup responses on combined and individual items of the Time sequence.
Table 31

Statistical Significance

Value: TIME  
Group: COMMUNE

Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%
* : indicates result significant at 5%
** : indicates result significant at 1%


Test: Kendall's S (See Tables 134-139, Appendix IV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>13</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All totals are significant at the one per cent level, and all but one of the sub-groups' responses are significant at least at the five per cent level. There is nothing particularly noteworthy in these findings.

Item Analysis

Commune responses on the Time items are presented graphically in Figure 19 (see following page).
Figure 19
Commune
TIME responses on items 3, 8, 13, 18 and 23.
T=Total group. M=Males. F=Females.

(a) All items combined:

(b) Item 3:

(c) Item 8:

(d) Item 13:

(e) Item 18:

(f) Item 23:
As with the College responses, Commune responses on the Time items fall in the Future-preferred-to-Present-preferred-to-Past segment of the graph with the exception of item 13 (Life Expectations). Commune respondents chose Present over Future over Past on item 13; their first choice being for the sub-item: I believe it is best just to think about what is happening now. The past is finished and no-one can be sure of the future.

Females are slightly less extreme in their choices than are males when all items are combined, but it is noteworthy that on item 13 (Life Expectations) and item 23 (Making a Plan), the reverse is the case.

Generally, there is a high level of consistency in the responses on Time items for the Commune group, and their position on the combined items does not differ radically from that of the College group.

Responses to item 18 (Ceremonial Change) are consistent with those obtained from the College group and contrast with those obtained from both Forestville and Coasttown respondents. It is clear then that this item discriminates clearly between the Aboriginal and White groups within this study.

MAN/NATURE

Statistical significance

Table 32 shows the significance of the analysis of the results of the combined and individual items by group and sub-groups. The results of the combined items and for item 14 are not significant, but the results for items 4, 9, 19 and 24 totals are all significant at the one per cent level.
Table 32

Statistical Significance

Value: MAN/NATURE  
Group: COMMUNE.

Blank: indicates result not significant at 5%
* : indicates result significant at 5%
** : indicates result significant at 1%

Test: Kendall's S (See Tables 148-155, Appendix IV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results reflect those obtained from the other groups and give added weight to dissatisfaction with the Man/Nature series of items, or to the conceptualisation of the Man/Nature value orientations.

Item Analysis.

Commune responses to the Man/Nature series of items are presented graphically in Figure 20 (see following page).

Again we find that Commune responses on items 4 and 19 (Childhood Deaths and Weather respectively) do not show the same preferences
Figure 20
Commune
MAN/NATURE responses on items 4, 9, 14, 19 and 24.
T = total group. M = Males. F = Females.

(a) All items combined: Subjugation to nature

(b) Item 4: Subjugation to nature

(c) Item 9: Subjugation to nature

(d) Item 14: Subjugation to nature

(e) Item 19: Subjugation to nature

(f) Item 24: Subjugation to nature

On the combined items females are more positive than males on the Subjugation-to-Nature scale, and this holds true for the individual items with the exception of item 24 (Long Life) where the reverse is the case.

Generally, it can be seen from Figure 20 graphs that Commune respondents have little or no confidence in man's ability to have mastery over Nature. This result is slightly more marked in the Commune case than in the College results.

WORLD VIEW

Statistical significance

Table 33 shows the significance of the results of the analysis of the combined and individual items by group and sub-groups. The combined items results are significant at the one per cent level. However, only four of the five individual item totals are significant at least at the five per cent level, item 20 result being non-significant statistically. Only two of the ten sub-group individual item results are statistically significant. Here, as in the case of the other groups, we are dealing with small numbers.
Table 33

Statistical Significance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Group or Sub-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Item Analysis

Commune responses to the World View items are presented graphically in Figure 21 (see following page).

The results show a high level of consistency with good clustering in the segment Balance preferred to Spirituality preferred to Materiality. It is only on item 20 (Child Care) that the results show a second preference for Materiality rather than Spirituality.
Figure 21
Commune
WORLD VIEW responses on items 5, 10, 15, 20 and 25.
T=Total group  M=Males  F=Females.

(a) All items combined:

(b) Item 5:

(c) Item 10:

(d) Item 15:

(e) Item 20:

(f) Item 25:
The discrimination on the basis of sex indicated in the College World View results are not replicated in the Commune responses. Insofar as there is discrimination, Commune males are more positive on the Spirituality scale than are females. This is the opposite of the College result. Only item 5 (Priorities in Life) shows clearcut discrimination between the sexes, and this result bears out the general observation that Commune males are more positive on the Spirituality scale than are females.

HEALTH

Cornell Medical Index Health Questionaire Responses.

The detailed Commune responses to the CMI are given in Appendix III (Table 109). Table 34 gives a summary of those responses.

The Commune group have an average score over the whole CMI of 21.3. Males had an average of 23.7 and females of 19.1

On the last page of the CMI the Commune group had an average of 6.6 "yes" responses; the male average was 6.4 and that for females 6.8.

Twenty per cent of the Commune group scored more than 29 on the whole CMI and more than 2 on the last page. If three or more "yes" responses on the last page of the CMI alone are symptomatic of emotional disturbance, then 80% of Commune respondents are in this category.

It is worth noting here that while the averages for College and Commune groups are not greatly different, there is a considerable difference in the way scores are distributed within the groups. College responses are marked by a few very high scores, whereas Commune responses are marked by a more general high level of positive responses.
### Commune Cornell Medical Index Health Questionnaire responses. Average number of "yes" responses by section, by sex. (Number in brackets is the number of respondents.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group or sub-group</th>
<th>Sections</th>
<th>Total M-R</th>
<th>Total A-R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (20)</strong></td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males (10)</strong></td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>females (10)</strong></td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis of the Commune responses on the last page of the CMI (Table 35) shows that the CMI sections rank in the following order of importance: Sensitivity, Tension and Anxiety, Anger, Inadequacy, and finally Depression.

When these results are compared with those obtained from the College group we note a marked increase for Commune in the importance of Anxiety and Tension, and a marked decrease in the importance of Inadequacy and Depression.
Table 35

COMMUNE - Moods and Feelings

"Yes" responses on the last page of the CMI expressed as a percentage of the total responses by Sections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CMI section</th>
<th>&quot;yes&quot; responses as a % of possible &quot;yes&quot; responses</th>
<th>Rank order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M Inadequacy</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Depression</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Anxiety</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Sensitivity</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q Anger</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Tension</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total M - R</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ATTITUDES

Commune responses to the attitude items are given in Appendix III (Table 114). As was noted for the College group, Commune respondents expressed more extreme positions on the items than did either of the Aboriginal groups. Too, the Commune group was negative on more items than any other group. Negative attitudes were expressed in the following cases:

The Commune group disagreed with:

"The more white women marry Aboriginal men, the better."

"Everyone should work hard."

"Working is more important than having a good time."

"Aborigines have as much chance as anyone else to get a good job."

"The more things change the better life gets."

"Most school teachers think Aborigines are clever."

"Most policemen only arrest troublemakers."

"Most policemen treat Aborigines very well."

"Having money saved up is more important than having a good time."

"If you save your money other people will try to help you."

The Commune group agreed with:

"It doesn't matter if children stay home from school sometimes."

"Most policemen treat Aborigines worse than they do White man."

"The first white people in Australia were thieves who stole the land from the Aborigines."
"Aborigines would be better off now if white men had never come to this country."

Commune was the only group which was negative on all three items concerning the police; and it was also the only group which thought "Aborigines would be better off now if white men had never come to this country". The group was also negative to "work" and to "saving money".
SOME COMPARISONS.

My thesis rests entirely on the comparisons to be made in this chapter. In the previous chapter a descriptive analysis of the schedule data was presented, but here the crucial comparisons between groups will be made in order to test the hypotheses put forward in the Introduction (pp.7-8).

The chapter is presented in a number of sections, in each of which the comparisons made will enable the next step to be taken. My concern here is with rank ordering of the data from the four groups, with testing the concordance within rank order sets, and with comparing the ordering obtained with my expectation that Coasttown will be intermediate between College and Forestville in value orientations, stress and attitudes (see pp.145-147).

To do this I will use the results obtained from the values schedule, the CMI questionnaire, and the analysed results of responses to the attitude items; also, I will see to what extent these results are related to the information obtained from schools about the Aboriginal children of both Forestville and Coasttown.

SECTION A

A graphical comparison of values between groups, using combined items, will be made. The poor inter-group discrimination of the
combined Man/Nature items, and the problem of intra-group lack of clustering noted in the previous chapter for the Man/Nature set of items, will lead me to reject this value from further consideration when I compare groups.

I will see also if any significant differences are apparent within groups where the sub-groups are based on age (less than 30 years/more than 30 years), sex, and locality (settlement dwellers/non-settlement dwellers).

A detailed comparison, using individual item value orientation pairs derived from four values (Activity (5 pairs), Relational (15 pairs), Time (15 pairs), and World View (15 pairs)) will be made and tested for significance. (See Tables 168-295, Appendix V.)

Also, a similar comparison will be made including the Commune group. I noted (Chapter 4) that this was an aberrant group within Australian society, so I cannot be confident of how their values will compare with those of the other groups, but generally it might be expected that they are more like those of the College group than like either of the Aboriginal groups.

The six graphs presented in Figure 22 on the following page, show the comparisons of the results of combined items for all five values included in the schedule used.

Two graphs are presented for the Man/Nature value. The first combines items 4 and 19, while the second combines items 9, 14 and 24. It can be seen immediately that the results presented in these graphs are diametrically opposed; those for items 4 and 19 falling
Figure 22

Total Groups: Comparison on combined items.


(a) Activity:

(b) Relational:

(c) Time:

(d) Man/Nature Items 4 & 19:

(e) Man/Nature Items 9, 14, 24:

(f) World View:

Spirituality
in the segments where subjugation-to-nature is the dominant orientation, with all but the Coasttown result falling in the segment subjugation-preferred to mastery-preferred to harmony; while those for items 9, 14 and 24 falling closely together in the single segment: harmony-preferred to mastery-preferred to subjugation.

Item 4 (Childhood Deaths) and item 19 (Weather) are clearly seen as beyond the scope of man's control, either by mastery or by living in harmony with nature. Items 9 (Men and Nature), 14 (Garden Care) and 24 (Long Life) combine in the segment of the graph where the dominant orientation is harmony with nature; and all groups saw these items in terms expressed by the sub-item of item 9: "If people work along with Nature things usually work out best."

It should be remembered (pp. 18-19) that the concept of deity was already removed from the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Man/Nature set on the grounds that it was conceptually different from that of Nature, yet there remains the division of responses into two distinct areas: one in which man's intervention or life style is seen as irrelevant, and one in which man's life style and technology can influence the outcomes. This is pertinent to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's discussion of "behaviour spheres"\(^1\), but does not seem to me to fit easily into the schema they propose.

Further, reference to the graphical presentation of the combination of all Man/Nature items (Figures 5(a), 10(a), 15(a), 20(a)) in

\[^{1}\]Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck...pp. 28 and following.
the previous chapter will indicate that all results cluster thickly around the neutral centre point for all groups. So this set of items, involving the problem of lack of agreement between items, and the problem of lack of discrimination between and within groups, will hereafter be ignored in all further comparisons of the four groups.

Turning now to the graphical presentation of the other four values, some immediate general impressions can be gained. The first is that Forestville and Coasttown tend to fall closely together and to be distinctly separated from College and Commune (which fall together); so the values seem to provide an Aboriginal/White distinction. This first impression is not confirmed by close inspection of the World View graph, where it can be seen that Coasttown falls close to College and Forestville is distant from it; confirming the importance of spirituality at Forestville, which was reported in Chapter 4.

A second impression is that the value patterns of these four groups are basically the same if one thinks only in terms of ranking preferences; for example, all four groups fit the ranking: Future preferred to Present preferred to Past. However, and this is the crucial point, the strength with which they hold that ordering is distinctly different. Forestville is weakly positive on the Future scale, whereas College is strongly positive. It is this variation in strength with which orientations are held that will enable me to rank the groups and sub-groups and test the significance of the resulting ranking sets.
On all four values (combined items) it can be seen that the Coasttown position is intermediate between that of Forestville and that of College. The significance of this visual impression can be tested statistically by taking each value orientation pair; for example, for the Time series we have the pairs: Past/Present, Past/Future, and Present/Future. Since there are five items in the Time series, we have fifteen orientation pairs available to provide information on which ranks can be constructed. Similarly, the World View and Relational series provide 15 pairs each. However, the Activity items offer only a single choice in each case: a sub-item interpreted as expressing "doing" or one expressing "being": so that only five orientation pairs are available for the Activity series. Taken together, the four values provide fifty sets of information which can be used to compare the groups.

In Table 36 is set out the percentage of responses which made a choice in favour of the preference indicated for each value pair for each group. To test Hypothesis 1: "Value orientations are related to change", it is only necessary to count the number of instances in which Coasttown value orientations are intermediate between those of College and those of Forestville and ask if that number could have occurred by chance at a given level of significance. From Table 36 it can be seen that Coasttown percentage of responses is closer to that of College than are those of Forestville in 35 cases out of 50 (0.5 being counted in the case of a tied result). When $m = 50$, the critical number is 34.6 (Binomial analysis) at the .01 level of
Table 36
Percentage of responses for value orientation pair preferences
= preferred to.
(Based on Tables 168 - 295, Appendix V.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value orientation preference</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>% of responses choosing preference. (Total groups)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forestville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being &gt; Doing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineality &gt; Collaterality</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineality &gt; Individualism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaterality &gt; Individualism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value orientation preference</td>
<td>Item</td>
<td>% of responses choosing preference. (Total groups)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forestville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past &gt; Present</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past &gt; Future</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present &gt; Future</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirituality &gt; Balance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
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<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirituality &gt; Materiality</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance &gt; Materiality</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
significance. So the null hypothesis can be rejected, and Hypothesis 1 accepted with a one per cent level of confidence.

It was noted that the Commune results tended to be associated with the College results, and this observation can be statistically confirmed by finding the differences between each percentage for College and the corresponding result for each of the other groups, ranking these differences from least to most and testing the concordance of the resulting set of rankings by using Kendall's $S$ statistic.

Table 37 provides the totals and calculations resulting from this procedure. The rankings show significant concordance at the five per cent level, with the ranking being Commune, Coasttown and Forestville in that order in respect of value distance from College. This confirms the impression that Commune was more like College in value orientations than were either of the Aboriginal groups.

Table 37

Rank ordering of percentage differences from College percentages of respondents' preferences on 50 value orientation pairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank ordering of % differences from College results</th>
<th>Commune</th>
<th>Coasttown</th>
<th>Forestville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(For details, see Appendix VI, Table 296.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observed totals (O)</th>
<th>117</th>
<th>94</th>
<th>89</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expected totals (E)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$E - O$</td>
<td>-17</td>
<td>+6</td>
<td>+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$(E - O)^2$</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$m = 50$  $S = 446$  $S/m = 8.92$  $p < .05$
In Figure 23 (on following page) are presented the results of the breakdown of Forestville and Coasttown value responses on the basis of age (under 30/over 30), and these results are compared with College and Commune responses.

The first impression is that the young are more like College than are the old, and this would be our expectation if change is an ongoing process of the integration of Forestville and Coasttown Aborigines into the general Australian society.

However, when Hypothesis 2: "Value orientations are related to age," is tested in the same manner as that used for the total groups (p.236), the null hypothesis is not rejected in either the case of Forestville or Coasttown, nor can it be rejected if both groups are combined. (See Table 297, Appendix VI.)

A closer look at the graphs of combined items suggests a possible explanation. On Activity and World View, the young appear to have moved decisively towards the College position, but on Time and Relational values the movement is away from both the College and the old group from their respective communities. The net combined effect of these changes is to produce a statistically non-significant result. The young, at both Forestville and Coasttown appear to have increased their value difference from their parent generation without a completely compensating reduction in their value difference from white Australians. I will return to this point later in this chapter.

Figure 24 (p.242) gives a graphical comparison of the results when Forestville and Coasttown groups were divided on the basis of sex.
Figure 23
Groups comparison on combined items
BY AGE

F = Forestville.  Ct = Casttownt.  Cl = College.  Cm = Commune.
Y = < 30 years.  O = > 36 years.

(c) Activity:

(b) Relational:

(c) Time:

(d) World View:

Spirituality
Figure 24

Groups comparison on combined items
BY SEX

M = Males. F = Females.

(a) Activity:

(b) Relational:

(c) Time:

(d) World View:

Spirituality

Balance

Future

Past

present

Future

present

Future

past

Past

Future

Past

Future

Past

Future

Past

Future

Past

Future

Past

Future

Past

Future

Past
These results too prove not to be statistically significant. However, except on the Time value orientations, there is a trend for female orientations to be more like those of College than are those of males. (See Table 298, Appendix VI.)

In the comparison of sub-groups of Forestville and Coasttown on the basis of locality (Settlement/Non-Settlement), the graphical presentation can be found in Figure 25 (on following page). In this case it appears that Coasttown non-Settlement dwellers hold value orientations that are closer to College than do those who live on Aboriginal Settlements, but this does not appear to be the case at Forestville. This is statistically confirmed (See Appendix VI, Table 299). The Forestville result is not significant, but that for Coasttown is significant at the five per cent level.

In Chapter 4 (pp. 94-95 & 118-119), I drew attention to the differing histories of the two communities in respect to their patterns of residence. Coasttown Aborigines who do not live on either of the Aboriginal settlements in the area are generally people who have either never lived on a Settlement, or who voluntarily moved away from Settlement life. Further, at Coasttown, non-Settlement dwellers have only attenuated social relationships with the Settlements.

The position at Forestville is different. Many of those who do not live on the Settlement are living away as the result of considerable pressure brought to bear on them by the Government Department concerned. Also, in contrast to the Coasttown situation, the one Settlement at Forestville remains the centre of Aboriginal social relations in the area.
Figure 25
Groups comparison on combined items
BY LOCALITY

F=Forestville. Ct=Coasttown. Cl=College. Cm=Commune.
S=Settlement. N=Non-settlement.

(a) Activity:

(b) Relational:

(c) Time:

(d) World View:
These contrasts are apparently reflected in the differences in value orientations I have just described.

SECTION B

In this section comparisons of the CMI responses will be made, and the rank ordering of the communities on the basis of CMI responses will be tested for statistical significance. If there is a correlation between change and stress, then the ranking of the communities on the basis of their CMI responses should correspond with that obtained from the comparison of their value orientations.

In Table 38 are set out the average scores (number of "yes" responses) for each of the groups by sections A - L (bodily systems), M - R (moods and feelings), and also for the whole CMI.

Table 38
CMI Average Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CMI Sections</th>
<th>Average number of &quot;yes&quot; responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forestville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A - L</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M - R</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A - R</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another way to compare the groups is to take the percentage of each group which meets certain requirements. As we have seen (p.43), more than 29 "yes" responses on the whole CMI is regarded as possibly symptomatic of emotional disturbance, and so too is more than 2 "yes"
responses on the last page (Sections M - R), but the CMI Manual\textsuperscript{2} indicates that it is likely that both these conditions will be satisfied if "a medically significant emotional disturbance" is present. In Table 39 is set out the percentages of each group which satisfies these conditions.

Table 39

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>% of group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forestville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 29 &quot;yes&quot; responses on CMI</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 2 &quot;yes&quot; responses Sections M - R</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 29 on CMI and more than 2 M - R</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taken together, these two tables provide six different ways of making judgements about the groups. For each way we can rank the scores from least to most and test the concordance of the resulting ranking set.

\textsuperscript{2}Brodman, K., et al, Manual, Cornell Medical Index Health Questionnaire, Cornell University Medical College, 1949, pp. 6-7.
Table 40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ranks</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forestville</td>
<td>Coasttown</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>Commune</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A - L</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M - R</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A - R</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% over 29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% over 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% over 29 and over 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observed =</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected =</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O - E =</td>
<td>+8</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-7.5</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S = 123.5  N = 4  k = 6  p < .01

Table 40 shows the results of such a ranking, which is significant at the one per cent level for concordance (Kendall's coefficient of concordance). The resulting ranking places the groups in the following order:- College, Commune, Coasttown, Forestville, from least to most "yes" responses on the CMI. This is the same arrangement of groups we found in the previous section when the groups were ordered in terms of their values. I will postpone until the following section a demonstration that this correspondence of
ordering is more than coincidental. However: Hypothesis 3 - "Stress is related to change", can be accepted (See p.147 for ranking of communities on change scale).

Here, I wish to look in more detail at the comparison of the responses to the CMI. The first thing to note is that the average responses on Sections A - L and A - R, and the percentage of respondents with more than 29 "yes" responses on the whole CMI, and the percentage of respondents with more than 29 on the whole CMI and more than 2 "yes" responses on the Sections M - R are all good judges of the relationships between groups. On the other hand, judgement on the basis of the average number of "yes" responses on the last page of the CMI (M - R) is equivocal; and that on the basis of the percentage of respondents giving more than two "yes" responses on the last page seems unrelated to the ordering generally achieved here, or that achieved in the previous section for values. We shall see later (Section E) that "yes" responses on the last page of the CMI seems more related to attitude responses than to values, and we will further discuss it then.

However, since the last page is concerned with moods and feelings, it is of interest here to carry out a direct comparison by sections of the last page. Such a comparison is presented graphically on the following page (Figure 26).

It can be seen that Forestville is highest on all sections except Anxiety (0), where it ranks second to Commune. Coasttown ranks lowest on both Depression and Sensitivity, and nowhere, on the
"YES" responses on last page of CMF as a percentage of total responses by sections and totals.
individual sections does it rank higher than third, but the combined impact of the sections is such that Coasttown ranks second over the whole of the last page of the CMI, being slightly ahead of College and Commune which rank together. College ranks second highest on Inadequacy, Anger and Sensitivity and lowest on Tension. Commune is highest on Anxiety, and second highest on Sensitivity and Tension; and is lowest on Anger and Inadequacy.

Over all the sections it is interesting to note the relatively low importance of Depression for all groups and the high levels of response on both Inadequacy and Anger.

College and Commune were compared with the sub-groups under 30 years from both Forestville and Coasttown to rule out the possibility that age might be a significant factor in ordering the ranking we have noted. When the groups, all of comparable age, were ranked the following result was obtained for percentages of possible "yes" responses over the whole of the last page of the CMI: College (12.2), Commune (12.9), Coasttown (14.0), and Forestville (28.7), indicating that when groups of like age are compared, the ranking is confirmed.

SECTION C

In Section A of this chapter I showed that the value responses ranked the groups in order predicted on the basis of ethnographic data, and in Section B that the CMI responses ranked the communities in the same way. In this section I will demonstrate that this correspondence of ranking is more than coincidental; that is, that there is correlation between value orientations and CMI responses.
To do this each group was divided into two around its median CMI score. This provided four sub-groups which could be designated as High scorers on the CMI and four sub-groups which could be called Low scorers. The value orientations of each of the eight sub-groups was then analysed for each of the four values still being considered. This procedure allowed for a comparison to be made on the basis of 16 High-Low pairs. If the rankings noted in Sections A and B are more than coincidental, the comparison of the 16 High-Low pairs should yield a significant result. That is, for a given value, the expectation is that the Low position relative to the High position will be non-random. For the sake of simplicity, only combined items are considered.

Figure 27 (on the following page) gives a graphical presentation of the results of this analysis. The tabulations may be found in Appendix VI (Tables 300 - 312).

Inspection of the graphs makes the position clear. With two exceptions only, Low scorers are in the same relative position to High scorers. That is, the low scorers cluster, as do the High scorers, on each graph. So the prediction that there is a significant correlation between value orientations and CMI scores is confirmed. Fourteen confirming instances out of a total of sixteen is statistically significant at the one per cent level (Binomial analysis).

On the basis of this comparison we can accept Hypothesis 4: "Stress is related to value difference".
Figure 27
HIGH/LOW CMI sub-groups' value orientation comparisons, by combined value items totals, by group.

H = High CMI.  L = Low CMI.

a Activity:

b Relational:

c Time:

d World View:
SECTION D

It is now possible, on the basis of the analysis so far, to construct an Ideal Type pattern of value orientations for Australian society. It has been noted that no group has zero CMI, so that since the Low scorers point in the same direction for each value, it can be theorised that somewhere beyond the Low positions is that position associated with zero CMI.

The Ideal Type pattern of value orientations I have used for a hypothetical group of Australians with average CMI of zero is as follows:

Activity: Doing preferred to Being 100% of the time.
Relational: Individualism preferred to Collaterality preferred to Lineality 100% of the time.
Time: Future preferred to Present preferred to Past 100% of the time.
World View: Balance preferred to both Spirituality and Materiality 100% of the time; and Spirituality equally preferred to Materiality.

Put in the form used by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, the Ideal Type can be expressed in the following form:

Doing > Being

Individualism > Collaterality > Lineality

Future > Present > Past

Balance > Spirituality = Materiality.
By using this Ideal Type, it is possible to rank all four groups relative to the Ideal Type by the same method which was used to rank the three groups relative to College (p. 239).

Table 41

Rank ordering of dissonance from Ideal Type value orientation pattern, by value totals for individual item value orientation pairs comparison.

Note: number in brackets is number of pairs involved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Rank order totals</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forestville</td>
<td>Coasttown</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>Commune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity (5)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational (15)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time (15)</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World View (15)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals (50)</td>
<td>148.5</td>
<td>134.5</td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td>119.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expected

\[
E = 125, 125, 125, 125
\]

\[
E - 0 = -23.5, -9.5, +27.5, +5.5
\]

\[
m = 50, S = 1429, p < .01
\]

Ranking order: College, Commune, Coasttown, Forestville.

Table 41 gives a summarised result of such a procedure, showing the rank totals by value. Only the calculation, of Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance, for all values combined is shown. The result is significant at one per cent, and provides us with the rank ordering:
College, Commune, Coasttown, Forestville in order of value dissonance from the Ideal Type. Calculations for the individual values indicated that Activity and World View considered individually were not significant, but that Relational and Time were each significant at the one per cent level. This result gives added confidence to the conclusion reached in Section A of this chapter (see p. 239).

It is now possible to list all groups and sub-groups in ascending order of value dissonance from the Ideal Type. The listing is given in Table 42 (on the following page), and also provides average CMI scores by sections A - R (total CMI), sections A - L (bodily systems), and sections M - R (moods and feelings).

The first and obvious thing to note is that the list breaks naturally into list sub-groups which correspond with the community groups which have been used in this study: College, Commune, Coasttown and Forestville are distinct groups in terms of value dissonance.

Two sub-groups stand out as having somewhat smaller CMI scores than we might expect on the basis of their dissonance scores. These are Coasttown males and Forestville females. We noted that Coasttown males were generally employed and that quite heavy consumption of alcohol was a significant part of their behaviour pattern. On the other hand, Forestville females are generally total abstainers from alcohol and deeply involved in a socially withdrawn, exclusive religious movement. What it is that two such disparate groups have in common is not a matter that can be settled by the data from this research. However, if close social interaction within an harmonious
Table 42

Groups and sub-groups listed in ascending order of value dissonance from Ideal Type, showing average CMI scores by sections. Value dissonance calculated from figures in Tables 296-300 (Appendix VI).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group or sub-group</th>
<th>Value dissonance from Ideal Type</th>
<th>Average CMI scores by sections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A - R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLEGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>1168</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMUNE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>~1318</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>1340</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>1370</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COASTTOWN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>1492</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-sett.</td>
<td>1519</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>1551</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sett.</td>
<td>1573</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>1574</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>1602</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORESTVILLE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>1629</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>1679</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-sett.</td>
<td>1690</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>1796</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sett.</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sub-group is a tension-relieving mechanism, then this could be a possible explanation of the somewhat better health situation of these two sub-groups. The church activities at Forestville are certainly of an intensely emotional nature, and bring about close interaction between the members of the group. Drinking groups appear to have these same qualities of close in-group interaction.

The sub-group which is considerably worse off in terms of CMI than we might expect on the basis of its dissonance score is Forestville young. In this case the explanation seems easier to suggest. Forestville Whites do not accept Aborigines into their social lives, and it will be recalled that while in the field I negotiated on behalf of the men to have them accepted in the public bar of a local hotel from which they had previously been excluded. Additionally it was mentioned in Chapter 4 that the Forestville Aborigines under thirty years of age is the first generational group to have abandoned their Aboriginal language, thus creating a cultural gulf between themselves and the speakers of the older generation. The situation suggests that while the Forestville young are somewhat more like Whites than are the old, this makes them different from their elders to some extent without compensating acceptance from the Whites of their area.

For both Coasttown and Forestville the value orientations of the young, males and non-settlement dwellers are closer to those of White Australians than are those of the old, females and settlement dwellers. However, as can be seen in Section A of this chapter, the differences were not consistent enough over the whole range of value-pair
comparisons to be statistically significant. I will show later that at the five per cent level of probability, dissonance scores are only predictable plus or minus 245, so that the range of scores for either Coasttown or Forestville is not sufficiently large to be statistically significant.

If the pattern we have noted is not random, it can only be regarded as a trend. However, the trends noted do make anthropological sense. I have already anticipated that if change was an on-going process, the expectation would be that young Aborigines would be more like White Australians than their elders. Male Aborigines are economically and spatially more involved with White Australians than are females; and, as children, have more freedom and independence from their homes than do females. Non-settlement dwellers are either attracted to ordinary Australian life, or are propelled away from settlement life by dissatisfaction with it. For these reasons, the trends we have noted, but not established as significant, seem to make good sense.

Having established that there is a significant correlation between CMI scores and value dissonance, the question can now be asked: Is the correlation sufficiently strong to make prediction of one score possible if the other is known? An answer to this question can be attempted by plotting value dissonance against CMI scores on a graph.

The Ideal Type value pattern, by definition, has an average CMI score of zero, so that gives one point on a graph. A second point can be located by combining the two White groups (College and Commune) and
finding the value dissonance and average CMI of the combined group. These two points can then be used to locate a straight line on the graph. Does this line predict the location of the Coasttown and Forestville groups? Figure 28(a) (on the following page) shows that it does. From Table 42 (p.256), Coasttown has a value dissonance of 1551, while that for Forestville is 1745. Using these figures we can go to the graph and read off predicted CMI scores for Coasttown of 26.2, and for Forestville of 29.7. Turning again to Table 42, it can be seen that these predicted scores are within plus or minus five of the actual average CMI scores obtained from the two groups. There is clearly a strong correlation involved.

By using the four point available a regression line was calculated and this is shown in Figure 28(b). The regression line is represented by the equation:

\[ y = mx + c \]

where \( y \) (value dissonance) is determined by the equation with \( m = 41.484 \), \( x \) = average CMI, and \( c = 380.944 \).\(^4\)

The Product Moment Correlation Coefficient for this regression is +0.887, \( S_x = 2.61 \) and \( S_y = 122.25 \). So that, at the five per probability level the regression line should predict average CMI scores plus or minus \( 2S_x \) -- that is, plus or minus 5.2, if we know the value dissonance of the group.

\[^3\]For statistical formulae used, see pp.56-57.
\[^4\]In graphical presentation the x and y axes are reversed, for the sake of convenience. That is, the graphs show value dissonance along the x axis.
Figure 28

(a) Prediction of Coasttown (Ct) and Forestville (F) from Ideal Type and combined College (Cl) and Commune (Cm). Total CMI (A-R).

Combined College and Commune

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dissonance} & = 1210 \\
\text{Average CMI} & = 20.6
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Regression of College, Commune, Coasttown and Forestville to predict Pilot. Total CMI (A-R).

\[
\begin{align*}
m & = 41.49 \\
c & = 380.94 \\
r & = 0.887 \\
S_x & = 122.25 \\
S_y & = 2.613
\end{align*}
\]
To test this, I used some data not otherwise involved in this study. At the point where I had developed my schedules I used a group of College students to do a pilot run to check the schedules for acceptance by respondents and for time required to complete them. The responses of this group, which I here call "Pilot", are given in Tables 314 - 318 in Appendix VI. The value dissonance of this group was 1006 and the average CMI on the whole schedule was 13.8.

For a value dissonance of 1006 the predicted CMI score is 15.1, which is well within the range expected at the five per cent level of probability, the difference between predicted and actual CMI being only 1.3. The regression is presented graphically in Figure 28(b).

On the basis of all this evidence, Hypothesis 5: "Stress is directly proportional to value dissonance.", can be accepted.

For any randomly selected group of Australians who number twenty or more, the average CMI for the group can be expressed as follows:

$$\frac{\sum \text{CMI}}{N} = \frac{D_a - c}{D_p - c} \times k$$

Where:

- CMI = individual CMI score
- N = number of respondents (> 20)
- $D_a$ = actual value dissonance from Ideal Type.
- $D_p$ = possible value dissonance = 4750
- $k$ = societal constant, where $k = \frac{D_p - c}{m}$

where $c$ and $m$ are determined by the regression calculation.

$D_a - c$ is the effective dissonance (E.D.), and $\frac{k}{D_p - c} = Q$ is a societal constant.
On the basis of the evidence presented, provisional values can be allocated to the constants for Australian society: \( m = 41.484 \), \( c = 380.9 \), \( D_p = 4750 \) (for the value schedule and Ideal Type used in this study).

That is: \( Q = 0.0241 \),

so \( \frac{\sum\text{CMI}}{N} = E.D. \times 0.0241 \pm 5.2 \)

Simply,

\[ \text{Stress} = \text{Effective value dissonance} \times \text{societal constant}. \]

In the same way it can be shown that the relationship holds for sections (A - L) of the CMI which deal with bodily systems, and for sections (M - R) of the CMI which deal with moods and feelings.

A graphical presentation of these results is given in Figure 29 (a) and (b) (on following page) respectively. These regressions predict at the five per cent level of probability, plus or minus 2.3 (of average CMI) in the case of sections (A - L), and plus or minus 3.0 in the case of sections (M - R).

It should be noted that the Pilot result is predicted within the five per cent limit in each case. For Pilot the average actual CMI (sections A - L) was 9.4, while the predicted CMI (A - L) was 11.2. For sections (M - R), the actual average CMI was 4.5, while the predicted CMI was 3.2.

The prediction equations are:

for sections A - L:

\[ \frac{\sum\text{CMI}}{N} \text{(A - L)} = E.D. \times 0.0144 \pm 2.3 \]
Figure 29

(a) Regression of College, Commune, Coasttown and Forestville to predict Pilot
for CMI sections A-L

\[ m = 69.481 \]
\[ c = 230.61 \]
\[ r = 0.948 \]
\[ S_x^2 = 84.45 \]
\[ S_y = 1.15 \]

(b) Regression of College, Commune, Coasttown and Forestville to predict Pilot
for CMI sections M-R.

\[ m = 87.54 \]
\[ c = 725.36 \]
\[ r = 0.727 \]
\[ S_x^2 = 181.71 \]
\[ S_y = 1.51 \]
and for sections $M - R$:

$$\sum_{N} CMI \ (M - R) = E.D. \times 0.0114 \pm 3.0$$

Since the Manual of the Cornell Medical Index Health Questionnaire says:

When interpreted by physicians with no other information about the patients than their CMI's, the questionnaires yielded correct and comprehensive diagnostic deductions for almost every patient.$^5$

the CMI score can be taken as a direct reflection of morbidity.

This being the case, and since the correlation coefficient is highest (0.948) in the case of the regression for sections ($A - L$), Hypothesis 6: "Self-perceived morbidity is directly proportional to value dissonance." can be accepted.

Further, the same evidence lends support to, but does not establish, Hypothesis 7: "Morbidity is directly proportional to value dissonance".

In Figure 30 (on the following page) two graphs plot the group and sub-group positions for the four study groups. The dotted lines are two Standard Errors either side of the regression lines, that is at $p < .05$. Some of the sub-group positions lie outside these limits. Many of the sub-groups are very small, ranging in size between $N = 8$ and $N = 18$, so some sample variation is to be expected.

Figure 30

(a) Average Total CMI scores plotted against value dissonance for groups and sub-groups.
T = Total group, Y = <30 years, O = >30 years, M = Males, F = Females, S = Settlement dwellers, N = Non-settlement dwellers.

(b) Average CMI scores (sections A-L) plotted against value dissonance for groups and sub-groups.
Despite the small samples of sub-groups, the clustering is sufficiently strong to divide the results of the groups into four distinct clusters. Also, as we have already noted, there do seem to be reasonable explanations of the more divergent variations noted.

Even though the values for $r$ are very high, it is not possible to claim that the relationship will hold over the whole range of possible value dissonance. There are a total of 195 questions on the whole CMI, yet the regression line crosses the $y$ axis at 105 for maximum dissonance of 4750. Similarly, in the CMI sections (A-L) there are 144 questions, yet the regression line crosses the $y$ axis at 65 for maximum dissonance.

This caution, if proved sound by further work, would not call for alteration of my hypotheses, but only for a more complicated mathematical expression of the relationship. That is, over the whole range of dissonance, the relationship could be non-linear; being flat over the range up to a dissonance of 2000 and at some point thereafter rising sharply towards a maximum figure somewhere between 105 and 195 (in the case of the whole CMI). Only further work with more dissonant groups than Forestville could settle this question with any finality.

A further caution is needed. While the correlations I have found are very high, it cannot be argued that the relationships found will hold in any other society than Australia. I would expect that in similar western industrial societies with good control of epidemic and endemic infectious diseases, the relationships shown for Australia would hold. However, what relationships might be found in societies with an
uncontrolled or poorly controlled weight of infectious and epidemic diseases is a matter for conjecture.

There are further points. How could one establish an Ideal Type pattern of value orientations in an emerging society - one coming under increasing impact from western industrial society? Do we all dance to a very similar tune, or are there societies where the impact of educated, industrial value orientation patterns is not relevant? Or, more speculatively, is there a universally valid pattern of value orientations which everywhere is correlated with good health?

Only replications of this type of study under a wide range of cultural and social conditions could give us answers to these questions.

SECTION E

In this section I will compare the responses of the four groups on the thirty-six attitude statements. My major concern will be to see to what extent, if any, these responses reflect those which were obtained from the values schedule.

Table 43 (on the following page), gives the average response for each group on each of the items in the attitude schedule.

The first comparison made was to count the number of times Coasttown responses were nearer to College than were those of Forestville. This occurs 22 times out of 36, and this result is not statistically significant at the five per cent level (Binomial Analysis).
Table 43
Average responses by group to 36 attitude items.
(Computed from Tables 110-114, (Appendix III)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item No. Serial order</th>
<th>Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forestville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>3.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>2.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>3.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>2.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second comparison was made by ranking Commune, Coasttown and Forestville by their differences from College. This ranked the groups in the following way, in order of their closeness to College: Commune, Coasttown, Forestville. But this result also was not statistically significant at the five per cent level (Kendall's $S = 180.5$, $m = 36$, $S/m = 5.01$).

College, Coasttown and Forestville were then ranked from least to most positive on each of the items. This gave the total ranking: Forestville, College, Coasttown. This result was significant at one per cent ($m = 36$, Kendall's $S = 458$, $S/m = 12.72$, $p < .01$).

The final comparison was made by ranking all four groups in the same way as in the three group comparison. This gave the ranking: Forestville, Commune, College, Coasttown from least to most positive. The result was statistically significant at five per cent ($m = 36$, $S = 578$, $p < .05$).

These rank orderings do not agree with those obtained from the values schedule, nor with those obtained from the CMI. Nor do they agree with the ranking of the groups on anthropological grounds, although they are not completely inconsistent with it. The major shift has been to move Coasttown from an intermediate position between Forestville and College to a position beyond College.

In Section B of this chapter we noted a similar ranking (Table 39 on p. 246) for the percentage of each group which scored more than two "yes" responses on the last page of the CMI schedule. There the ordering from highest to lowest percentage was Commune (80),
Forestville (79), College (67), and Coasttown (58).

The explanation appears to be that responses to questions about "moods and feelings" on the CMI and statements eliciting attitude responses are more temporally influenced than are values and general bodily symptoms. Or, to put it another way, attitudes are more affected by immediate environmental influences than are basic value orientation patterns. Also, it appears that answers on the last page of the CMI are similarly more responsive to immediate influences than are answers on the CMI sections (A-L). This is supported by the fact which was noted in Section D of this chapter, that of the three ways of using value dissonance to predict CMI scores the poorest result was obtained when predicting scores on the last page of the CMI.

SECTION F

Here I will look very briefly at the information obtained from the schools at Forestville and Coasttown about the Aboriginal children included in this study. There are three sorts of information available which allow direct comparisons to be made between the groups.

The first of these concerns I.Q., as measured and recorded in the school records of the children. Here, I have no immediately comparable figures about White children in the same schools. However, since all tests used were standardised for White children in Australian schools, it is reasonable to assume that the average I.Q. of White children is approximately 100, and I will use this figure for comparative purposes.
The second sort of information I have about the Aboriginal children is teachers' estimations about their years of educational retardation. Here again, these estimates have been made on the basis of what is average for Australian White children, so it is reasonable to assume that the average years of educational retardation for White children is zero.

The third sort of information available deals with average numbers of days absence during a whole school year. Here, I met with reluctance on the part of some schools to reveal the actual school averages, and the point was not pressed since I had already imposed very considerably on all schools in the study areas. However, at all schools teachers and headmasters were asked how the attendance of Aboriginal children compared with that for the school generally. Their answers ranged from Aborigines being absent three times as much as White children to Aborigines being absent five times as much as White children. It seems reasonable again to assume that, on average, both groups of Aboriginal children were absent more than their White fellow pupils.

Table 44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.Q. Average</th>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>White Australians</th>
<th>Coasttown</th>
<th>Forestville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estimated average years of educational retardation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of days absent from school during a whole school year</td>
<td>less than</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>59.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Table 44 (see previous page) these three kinds of information is summarised. It can be seen that in all cases Coasttown Aboriginal children's results are intermediate between those of Whites and those of Forestville. That is, that the rank ordering of the groups is the same as that obtained from rank ordering value orientations and CMI scores.

This ranking of groups on the basis of information about the school performance of children does not correlate with the ranking obtained on the thirty-six items of the attitude schedule. In the previous section we saw that Coasttown ranked more positively on the attitude schedule than did College.

The suggestion can be made therefore, that the school performance of children is more related to the basic value orientations of their parent group than it is to more superficial specific attitudes of that group.

In the manual for the Queensland Test (a non-verbal, relatively culture-free test of intelligence)\(^6\), the authors say:

> The given test may be valid as a measure of intelligence in the European group but in the Aboriginal group it is a measure of the amount of European contact. This is fortuitous and not related to intelligence.

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Certainly the correlations noted here tend to confirm that opinion. It does seem that average I.Q. directly reflects the value dissonance (social distance?) between a sub-group and the majority group in which the I.Q. test was standardised.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In the preceding sections of this chapter it has been established that the following hypotheses may be accepted at least at the five percent level of probability:

1. "Value orientations are related to change."

3. "Stress is related to change."

4. "Stress is related to value difference."

5. "Stress is directly proportional to value dissonance."

6. "Self-perceived morbidity is directly proportional to value dissonance."

Hypothesis 2: "Value orientations are related to age", was not demonstrated; however, it was noted in Section D that there was a trend in the direction indicated by the hypothesis. That is, the value orientations of the young Aborigines were more like those of Whites than were those of old Aborigines, but the difference was not sufficient to be statistically significant.

Assuming that a linear relationship exists between average CMI scores for groups and their value dissonance (high correlations have been demonstrated), the regression of the means indicates that average CMI scores are predictable (plus or minus 5) when the value dissonance
of the group is known. That is, if a random sample of at least twenty individuals from a group make thirty-five choices each on the twenty items of the value schedule used, these choices can be used to predict the level of self-perceived morbidity in the group. It remains for further research to show the relationship between self-perceived morbidity and that which results from clinical assessment; however, Hypothesis 7: "Morbidity is directly proportional to value dissonance" is supported by this study.

There is also supportive evidence for Hypothesis 8: "Within a society, the life chances of a sub-cultural group are inversely proportional to its value dissonance". This evidence is more qualitative in character, but could be amenable to measurement in a controlled study.

It has been noted that Forestville Aborigines are in an inferior position to Coasttown Aborigines in terms of I.Q., educational achievement, educational retardation of children, economic opportunities and average wages received and that on all measures of self-perceived morbidity they suffer by comparison with Coasttown people. Coasttown Aborigines are similarly disadvantaged when compared with Whites.

In a general way, though this cannot be demonstrated for either Forestville or Coasttown during the study periods, Moodie draws attention to the mortality problems of Australian Aborigines. He writes:

The Aboriginal and part-Aboriginal population comprises about 1% of the Australian total, but contributes over 2% of the births. It is estimated that from the Aboriginal children come at least 10% of all infant deaths, at least 28% of
second-year deaths, and about 9% of deaths in the two to four years age group.  

Taken together, this evidence offers support for Hypothesis 8, but this hypothesis nevertheless remains to be subjected to more precise research scrutiny.

In Figure 31 (on the following page), a morbidity model is offered. This shows that in any society there is some irreducible level of morbidity which is due to man's nature as a mortal being. Above that, for a particular society, there is a further component of self-perceived morbidity which takes into account all the common features of knowledge, environment and services which together set a lower limit below which even the most favoured group in the society will not fall.

Above that again is a sociogenic component related to value dissonance in a linear fashion. This sociogenic component represents the average level of self-perceived morbidity for sub-cultural groups with a given level of value dissonance, which is above the minimum societal level. It includes both somatic and psychiatric disorders in some undetermined proportions. The sociosomatic and sociopsychiatric disorders represented here are related to the group's social position within the society.

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Figure 31
MORBIDITY MODEL
While the sociogenic component takes care of the average level of self-perceived morbidity associated with a particular level of value dissonance, there are individual variations about that mean. These individual variations are represented as a psychogenic component, with both psychosomatic and psychiatric manifestations. The variation allows for both individual genetic and historical factors in addition to individual variations on the impact of stress. For example, it has been suggested that close interaction within sub-groups may be tension relieving and act to reduce the impact of stress. There may be other factors which have a similar effect. Also, for genetic or random social reasons, some individuals in a group will feel a greater impact of value dissonance stress than will others; and consequently will record higher levels of self-perceived morbidity.

The discussion so far has been within the limits of the data of this study, and from this data it is not known what relationship exists between value dissonance and stress (or self-perceived morbidity) beyond a value dissonance of two thousand.

A possible explanation may be given in terms of relevance. Relevance means here "pertinence" or "applicability". At the time of first contact between a society and another which will be dominated eventually, it can be theorised that the value orientations of the dominant society would have little relevance for the members of the contacted society and therefore have little impact on stress. However, as the contact continued and increased, the relevance of the value orientations of the dominant group would also increase and thus have increasing impact.
as a stress generator until most of the traits of the contacting society became relevant. After that time, it seems likely that the sort of relationship between value dissonance and stress shown in this study, would hold.

The speed with which social and cultural change occurs in a contact situation would depend on the amount of fit that existed between the value orientation patterns of the contacting and contacted societies; the closer the fit in these patterns, the greater the ease with which change could be accomplished. However, after the initial period one would expect increasing resistance to further change and increasing levels of stress and sociogenic disorders, because only the more alien traits would remain to be assimilated.

Where the levels of stress became too oppressive it seems reasonable to expect that individuals or groups would seek for alternatives which were stress relieving. The example of the religious movement at Forestville seems to be a case in point. In a more general sense, attempts to return to traditional life patterns may be seen as cases of the same kind.

In situations where the level of stress was not unbearable, it could still be at a level at which a great deal of the energy of the individuals involved would be required to cope with their stress, leaving them ill-equipped emotionally to adapt in stress relieving ways.

Surprisingly little difference was noted (in this study) in the value dissonance of the young (under thirty years) and the old (over thirty years) groups. This suggests that the value orientation
differences noted between the young and the old on particular items need to be accounted for in terms other than a consistent movement towards the Ideal Type value orientation pattern. If this is the case, Australian agencies attempting to bring about the assimilation of Aborigines to the general Australian society will need to seek a solution to this problem if they hope to be successful in their primary aim.

It has been demonstrated here that specific attitude responses are not strongly related to value orientations, but appear to be more immediately influenced by the current social environment of the groups concerned.

In a similar fashion, the proportion of a group giving more than two "yes" responses on the "moods and feelings" sections of the CMI appears to be influenced by more immediate social and personal factors.

However, there is a strong relationship between the ranking of groups by value dissonance, by stress, and by school I.Q. test results, days absence from school and average years of educational retardation. These relationships suggest that the performance of Aboriginal children at school is directly influenced by the social position of the group from which they are drawn.

If it is desired to improve the school performance of Aboriginal children, it is necessary to take social action to make the schooling offered more relevant in terms of the value orientations of the children, and to provide those school circumstances and services most likely to relieve stress and the sociogenic disorders resulting from it.
Chapter 7

RELATED STUDIES

There has been no directly parallel study to this carried out in Australia, nor, to the best of my knowledge, in the rest of the world. However, some related research studies have been completed in Australia and in this chapter a number of these will be examined briefly to see to what extent they support or oppose the conclusions reached here.

The Coasttown Aborigines, along with others on the south coast of New South Wales, were studied by Bell\(^1\) in the period 1954-55 and for those interested in an extended time-depth Bell's work should be consulted.

Of immediate interest here is that Bell reported in his Oceania paper\(^2\) that the Aboriginal population of the Coasttown area in 1954 was 510. If the rate of increase in population determined for Coasttown (1966-71) of 2.1% per annum is applied to Bell's figure, the expected population in 1966 would have been 654; whereas it was in excess of 700. Since it is not known what migrations in or out of the community occurred during the twelve year interval, it cannot be

\(^1\) Bell, J.H., The La Perouse Aborigines; a study of group life and assimilation into Australian Society, unpublished Ph.D. thesis University of Sydney, 1959.

claimed either that the birth rate has fallen during the period reported in this research (1966-71) or that the migration rate to The City has increased. What is clear is that the Coasttown Aboriginal population is expanding rapidly and has been doing so for at least twenty years.

Bell reports an economic situation which now applies only to a minority of Coasttown Aborigines. It is very clear that employment opportunities have improved for Aborigines at Coasttown since 1954 despite the somewhat dismal picture contained in the 1966 figures (see Chapter 4).

Catherine Guinness, reporting on her work at Storm Bay gives further background to the situation of 1965-66. Guinness worked using a community approach to the situation at Storm Bay for only one year, but even in that time developments did take place. She reported:

...it was possible to involve the residents in the continuous process of the solution of their own problems. Self-respect began to blossom forth from a desert of inferiority complexes.

This rather optimistic report does not fit very easily with the results of research reported here.

Forestville was also studied prior to my earlier fieldwork of

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3 Ibid.

1956-60, by Calley. He has written widely on his fieldwork and the four references given are pertinent as background material.

Of most direct relevance is his paper on "Race Relations" in which Forestville can be identified as his "station X". He writes:

Europeans are unwilling to accept Aborigines as social equals, and yet they are indignant at the undemocratic nature of discrimination. The Aborigines vacillate between resentment at the inferior social status assigned to them with a concomitant rejection of Aboriginal culture and an acceptance of this status and a reaffirmation of Aboriginal values.

The Pentecostal cult focuses the social withdrawal of the Aboriginal group. In it the Aborigine finds a value system different from that of the white community and one in terms of which he can feel worthy. Pentecostalism is the positive result of segregation; for the Aborigines it functions as a patterned social expression of the separateness of the two groups.6

This withdrawal, noted by Calley in 1954-55, is something that waxes and wanes with the social climate external to the Forestville Aboriginal community. It has already been suggested that this withdrawal acts as a tension-relieving mechanism for the Aboriginal women of Forestville, whose value dissonance predicts a somewhat


6Ibid., p. 209 (i.e. fn. 5(d) above).
higher level of stress than they manifested at interview during this study.

Generally, the work of Bell, Calley and Guinness gives historical depth to the present study. Apart from the changes already noted (Chapter 4), there is no serious conflict between their reports and my own. At Coasttown the employment situation, though still poor, is very much better than that reported by Bell, and permanent work now definitely appeals to most Coasttown Aborigines; there is now little ambition for the big but irregular money to be made in seasonal work, when a real local alternative is offering.

At Forestville there remains a strong group identification and this is symbolised for many of the people by the Church, but also by the farm project in which some have become involved on the settlement. However, a series of deaths of older and traditionally important people, even since 1959, has meant a weakening of the "old" and a swing towards White society. The fact that there was, in 1969 a "white fellow" living as a de facto husband of an Aboriginal woman in a Forestville village suggests there has been movement towards a more tolerant attitude towards Whites.

Berry\(^7\) worked briefly at Storm Bay ("Storm Cove") in 1968. His very short period in the field did not allow him to achieve a full

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account of the social background of the community (compare Berry with Chapter 4 of this report). However, his findings which result from the use of psychological scales are pertinent in this study. Berry summarises his hard facts in his conclusion:

A moderate degree of psychological marginality was observed in persons living in a marginal situation, and a certain level of propensity for deviance, psychosomatic stress and negative attitudes towards the dominant White society was associated with this psychological marginality. Contrary to predictions stemming from the theory of the Marginal Man, it tends to be those persons more traditionally oriented who suffer the most psychological marginality, rather than those who wish to move on and who cannot. The personal discomfort and turmoil of the crisis period seems to be present in Storm Cove people until they resolve this conflict, not by reacting and rejecting, but by assuming an Australian identity. Minority groups currently searching for their own identity and values may be doomed to further psychological discomfort.

This finding supports the conclusion reached here that stress is not the result of change, nor of some external barrier to change, but rather the result of a person being in a situation which requires adaptation but who is unable, in terms of his value orientations, to adapt. In this sense only are "change situations" situations of stress. It is the extent of the value dissonance that correlates with the extent of stress. That is not to say that some of the individual

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8Ibid., pp. 242-43.

9Ibid., pp. 250-51.
variations noted, and allowed for in the morbidity model presented in the previous chapter, do not result from environmental barriers, but to affirm that the characteristic level of stress of a sub-cultural group is explained by the concept of value dissonance.

Another study was carried out at Coasttown by Susan Quine who worked with school students, both Aboriginal and White, during the period of this research. Quine's analysis is not sufficiently advanced to allow conclusive comments. It has been possible to do a brief preliminary comparison on responses to her Time and Relational value orientation items which closely approximate those used here. This comparison seems to indicate that Coasttown Aborigines who are younger than those included in my sample are not different from the younger group I have included. Quine believes she will find some differences between young Aborigines and young Whites in these value orientations but has not yet tested the significance of her results on this point.

Quine's work should be an important contribution to our understanding of Coasttown Aboriginal society because it enters far more deeply into the school situation and deals in depth with an age-grouping only marginally covered by my research.

Quine, S., Achievement Orientation Amongst Aboriginal and White Adolescents, work in progress on unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology, Australian National University, Canberra.
Nancy Frith\textsuperscript{11} has been working as a member of this School's team and has been concentrating mainly on mothers and small children. Her report is currently in preparation and will add to our understanding of the earliest years in the lives of Coasttown Aborigines.

One further report draws together the social and medical aspects of Coasttown Aboriginal life.\textsuperscript{12} Together, these works should provide the most intensively documented study of the current life of an Australian Aboriginal community so far reported. In the interests of the subjects of all this research, two outcomes are hoped for; firstly, that a direct benefit in better services for Aborigines may assist the Coasttown community, and secondly, that other research workers may, at least for five years, turn their attention elsewhere.

Watts\textsuperscript{13}, working in Queensland with Aboriginal and White mothers and their daughters, used the same value schedule reported on here. Watts did not report on responses to the World View items in her thesis, but on the other value orientations she found very similar results to those reported here.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{11}Frith, N., \textit{Experiences in Public Health Nursing}, in preparation, School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, University of Sydney.

\textsuperscript{12}Frith, N.C., Hausfeld, R.G. and Moodie, P.M., \textit{The Coasttown Project}, in preparation, School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, University of Sydney.


\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 423-436 and 506-529.
On the combined Man-Nature items Watts found there was little significance in any of the results. This result confirms those reported on here.

The preferences of all eight groups tabulated by Watts\textsuperscript{15} on the Relational value orientations show the ordering to be Individualism preferred to Collaterality preferred to Lineality with this ordering less strongly held by her Aboriginal groups than by her White controls.

On the Time value orientations the ordering was Future preferred to Present preferred to Past with a tendency for younger Aborigines to choose Present and Past equally as second choice.

On the Activity value orientations the Whites tended to choose equally between Being and Doing whereas the Aborigines showed a significant preference for Doing.

These results offer confirmation of the sort of patterning reported here, and of the problems associated with the Man-Nature set of items.

Watt's presentation is slightly different from mine and she did not use a measure of perceived health or morbidity, nor did she report on the World View series of items. It would be informative to calculate the value dissonance for the four major groups used by Watts and to test for correlation with her other variables relating to achievement motivation, but the data provided in her thesis is insufficient for this purpose.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p.424.
Apart from its immediate relevance here, Watt's thesis is an important contribution to our understanding of Aboriginal achievement within school situations.

Bianchi et al\(^{16}\) investigated differences, within a single Aboriginal community of full-bloods with only 50 years of contact with Whites, between four factors and scores on a highly modified and shortened version of the CMI.

They found that of "four aspects of cultural identity; acquisition of western culture, emulation of western attributes and life-style, retention of traditional activities and retention of traditional beliefs ... There was one significant relationship, that between symptom scores and the retention of traditional beliefs."\(^{17}\)

Bianchi et al\(^{18}\) also reported a similar finding in a different study and wrote:

> Whether a high retention of belief renders a person prone to neurosis is less obvious; what seems probable is that certain factors such as less education, lower intelligence and lack of proficiency in an alien culture are conducive both to high RB (retention of beliefs) scores and to neurosis.\(^{19}\)

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\(^{17}\)Ibid., p. 371.


\(^{19}\)Ibid., p. 378.
The results reported above would agree with the findings of this study, but my interpretation of the result would be different. Remembering that little within-community difference was found in this study for either CMI scores or value dissonance, it is not surprising that the authors cited failed to find the correlations they sought except in the case of retention of beliefs.

Though the studies just reported and the present one cannot be directly compared, it is of interest that they found that it was absence of change which was associated with mental stress. This finding would be in line with that of Berry (already reported) and also of my own work. Here, the interpretation offered is in terms of value dissonance.

Dawson used four values which he calls Relational, Time, Activity and Man v. Nature, with 8 items for each value and each item responded to on a five point scale. These are clearly derived from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck to whom he refers in the article, but the elimination of choice between three sub-items seems to have removed the benefit of the field concept from the original formulation of the value orientation concept put forward by those authors. Dawson used paired comparisons only.

In summing up "the significant variables which are associated with adverse attitudes towards education", Dawson found "a more family and group oriented Wallaga Lake Relational Value" and "a more present oriented Wallaga Lake Time Value" when Wallaga Lake was compared with Green Valley (an outer western suburb of Sydney).

He also found that a "more family and group oriented Relational Value" was "statistically relevant" to "adverse attitudes towards integration". 21

Again, while Dawson's approach is not directly comparable with mine, his results demonstrate between-group differences of the kind that would be expected on the basis of my findings.

Chance 22 used a slightly modified version of the CMI in a study of acculturating Eskimos and reported:

...the results were briefly compared with some of the medical records of the sample population at the native hospital at Barrow. The preliminary findings suggested that this instrument could be used profitably in a nonwestern cultural setting. However, there were a few instances where cultural factors strongly influenced Eskimo responses to the questionnaire items. 23


The conceptual problems noted by Chance were not discerned in my study in which all persons interviewed were English speakers and almost all the Coasttown Aborigines were exclusively so.

There is a massive literature on social class and value differences, especially between middle and working class categories, but since this study is primarily concerned with change as it has its impact on value orientations and the stress related, it is not proposed to investigate this literature here. A recent study by Kohn is a wide-ranging example of the field. 24

Similarly, the relationship between stress and disease has produced an extensive literature. 25 However, the great bulk of the literature on stress treats it as an individual phenomenon, 26 whereas here I have been concerned with stress as a group characteristic relating to the level of conformity of the group to the societal Ideal Type value orientations pattern.


26 For example, see, Holmes, T.H. and Masuda, M., "Psychosomatic Syndrome", Psychology Today, April 1972.
There is, then, a substantial body of material which, while not directly comparable with this report, has produced results which appear to lend it support or are, at least, not inconsistent with it. Nevertheless, further work remains to be done and this matter will be taken up in the following chapter.
Chapter 8

SOME IMPLICATIONS

This work should be regarded as a first step in an understanding of value dissonance and not as a definitive presentation. However, if the basic thesis were not sound, the probability of obtaining the statistical correlations achieved here would be so extremely remote as to be unbelievable.

FOR VALUE ORIENTATION THEORY

Generally, this research gives support to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's theory of "variations in value orientations".\(^1\) It also indicates that the concept of value orientation variation is useful in making comparisons between sub-cultural groups within a larger society; and that knowledge of differences between the value orientations of such groups can have explanatory power.

The results show that the value orientation positions of the four groups do make sense in terms of the ethnographic facts of their ways of life. The value orientations of the groups rank the communities in the same order on a change scale as does a consideration of their ethnography\(^2\).


\(^2\)See pages 145-146.
At a more detailed level, the value orientations of the groups have explanatory value. For example, the two White groups (College and Commune) are strongly Future oriented and they are far more involved in training programmes leading to future security than are the two Aboriginal groups (Forestville and Coasttown) which are only weakly oriented towards the Future. The College group is strongly oriented towards Individualism and its members are pursuing training leading to their individual development and advancement; whereas, the members of the Commune group, though very like College on the Time value, are more oriented towards Collaterality on the Relational value and this fact is reflected in their attempt to live a more communal life within the commune house. Briefly, the value orientation positions revealed by responses to the schedule are consistent with the ethnography of the groups.

Problems, however, do exist. The Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck presentation rests firmly on the basis of the rank ordering of dependent variables. This is made quite explicit:

...it is postulated that ... there is always a rank ordering of the preferences of the value-orientation alternatives.  

This implies, because at least three preferences are postulated in each case (though only two have been developed in the Activity value items in the schedule), a field conception of the results (See

3Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, ibid., p.10.
graphical presentation of the results in Chapters 5 and 6). Yet, they distinguish between "pattern elaboration" and "basic change" in a way which implies they are thinking in terms of independent categories. They say:

In the first instance the variation theory argues that a clear distinction should be made between changes which are more of the same thing - the pattern elaboration of a dominant value-orientation ordering - and basic changes which are changes in the value-orientation orderings themselves. This argument rests upon the thesis that value-orientation systems are an interlocking network of dominant and variant patterns and are not simply unitary systems of dominant orientations.4

Unless the authors are confused in the way suggested, it is difficult to see how the distinction they make can be maintained. They give at least semantic importance to "basic change" in opposition to "pattern elaboration", and appear also to give empirical importance to "basic change" when they say:

...we maintain that basic change is usually, if not always, the result of the interplay of internal variations and external forces which are themselves variable.5

If we think of an "interlocking network of dominant and variant patterns" as a field of possibility within which variation can occur (and this is represented in the three-dimensional graphs) then a

4Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, ibid., p. 43.

5Ibid. (author's emphasis).
small change of value orientation position from just within the bounds of one segment of the graph to just within the bounds of the segment immediately adjacent to it would be described as "basic change" whereas even the most extreme change within a segment would be mere "pattern elaboration". The latter change would be empirically and statistically highly significant, whereas the former would be non-significant. In these circumstances it is difficult to accept the distinction made by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck. Perhaps the explanation of this seeming contradiction lies in the fact that the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck book was assembled rather than written as a whole and the divorcement of the theoretical writing from the empirical work did not make the confusion obvious.

The rejection of the importance they give to the distinction between "basic change" and "pattern elaboration", or indeed to the distinction itself is not a threat to the "Variations in value orientations" theory itself. This is the course I have followed here, since it has been clear that "pattern elaboration" was the important consideration (that is, in my terms, the strength with which a value orientation pattern was held) rather than the identification of the particular rank orderings of the variations.

6Ibid., p. xi-xii.
A further problem exists in that the analyses of responses on the individual items for each value, which were presented in Chapter 5, suggest that the item responses are not situationally independent. That is, that one item of a particular value series may indicate one value orientation position, while another item may indicate a different position. The best example of this from this research data involves Item 18 (Ceremonial Change) in the Time series. The Aboriginal groups were Past oriented in this item but not on any other item in the series, whereas the two white groups were not Past oriented on this or any other item. This result made a neat distinction between the White and Aboriginal groups, but raises the question as to whether or not one is entitled to think of Item 18 as reflecting the same concept as the other items (for example, Item 3, which deals with Child Training).

This problem is specifically examined by Kluckhohn and Strodtebeck in relation to its statistical problems. The authors sidestep the problem of whether the individual items in a series relating to one value are dependent or independent variables. From a theoretical point of view this seems to be "not good enough", since if there is a single value orientation position (say, relating to the Time value), then presumably all items said to tap that orientation position are dependent variables vis-a-vis each other and ought to indicate the same value orientation position within the limits of experimental error.

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7 Ibid., p. 133.
This was clearly not the case in respect to Forestville and Coasttown responses to Item 18 from the Time series. At least to some extent, value orientations appear to be situationally bounded or dependent. If this is the case, and the objectionable results are not just artifacts of poor schedule design, then it becomes somewhat problematical what is implied in the value schedule responses.

The same problem in a more serious way led me to reject the Man-Nature series of items (see Section A of Chapter 6). Also, because the concept of the Supernatural is distinct from that of at least one understanding of Nature, the World View series of items was developed and introduced into the schedule.

For these reasons value orientations as "definitely patterned principles ... which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts" are regarded as problematical. The question of their legitimacy is left aside as an open question and the tentative working definition of value orientations as: convenient heuristic principles which result from the analysis of the responses to the values schedule, is accepted. This has meant that the problem of combining items from a value series has been avoided in the final analysis, but was done in the earlier stages for purposes of descriptive presentation. Nevertheless, the values schedule does measure something (here called value orientations) and that something is the basis of the high correlations achieved.

\footnote{Ibid., p. 4.}
In the development of the concept of value dissonance the contributions on the individual items were considered separately, though it may be argued that I have failed to avoid possible error, by adding the individual differences from the Ideal Type together to achieve a single measure of value dissonance. I do not believe I have fallen into this type of error.

Certainly, as it stands, the values schedule is a comparatively crude instrument which has nevertheless proved to be empirically valuable. It seems to me that a great deal more work is required before one could give to the theory of variations in value orientations the theoretical status accorded it by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck.9

Despite these reservations, the problems raised seem to be minor and insufficient grounds on which to reject the theory; but rather, these objections invite the refinement of its exposition and the development of more sophisticated methodology.

FOR CHANGE THEORY AND STRESS

Berger and Luckmann see change as an inevitable and inherent process of social life.10 It results from the dialectical nature of the relationships between man, his society and his environment.11

9Ibid., pp. 1-48.


11Ibid., p. 99.
Their conception of social reality is essentially dynamic and requires no special theory to explain change; change is a condition of man being homo socius.  

Man is inducted into society through the process of socialisation which has two phases, primary socialisation which requires a deeply affective relationship with "significant others" and secondary socialisation which is a process of building onto what has been internalised during primary socialisation in a way which is consistent with it.  

The central importance of language is stressed in the Berger and Luckmann conception of socialisation.

"Society, identity and reality are subjectively crystallized in the same process of internalization. This crystallization is concurrent with the internalization of language. Indeed, language constitutes both the most important content and the most important instrument of socialization."

However, primary socialisation cannot ever be completely successful and to the extent that it is unsuccessful it provides for variations which are potentials for change from within the society.  

_12_ Ibid., pp. 49 and 144.  


_15_ Berger and Luckmann, _ibid._, p. 135.
complex societies, with developed specialisations of labour, tend to form sub-cultures which offer alternative perceptions of reality.\textsuperscript{16} These alternative perceptions are available within the society but it is essentially the massive impact of parents and other significant others which most importantly moulds the socialisation of individuals.\textsuperscript{17}

A further source of change becomes available when a society is confronted by another with a different socio-cultural universe. The confronting culture offers an alternative construction of reality which is not only available but may, in fact, challenge the legitimacy of the existing order.\textsuperscript{18} When the change required in an individual is a massive restructuring of social reality inconsistent with that internalised during primary socialisation, it is necessary to replicate the intensely affective and dependent conditions under which primary socialisation occurred.\textsuperscript{19} This process of resocialisation is referred to by Berger and Luckmann as \textit{alternation}.\textsuperscript{20} Alternation requires very special conditions which are difficult to achieve and even more difficult to maintain. The authors use the example of religious conversion to explain the problems involved in alternation.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 115. 
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., pp. 155-57. 
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 99. 
\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 135. 
\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., p. 144 (my emphasis).
Another source of change is, of course, when the environment itself is changed in some significant way. This then has its impact on the whole system - that is, on the man-society-environment dialectical relationship.

Society always limits the organism's biological possibilities in the interests of order:

A pointed illustration of society's limitation of the organism's biological possibilities is longevity. Life expectancy varies with social location. Even in contemporary American society there is considerable discrepancy between the life expectancies of lower-class and upper-class individuals. Furthermore, both the incidence and the character of pathology vary with social location. Lower-class individuals are ill more frequently than upper-class individuals; in addition they have different illnesses. In other words, society determines how long and in what manner the individual organism shall live. ... such intrinsically biological functions as orgasm and digestion are socially structured. ... The point is that society sets limits to the organism, as the organism sets limits to society.21

The results reported in Chapter 6 seem to fit well into the Berger and Luckmann scheme. The basic value orientations dealt with in the values schedule are internalised during primary socialisation and become a screen through which reality is perceived. In the processes of social action, individuals with one perception of reality attempt to interact with individuals with another perception and find in each other incomprehensible responses. This offers a threat to the mental security of the individuals involved and produces

21 Ibid., pp. 166-67.
stress for those who are more distant from the ideal type (or
dominant) value orientations pattern of the society.

For example, if Other's orientations in Time are ordered
Future-Present-Past, Other could take action to bring about some
distant future event without inconsistency with his orientations,
but the action might be incomprehensible to Self because its goal
would not be perceived, nor would it be related to any drawing on
the Past to solve a current problem.

It seems reasonable to assume that the level of stress
would be increased for Self if Other demanded that Self take some
action which was not perceived as relevant to the present, but to
the future.

Consider the following case: neither Coasttown nor Forest-
ville people are significantly oriented to the Future, but it is
official policy of the New South Wales Government to encourage
Aborigines to purchase their own homes. This requires that they
forego present expenditure and the resulting satisfactions to
secure a future gain. (This "gain" is seen from the White point of
view.) Where an officer urges the official point of view he comes
to be avoided by the Aborigines as much as possible because they
find such situations distressing.

If Other, making the demand, was in a dominant position and
able to insist that the action be taken, then the conflict would be
accentuated. Sub-cultural groups within a society find themselves
in just this predicament ... that is, the pressure of Others on them
to behave in ways which are inconsistent or in conflict with their perceptions of reality. The members of the sub-cultural group could perceive Others as acting in an incomprehensible or irrational manner. This explanation of the genesis of stress seems to satisfy the empirical situations examined here and to fall within the Berger and Luckmann theory.

The results imply that there is an additive effect, at least for the four value orientations tested. The sum total of the differences between the value orientations of the Ideal Type and those of a particular group is the value dissonance of that group. It is the value dissonance which correlates highly with self-perceived morbidity and enables the prediction of self-perceived morbidity.

Correlation is not causation, but it seems that in this case it is reasonable to suggest that value dissonance is a strong contributory factor in the development of self-perceived morbidity; or, put another way, that value dissonance is a necessary but not a sufficient cause for the development of particular symptoms. Further work may indicate that value dissonance is a sufficient cause for the development of somatic and sociopsychiatric symptoms; and that only the nature of the symptoms developed depends on the presence or absence of other conditions (e.g. micro-organisms). That is, where value dissonance is present in a group the level of self-perceived morbidity will be determined by it, but the nature of the symptoms will be determined by other conditions.
The possibility for change is inbuilt into any social system since the socialisation process is never perfect, even in a small-scale homogeneous society. Some individuals will always be somewhat different from the majority as a direct consequence of what Berger and Luckmann call "unsuccessful socialization", failure to establish a "high degree of symmetry between objective and subjective reality". 22

The more complex and/or more numerous a society becomes the greater will be the possibility for the emergence of diversity, and indeed the greater will be the demand for diversity to provide role occupants for a very wide range of necessary roles.

The child in a complex society is not confronted with a monolithic conception of reality, but with varying alternative conceptions. It remains true, nevertheless, that for the child the conception of reality presented by his parents and other "significant others" will carry an emotional charging which will prompt the child to internalise that reality rather than some alternative offering. Despite this, unsuccessful socialisation can and does occur: for example, the Commune group in this study.

In situations of change where there is a dominant group involved, there are commonly attempts made to bring about "directed change". These attempts are unlikely to be successful if the change intended is a radical departure from the reality internalised by the child during primary socialisation. To achieve this kind of change, Berger and

22 Ibid., p. 150.
Luckmann contend, it is necessary to replicate the intensive emotional attachments and dependence present during primary socialisation. 23

Three distinct types of change can be seen as the result of this analysis. Firstly, change which is no more than an addition to the present without inconsistency; all secondary socialisation is of this kind. Secondly, change which is an addition to the present and which is inconsistent with it, requiring resocialisation. Thirdly, change which is an environmental alteration posing problems of the integration of the new or compensation for the deleted elements within the existing order.

These three types of change can be seen in terms of the model presented earlier (see p.28).

Need --> activity --> satisfaction
| situation | value |

The first can be seen as a change in activity with values already available to support the new behaviour, for example the use of steel axes rather than stone. The second requires a change in values already internalised during primary socialisation, and for this reason is far more radical in its extent and possible consequences, for example the switch from a hunting and collecting economy to one based on wage labour. The third type of change may have even more complex outcomes. An environmental change may not be salient for a group, in

23Ibid., pp. 129-133 and 144.
which case it would be ignored. But an environmental change which was salient for a group would require adjustments or adaptations involving either simple or radical change.

It is change at the level of values (an example of radical change) which poses the greatest problems for groups undergoing the process and for agencies attempting to assist or direct such changes. Basic value orientations are general and pervasive in their implications so that attempting a modification in one situation will imply necessary changes in many other situations.

The analysis of the basic value orientations of the two Aborigine groups dealt with in this study has indicated that neither group is significantly oriented towards individualism, yet such an orientation seems to be basic for success in Australian society, for example, in the school situation where individualism is an important element in achievement motivation.

If it was thought desirable to change the value orientations of these Aborigines towards a strong orientation to individualism, and if this change could be achieved (a highly doubtful possibility in the short term), the change might significantly increase the achievement motivation of the children, but it would decrease their willingness to share with their kin in times of shortage, tend to isolate them from group identity and increase their isolation as individuals, decrease their willingness to concern themselves with the aged in their communities, and produce a more competitive atmosphere among them. All these other changes might be seen, by middle-class Whites,
as a reasonable price to pay for increased achievement motivation; but if the Aborigines were aware of the consequences it is highly unlikely that they would agree. Reference to the analysis in Section A of Chapter 6 shows, in fact, that "young" Aborigines at Coasttown are not moving from the position of their parents towards that of the College group on the Relational value, but are moving towards a position held by the socially dissatisfied Commune group.

But the hypothetical example of changing the basic value orientations is very much an academic exercise because as yet we know of no techniques that could bring such a change about once the period of primary socialisation is completed before the children reach school age. Berger and Luckmann suggest that such a radical change has its analogue in religious conversion. Yet even in this case where isolation and support are deliberately used, the outcome is uncertain; and the analogue is not good since conversion (particularly for those who already have a World View orientation towards Spirituality) may not require the depth of change suggested by a shift from insignificant to significant orientation towards individualism, or equivalent shifts in other basic value orientations.

Within the framework already presented, it is possible to sketch a general outline indicating the crucial variables involved in change. Granted that change can occur in activity, value or situation alone, or in any combination of these, other principles are involved. The three main principles seem to be relevance, consistency and socialisation phase affected. In all cases reference is being made to the individuals or groups in whom the change is proposed.
Relevance has to do with whether or not the proposed change is related (offers a solution) to a felt need. If the change does offer a solution then it will be assessed in terms of its appropriateness and efficiency with respect to alternatives: the cost of making the change would be a factor in this assessment. Knowledge is an important consideration here.

Consistency has to do with whether or not the proposed change is compatible with what already exists: that is, whether or not it fits with reality as perceived by those contemplating the change. For example, an Aborigine could see accepting treatment for a specific illness from a western-trained doctor as consistent with his traditional practice of appealing to a specialist healer, but find the acceptance of the germ theory of disease as non-consistent with his belief in the supernatural causation of illness.

Socialisation phase has to do with whether the trait involved in the change was internalised during primary or secondary socialisation. It has been noted already that a perception of reality internalised during primary socialisation is more massively real for the individual and therefore more resistant to change than a trait internalised during secondary socialisation. For example, it would be easier to persuade an individual to abandon a scientific theory internalised during secondary socialisation at school or university than it would be to persuade that same individual to abandon a belief in God internalised during primary socialisation at his mother's knee.

Taking these principles, it is possible to set out a list of
combinations with increasing degrees of difficulty in introducing change as the list continues. Here again it needs to be remembered that this list would apply to any change whether it was in activity, value or situation and that while a situation can be changed independently of a particular group of individuals, that change could have repercussions for both activities and values. Activity change alone is likely to be easiest to achieve, whereas value change is likely to be the most difficult.

A preliminary listing of this kind is given below but it is clearly beyond the scope of this present work to provide a full explication of what is a highly complex set of interactions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank order of difficulty</th>
<th>Relevance (to felt needs)</th>
<th>Consistency (with existing activities, values or situations)</th>
<th>Socialisation Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>Consistent</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Non-Relevant</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>Non-Consistent</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Non-Relevant</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this listing the major division is between the consistent and the non-consistent. Particularly where the non-consistency involves values, change would involve resocialisation with all the difficulties of the establishment of intense affective relationships and dependence necessary for the resocialisation to occur. Such change, except in generational time spans, seems excluded from what change agents might reasonably attempt.

The implications of this are that the task of the change agent is to interpret the change for its recipients in such a way that what was non-relevant becomes relevant and what was non-consistent becomes consistent. An example of the former might be the implication, in current tooth paste promotion, that unless one uses a particular brand, one will be socially unacceptable. The idea involved is clearly to make the use of the particular brand of tooth paste highly relevant to a present need of people for security in their personal relationships with their fellows; and in this way to persuade them to switch to the promoted brand. An example of the latter might be a promotion which attempted to persuade Aborigines to accumulate savings, not in the interests of some distant future reward (a notion inconsistent with their weak future orientation on the Time value) but rather in the interests of an immediate present increase in their personal and group status (an idea that would be consistent with their clearly expressed need for enhanced personal and group identity status).
What emerges from this brief sketch of some of the implications of this study is that change is not a simple uni-dimensional entity, but a complex set of interacting relationships in which the perceptions, activities and values of the individual or group in which change is desired are of paramount importance. To plan without their full involvement is to court disaster.

FOR MEDICINE

If the findings of this study are replicated in further research there are profound implications in the field of medicine. Firstly, since the Ideal Type and the data from two White groups enabled the prediction of the level of self-perceived morbidity in two Aboriginal groups, it is clear that it is unnecessary to appeal to racial factors to explain the high levels of morbidity in Aboriginal groups. A social explanation alone is sufficient.

Secondly, if the level of morbidity is constant (proportional to value dissonance) for groups at various social levels, it is apparent that present scientific medicine does not cure people (i.e. make them healthy), but rather it cures specific diseases from which they are suffering. Since the level of morbidity in a social group remains constant, the curing of a patient’s disease must then require the development of other symptoms to compensate for those removed. Put simply, modern medicine changes the pattern of disease but does not reduce the level of morbidity which is apparently controlled by social factors (the most important of which appears to be value dissonance).
If this approximates the real situation (and only further research can justify such a conclusion), then it can be said that unless medical practitioners are well grounded in the social sciences, they are no more equipped to practise medicine (understood to imply the reduction of morbidity) than they would be if they were not well grounded in pathology, or anatomy.

Thirdly, in the field of health education, severe problems are raised. If value dissonance is causal in the production of morbidity, then so-called health education is in fact social education which should be directed towards changing values to reduce value dissonance. As we have noted, this radical change in basic value orientations is highly unlikely to be successful unless very special circumstances exist or it is attempted during the period of primary socialisation. This bleak outlook for health education overlooks the possibility of making important contributions by changing the pattern of morbidity within a group to the effect that death and physical disability are avoided at the cost, perhaps, of increased levels of mental stress. Certainly, if such an attempt is made, it is clear that only the smallest amount of change necessary to achieve the desired goal should be attempted. That would mean, for example, that among Aboriginal full-bloods, no attack would be made on their beliefs in the supernatural by attempting to teach the germ theory of disease, but rather the attempt would be made to modify actual behaviour in simple ways that could lead to lower levels of transmission of infectious diseases.
Fourthly, the method used here and the concept of value dissonance offer important possibilities for research in the epidemiology of specific diseases, and for investigations into role-shift life crises and their association with heightened levels of morbidity.  

The results of this research indicate that the level of morbidity in a society, or a segment of it, is a reflection of the social conditions within it. Indeed, disease is better written dis-ease.

It may be that when an Australian says: "I'm sick of the whole rotten mess", he means it, literally, even if he is not aware of this truth.

Further, modern scientific medicine may yet return with more humility to an older wisdom and look more closely at the role and practice of traditional healers. As Horton says:

...the traditional healer's efforts to cope with the situation by ferreting out and attempting to remedy stress-producing disturbances in the patient's social field is probably very relevant.  

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The need for significant changes in health services in Australia is implied by my results. If stress, resulting from value dissonance, is a strong contributor to morbidity, then health services need to provide many more stress-relieving mechanisms; chief among these would be the development and use of personnel to play a role in the community (and particularly in disadvantaged segments of it) which would be a blend of the present roles of public health nurse and social worker. The much greater development of applied sociology is also indicated as an integrated part of health services.

FOR PSYCHOLOGY

The evidence of this study alone does not support firm conclusions concerning the relationship between I.Q. and social factors. However, the fact that the average I.Q. of the children of the major groups studied ranks the groups in the same order as their value dissonance suggests strongly that further investigation may demonstrate social factors to be as important in the determination of I.Q. as they are in the determination of morbidity.

Certainly, attempts to establish differences in I.Q. between racial groups within a society cannot be regarded as legitimate unless the groups have been standardised for value dissonance. As Bodmer put it:
Measuring the environment only by standard socio-economic parameters, is a little bit like trying to assess the character of an individual by his height, weight and eye colour.26

It may be possible to develop a values schedule for children which, when used in conjunction with standard I.Q. tests, would provide a standardised weighting of the results and possibly achieve a more realistic assessment of biological potential. A measure of this kind would offer a much more precise weighting than that presently offered by the Queensland Test.27 The norms currently used with this test would give equal weighting to results from Forestville and Coasttown, which leaves it as a relatively crude measure; which is not to say that the Queensland Test is not superior to those normally in use.

FOR EDUCATION

The results show that Forestville and Coasttown Aboriginal children are severely disadvantaged in education and that value dissonance contributes to this disadvantage. Because of this it seems unlikely that remedial intervention at the school level can hope to do more than ameliorate the situation.


However, it can be argued that a radical change in teaching method (not curricula) to bring instruction into harmony with the value orientations of the children could achieve significant gains. That is, since the children cannot be redesigned at school age to fit the schools, the school methods should be redesigned to fit the children. But, because teachers are drawn mainly from the middle-class, it seems unlikely that such a change could be achieved (the teachers being incapable of redesigning their own value orientations to fit those of the Aboriginal children). That there is a severe value orientations gap between Aboriginal children and their teachers has been shown by comparing the College group with Forestville and Coasttown.

If intervention is to be attempted (and there is an ethical problem involved), then it should occur at the earliest possible age - certainly at the preschool level - and it should be specifically designed to develop those language skills which enshrine a conception of reality more in harmony with the societal Ideal Type value orientations. Blank has indicated the practicability of this type of intervention.\(^\text{28}\) Despite this, however, it would not be a miracle process because the children would still be under the impact of the alternative construction of reality being presented by their parents and other "significant others". Success would depend to a considerable extent on the attitudes of the parents and other significant others.

extent on the strength of the emotional relationship established between the individual intervening and the child. Put another way, an intervenor's success would depend substantially on her ability to become a "significant other" to the child and thus enter directly into the process of primary socialisation. Such a procedure would, if successful, create a value orientations gap between parents and children and this, if the example of the Forestville "young" may be taken, would involve the young Aborigines in considerable stress unless the White community was open and receptive.

FOR WELFARE

The implications for medicine, psychology and education apply also in the welfare area. Additionally, it is clear that welfare personnel should act in ways that would tend to relieve stress, and encourage group activities likely to achieve that result, rather than to behave in ways that would tend to increase stress. Police-like activities have no place in the welfare role.

Programmes need to be designed to fit the value orientations of particular Aboriginal groups, rather than be developed centrally to satisfy the needs of White society. This means that programmes should only be designed in meaningful consultation with the specific Aboriginal groups for whom they are intended.

This requires that knowledge of the value orientations of the groups is available before work with them in stress-relieving ways is
possible: work leading to the development of self-direction for Aborigines within the total society.

The directions such programmes would take could be expected to be as varied as the Aboriginal groups themselves. Simplistic solutions to the very complex problems of value dissonance are probably more dangerous to the well-being of Aborigines than inactivity.

Radical changes are unlikely to occur in the short term; attempts to achieve short-term radical changes are likely to produce increased stress and resulting heightened levels of morbidity and reaction.

FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The following list of research areas suggested by this study is not meant to be exhaustive, but only to indicate some of the more obvious possibilities which have occurred to the author during the analysis and writing of this study.

(1) A replication of the study in the general Australian community to test the validity of the correlations found here.

(2) An examination of the relationship between value dissonance and specific diseases.

(3) An examination of the relationships between morbidity and value dissonance in situations of role-fit and role-conflict.

In conjunction with Dr. G.C. Scott and a number of other colleagues, a research submission has been presented which would give
first information on the three topics listed above. At the time of writing, funds had not been secured to develop the project.

(4) An examination of the relationship between value dissonance and I.Q., and the possible development of standardised weightings to be used in conjunction with existing I.Q. tests.

(5) A critical analysis of the range of basic value orientations (including the Man-Nature value), other less basic values and attitudes.

(6) The development of a more sophisticated value orientations schedule for groups and also one applicable to individuals.

(7) The development and investigation of a pilot pre-school intervention programme to assess its ability to modify value orientations and to examine its social impact on the group in which it operates. (Dr. Betty Watts, of the University of Queensland, has commenced a programme which may be of the kind I have in mind.)

(8) An examination of the possibility of a relationship between "dropping out" of school and value dissonance.

(9) The development of parallel studies in other societies to determine whether each society is an isolate or whether industrial society demands certain Ideal Type value orientations which are economically necessary for the functioning of complex industrial society.  

(10) The development of the concept of value dissonance in studies of social and cultural change to determine to what extent it might be possible to predict the direction and rate of change in given circumstances.

SPECULATION

Arising out of research suggestion 10, it is interesting to speculate on the possibility of some historical change in value orientations as society has moved from hunting and collecting towards complex industrial economies, without implying a necessary evolutionary sequence.

It seems that in a hunting and collecting society there could scarcely be any reason why the Future orientation on the Time value should receive any emphasis, whereas it makes sense to speculate that both Lineality and Collaterality on the Relational value would be important but that Individualism would have little encouragement. However, in a complex industrial society there would be a range of value orientation systems among which the Future orientation and Individualism might be expected to have an important place. This because complexity demands planning and this implies a strong conception of the future; and since complex industrial societies are economically based on growth, it also implies innovation which implies Individualism. 30

Likewise one might speculate on the ordering of other value orientations. For example, the following suggest themselves as possible changes:

On Time - a movement from the ordering Present-Past-Future to Future-Present-Past.

On Relational - a movement from Lineality-Collaterality-Individualism to Individualism-Collaterality-Lineality.


However, these must remain speculations because even a partial answer to the problems raised would require parallel studies in a wide range of societies.

It is not intended to suggest that there might be some necessary evolutionary stages through which value orientation systems must change, but rather that certain economic systems seem, of themselves, to imply the necessity for particular value orientations in order that the societies might function and survive.
CONCLUSION

One hundred and fifty years of contact with Whites have brought many changes to the Aborigines at Coasttown and Forestville, but their differing histories, environments and surrounding White communities since first settlement have combined to make these Aboriginal communities significantly different from each other, though originally they were very similar. Coasttown Aborigines are more like Whites than are those at Forestville, but both communities are different from Whites in other ways than the colour of their skins.

It has been shown here that their basic value orientations differ: Coasttown Aborigines are more like the white control group (College) than are the Forestville people (Hypothesis: 1). However, their basic value orientations are not changing quickly enough to demonstrate a significant difference between the Old and the Young in either group, though there was a trend in the expected direction noted for each group (Hypothesis: 2). The level of stress in the Aboriginal groups was related to change: Forestville (the less changed) had more stress than Coasttown (the more changed) (Hypothesis: 3). That is, not change but failure to change produces stress. Stress is related to value difference in that a measure of stress was shown to rank the groups in the same order as did ethnographic data and value orientations (Hypothesis: 4). By using a regression analysis, it was shown that stress (Hypothesis: 5) and self-perceived morbidity (Hypothesis: 6)
were directly proportional to value dissonance and that there was support for Hypothesis 7: "Morbidity is directly proportional to value dissonance". Qualitative support was offered for Hypothesis 8: "Within a society, the life chances of a sub-cultural group are inversely proportional to its value dissonance". These results show that the concept of value dissonance is useful in reaching a better understanding of important social variables.

The dynamic view of society taken by Berger and Luckmann has been shown to be consistent with the empirical results achieved in this study. Their view has the great advantage that no special theory of change is required. Change is a normal process within any society and is to be understood in the context of the dialectical relationships of man, society and environment. Culture contact or cultural confrontation simply offers an alternative society (in this context, an alternative construction of reality).

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's concept of variations in value orientations has been demonstrated as heuristically important. However, there are both practical (involving value schedule design) and theoretical problems (relating to the conceptualisation of basic value orientations). The theoretical status of value orientations has been questioned and no final solution reached, though it appears that only a more precise definition of concepts is required. Their definitions of basic change and pattern elaboration have been challenged
and rejected on the grounds that they conflict with their field theory of value variations and give more importance to a change in rank ordering of value variations (basic change) than seems warranted on empirical grounds, or on their field theory of variations.

This study has developed the concept of value dissonance and demonstrated a method by which it is possible to predict morbidity in sub-cultural groups within a society. It also provides a simple method by which various sub-cultural groups (for example, all Aboriginal groups in New South Wales) may be ranked on a change scale.

Morbidity is a social variable and action to reduce it must be social, rather than chemical or surgical. Horton says:

...modern medical men, though long blinded to (the causal link between disturbed social relations and diseases or misfortune) by the fantastic success of the germ theory of disease, are once more beginning to toy with the idea that disturbances in a person's social life can in fact contribute to a whole series of sicknesses, ranging from those commonly thought of as mental to many more commonly thought of as bodily. In making this rediscovery, however, the medical men have tended to associate it with the so-called 'pressures of modern living'.

One hopes that the results reported here will encourage the medical profession and my colleagues in the social sciences to stop "toying with" the problem and treat seriously the social facts underlying morbidity in human societies.

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Action to reduce morbidity in complex industrial societies may be confronted with a major problem. If the sheer size and wide range of necessary roles in a complex society both encourage diversity, and if that diversity is necessary for social maintenance then there appears to be a situation where some segments of the society will be necessarily disadvantaged compared with the dominant segments. That is, granted complex societies as we know them today, there appears to be an essential inequality built into them. Only because there are variations in value orientations within the society can the wide range of roles find occupants, but these necessary variations severely disadvantage some groups.
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