

Stolen: Wages, Education, Lives, Country
*The Economic, Social, and Emotional Effects of Stolen Wages
on Indigenous Lives, and the Greater Australian Society*

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Finally, I would like to thank you, the reader, for your interest in this topic. It is only through bringing these issues to the forefront of society's interest and spreading education and awareness that we will come close at all to understanding it, and solving it.

ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to assess the emotional, social, and economic impacts of mandated "Stolen Wages" under the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Protection and Restriction of Sale of Opium Act. Living on settlements, reserves, and cattle stations, Indigenous individuals were not allowed control or access to their wages. Through intensive interviews and a Public Opinion Survey, this study found that in general, non-Indigenous Australians are very misinformed in regards to the history of Stolen Wages and the Protection Act. It was also concluded that the effects of the Stolen Wages are present in today's society, through economically disadvantaged Indigenous families and individuals, racism, and emotional and social instability.

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1.0--INTRODUCTION

In order to understand Stolen Wages, it is essential to contextualize it within history. Stolen wages encompasses the systematic and intentional underpayment (or lack of payment) to Indigenous laborers on government settlements, cattle stations, or Christian missions. It includes the lack of social services and proper living conditions, even though laborers were taxed for these goods and services routinely from what little wages they did make. It also is rooted in the system of control and institutionalization.

Ever since Europeans colonized Australia, the settlers made attempts to fix the "Aboriginal Problem." This "problem" consisted of the growing number of Indigenous peoples who were dying either due to massacre, disease, or displacement from land, and the social problems it was already beginning to cause. The "problem" also focused on the fact that the new European settlers equated the nomadic, and vagabondage lifestyle that Aboriginals lead with criminality, slum life, and poverty. The new government wanted to find a way to save children from this lifestyle, as it was already decided that adults were too set in their ways to change. The new settlers also began noticing that there were an increasing number of Aboriginal individuals that they described as slum like or destitute wandering in the cities (they had already begun to be displaced from their land and their families).¹

Thus, the proposed solution: Christian missions. These missions were formed to house Aboriginals and keep them isolated from whites in order to protect both the Indigenous communities from disease and massacre, and to protect the white population from introducing mixed race individuals into their community.² The missions also were built with the intent of training Indigenous children in European ways. In 1854, the state did not need parental consent to remove children from their families and place them in institutions, such as missions, if they felt the children were destitute or neglected. In Queensland in 1865, the *Industrial and Reformatories Schools Act* was passed. It legislated that any child that was found to be a pauper, and was under the age of 17 could be removed and placed in a reformatory. This was also

¹ Kidd, Rosalind. *The way we civilise*. Page 17-20.

² Long, J. *Aboriginal Settlements*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1970

true for "any child born of an Aboriginal or half-caste mother"³ and with the passage of the *Orphanages Act* in 1879, this children could be placed as domestic workers or farm hands.

The missions, however, failed miserably, largely due to the fact that Aboriginals did not want to live on them. In the 1890's, the Queensland government sent Archibald Meston to assess the "Aboriginal Problem" and come up with solutions for it. Meston was a believer in the noble savage idea⁴ and believed that Aboriginals, especially those individuals who were on the borders of new European towns (unlike some isolation Aboriginal groups, for example, in the Cape York peninsula) and were more susceptible to the dangers of clashing culture. On Meston's tour, he also noted the devastating effects of opium on Aboriginals. For years, employers were enticing aboriginals with tobacco, alcohol, and opium in exchange for work, hoping they would become addicted to one of the products, thus work for them in return. These observations sparked Meston's report, *Proposed System for the Improvement of the Aboriginals* in 1895. This report inspired the Queensland legislation: *The Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of Sale of Opium Act*, which would control Aboriginals and institutionalize them for at least one hundred more years.

This new act (The Act, or the Aboriginal Protection Act as it is commonly referred to) defined any Aboriginal as a ward of state. These wards of state were placed on the "assisted person's list" and the Act actually made it legal for the government to control all aspects of life (In 1939, this legislation was changed slightly to disregard all of the Aboriginals who had less than 25% Aboriginal blood in them)⁵. The 1904 amendments created one Chief Protector of Aboriginals, based in Brisbane, as opposed to 2: one for the north and one for the south. Whereas previous missions had failed due to lack of Aboriginal participation, under the new legislation, and Aboriginal could be removed and placed on a settlement or mission, regardless of his or her desire to be there.

³ Kidd, *Is, way we civilise*. Page 20.

⁴ This is an idea that rejoices "the native" for being "native." Indigenous are thought to have lived a righteous life simply because they are Indigenous. This concept is flawed, as it neglects the actual lives of Indigenous, and places the "noble savage" a tier under "civilized."

⁵ Long, J. *Aboriginal Settlements*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1970
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Under this new system, wages were paid directly to the protectors and police officers who ran the settlements. Only a small amount of pocket money was given to the workers and the rest was controlled and managed by the settlement protectors. In 1910, the government mandated that some of the wages be levied in order to pay for the cost of living on settlements (including rations, housing, and clothing). In 1919, the government also began mandatorily collecting part wages from those Aboriginals who were not working directly on settlements, stations, or reserves. Also at the time, the following funds were set up in order to collect money for running settlements and supporting Aboriginals, out of their wages: the Aboriginal Provident Fund, the Protection of Property and Account Fund, and the Native Industry⁶. The Queensland Aboriginal Account was active until 1966, and it held the savings of Aboriginal workers.

Australia's budding economy was dependent on its new industries, namely, the cattle industry, the sugar cane industry, and the railroads. Pastoral companies were a very large employer of Aboriginals, and they were a very important part of the financial well-being of the young country. Yet even with skilled workers, and an industry that was booming, in 1919 the Queensland government mandated that the pastoral industry pay Aboriginal stockmen and cattle station workers only 66% of standard wages. That same year, the government decided that all Aboriginals working on settlements, had to work for their housing and living costs (even though a portion of their wages were already being garnished in regards to this issue).⁷

Going along with the trend of controlling and managing Aboriginal individual's personal finances, the Aborigines Welfare Act was started in 1943 to collect another portion of wages from workers to supply a fund for community services for Aboriginals. Aboriginal workers were taxed anywhere from 2% - 10% of their wages depending on their personal and family circumstances on the reserve or settlement.⁸ Thus, taking into consideration taxes, and the different Aboriginal Funds over the course of the Act, Figure 1 illustrates what proportion of wages worker's actually kept, and where the rest went. Thus, over the span of the entire act and

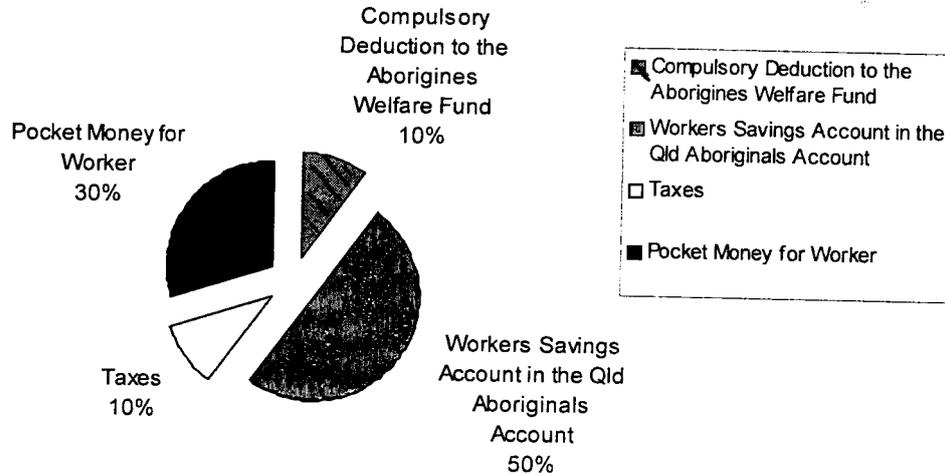
⁶ Long, Page 12

⁷ Eniar.org, Stolen Wages Fact Sheet. Also, see in Results, *Settlement Life*, or Appendix A for interview details on working for rations and housing.

⁸ Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy (DATSIP), *Wages and Savings of Indigenous Queenslanders 1897 - 1972*, government document hand-out.

people's entire lives, on average Indigenous workers and their families only kept 1/3 of their already unfairly low wages.

Figure 1: Dispersion of Indigenous Wages under the Act⁹



It is important to remark on the fact that the services that the Aboriginal Welfare Fund was supposedly supporting (through individual's wages) were non-existent. Standard living conditions on settlements included:

- Sub-standard housing
- Very little and non nutritious food
- Very little modern amenities (dishwashers, electricity, ovens, etc)
- Some settlements had no bedding, sleepwear, or actual beds

Standard health problems on settlements included¹⁰:

- Rampant malnutrition
- Pathogen air-borne diseases, such as Tuberculosis
- starvation

⁹ DATSIP, *Wages and Savings of Indigenous Queenslanders 1897 – 1972*.

¹⁰ Kidd, Page 30

Even now, standard Indigenous community issues include:

- High unemployment
- Alcoholism
- Lower income overall
- Loss of cultural ties
- Displaced persons

Indigenous workers were rampantly underpaid and unprovided for through generations. It was not until 1965 that the protector system was dismantled, and Aboriginal councils, jails, and police replaced government clerks, police, and protectors. In 1968, the government sets up a wage economy on reserves, but the wage was only 50% of the minimum wage. Wage discrepancies continued through the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's. It was not until 1968 that forced labor was ceased, and it was not until 1971 that forced confinement on reserves ended. Although the commonwealth Racial Discrimination Act of 1975 mandated that no person could be discriminated against in the work place (through policies or wages) because of their race, in 1985 Aboriginals were still only getting paid roughly 75% of the *minimum wage*.

The government continuously lost court cases through the 1980's and 1990's in regards to the mistreatment of Aboriginals, and the Human Rights Commission declared that it was wrong for workers on Palm Island to be paid so little after the Racial Discrimination Act, it was not until 1996 that any awards were paid to Indigenous workers (although the government was taken to court in 1985).¹¹

Besides this settlement, the Government is also providing Indigenous individuals who worked under the Act with a Reparations offer. It has offered individuals born before 31 December 1951 \$4000 and who were still alive on 9 May 2000, when this offer was made. If born between 1 January 1952 and 31 December 1956, individuals may be able to receive \$2000, if they were alive on 9 May 2000.

¹¹ McDougall, Scott. 'A Certain Commonality' *Discrimination against the discriminated in the compensation of Queensland's Underpaid Workers*, http://www.link.asn.au/downloads/events/e_31.pdf, accessed April 28th, 2003.

Reparations for deceased relatives who were not alive on 9 May 2000 will not be accepted. View Appendix A for more detailed information on the reparations process and offer.

The history briefly described here is only a taste of the injustices committed. The goals of this study were to:

- Document the economic, social, and emotional effects of stolen wages using people who lived through the era as sources.
- Use compiled background research and first hand research to portray what the effects of stolen wages and the system that implemented the policy are on society as a whole.
- Measure the average Australian's understanding of Indigenous history, culture, and politics.

Through this study, I looked at Public Opinion and interpretation of Aboriginal history and social issues, and case studies and intensive interviews of individuals who worked through the Act to see how they were affected by the racist inspired policies of the past century. The analysis of data focused on the merge of the two studies and how the system that failed Indigenous individuals, equally failed non-Indigenous Australians through institutionalizing racism, bigotry, poverty, and emotional distress. Both groups live and survive now in this policy-built society.

2.0 - METHODOLOGY

This study consisted of 5 main parts: intensive interviews with individuals who lived through the Act, case studies of government documents compiled of people who lived through the Act, a Public Opinion Survey, interviews with local experts in fields relating to this topic, and background research. All interviews and case studies are kept completely anonymous in this study, as not to harm any persons involved.

2.1 – INTENSIVE INTERVIEWS

I studied 4 different individuals testimony of their experience through the Act. Each one had their wages stolen. The interviews were secured through my advisor, Yvonne Butler. The purpose of these interviews was to gain a personal and direct understanding of what stolen wages are (according to the interviewee), what life was like working on a settlement, how wages were stolen, and how the system that enabled wages to be stolen, and the actual loss in funds, affected their lives then and now.

The interviews were all conducted in person, and the interviewee steered the direction of the conversation. In each situation, I presented my study in the same manner. I stated for each individual:

“My name is Laura Davidoff and I am currently conducting a month long research project on stolen wages. I was wondering if you could tell me about your experiences working on settlements, and how your wages were stolen. I am trying to get a picture of how stolen wages affected people during the Act, and now.”

I have chosen to represent this data in the following categories: Settlement Life, Control, Stolen Wages, and Present Day Implications of Stolen Wages. It is important to note that the data collected in these interviews includes interpretation by the interviewees, which is not to be confused with my own analysis of the Discussion section.

Each of the 4 interviews lasted approximately 2 hours each.

2.2 – CASE STUDIES

The second part of this project included intensive case studies. My advisor, provided me with government documents of 3 people who had their wages stolen, and either worked or lived on cattle stations or settlements. The documents included:

- Letters from Protectors to the Queensland government, with direct regard to the case study individual,
- Records of wages paid to settlement and cattle station workers,
- Copies of forms used on settlements and cattle stations;
- Letters from family members to government officials regarding the case study individual.

These documents provided an excellent source of first hand information regarding life on settlements and the Stolen Wage system. These are presented in the same format as the interviews are in the Results section, since they represent the same sort of data.

The case studies also provided evidence that wages were in fact stolen, and government perspective on the issue.

2.3 – Public Opinion Survey

The Public Opinion Survey consisted of 13 short answer questions and was targeted at native Australians. The purpose of the survey was to gauge the public's response to Aboriginals in the community, and government services. It also gauged the level of basic information that the public knew about Aboriginal (and Australian history). In any democracy-based society, public opinion can change the course of policy. Since Stolen Wages is in the midst of certain political controversy, public opinion could prove to be very influential in this matter.

The survey questions were as follows:

- 1) How would you characterize the relationship between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Australians?
- 2) Why does this relationship exist?
- 3) Are there many Indigenous individuals in poverty? Why or why not?
- 4) Why are there so few Indigenous people working in local private businesses?
- 5) Do you think that it is a good thing for the government to provide services and support that are directly aimed towards Indigenous individuals?
- 6) Are the services that are provided now by the government efficient?
- 7) Have you heard of the Aboriginal Protection Act? It is also called the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Protection and Restriction of Sale of Opium Act.
- 8) Have you heard of the Stolen Wages issue?
- 9) Were you aware that until the 1970's, Indigenous individuals were forced to work on settlements for very little or sometimes no pay?
- 10) Do you think these people still have a right obtain their past wages?
- 11) Does the Stolen Wage issue affect you at all?
- 12) Do you think that the Australian government, through their policies, intentionally meant to disadvantage the Indigenous community?
- 13) On a scale of 1-5, 1 being the least educated and 5 being the most educated, how educated would you say the average non-Indigenous Australian resident is in regards to Indigenous culture, history, politics, issues, etc?

Questions 1-4 were intended to gauge the respondent's opinion of indigenous and non-indigenous relationships, and to see if he/she made correlations between historical facts and current social issues. These questions also helped measure the participants' awareness of their surroundings and attitude towards Aboriginals.

Questions 5 and 6 were intended to measure public support for aiding members of their own community, and to see if participants correlated government services with derogatory Indigenous stereotypes, or social institutions and historical information.

Questions 7-9 were intended to measure a person's knowledge of basic Indigenous history, and of very significant social/political/historical events that shaped and are

shaping their country, their lives, and the lives of Indigenous. These questions were helpful in gauging the validity (how informed participants' opinions were) of other questions. Question 9 was important because it defined what question 8 was asking. If a respondent answered no to question 8 but yes to question 9, it was possible that they understood what stolen wages were, but had not heard the term, and vice versa.

Question 10 was important because the issue of reparations is very significant in current events in Australia. The question could be used to show the government what the public really thinks about reparations. It could also be used with other questions to see if there were correlations between knowing historical information and understanding the current political issues, and correlations between negative Indigenous stereotypes and understanding of Indigenous issues.

Question 11 intended to measure how the public viewed what affected their lives. From an economic standpoint, I was curious to see how an entire disadvantaged community affected the community at large. It occurred to me that racist attitudes might be more prevalent when individuals did not make connections with important social systems that affected members of their society.

Question 12 was intended to measure what the public perception of the Australian government was.

Question 13 was important because people are often more accurate in gauging others than themselves. It is important to see how Australians view themselves. If the public recognizes that they are either highly educated, or grossly miseducated, it could have the ability to change policy.

The results in this study present the raw respondent data, and certain key correlations between significant attitudes (significant meaning mentioned a lot in the survey).

I surveyed 50 individuals who were all natives¹² and current residents of Australia. I wanted to interview natives because I felt that natives would have more of a chance of understanding their own history, and I wanted to see how growing up in the Australian society shaped perception.

I surveyed only individuals who were alone as I did not want any sort of peer pressure to affect outcomes of this survey, as Indigenous issues is a controversial topic.

I surveyed individuals in Townsville and in Cairns, and found participants in town centers, malls, universities, and walking around the two cities.

2.4 – Interview with Experts

I interviewed the following people in hopes of gaining a better understanding of Indigenous Issues. Stolen Wages (and other Indigenous issues) must be place in a context, thus I interviewed the following people in order to place my study in a context that I, and the reader, would be able to understand it in:

1. Gwen Schrieber, Community Justice Officer, Aboriginal Co-Ordinating Council, Cairns.
2. George Villaflor, Lawyer, specializing in Indigenous rights, treaties, and Native Title, Canberra.
3. Sean Walker, Public policy graduate student/expert, Townsville.
4. Florence Onus, Professor, James Cook University, Townsville.
5. Sharon Moore, Professor, James Cook University, Townsville.
6. John Waugh, University of Melbourne, School for Indigenous Studies, Legal History expert, Melbourne.

2.5 – BACKGROUND RESEARCH

As mentioned above in 2.4, placing this study in its context is essential. I used government documents, economic data, books written specifically on Stolen Wages,

¹² This usage of the term “native” refers to those individuals who were born in Australia, not the derogatory term for Aboriginals.

and those written on racism, politics, welfare, and public policy to help me understand my study. I used libraries, town records, and local political organization for their guidance and help.

3.0- RESULTS

This section contains two parts, the Public Opinion Survey, and the interviews and case studies. The Public Opinion Survey (Section 3.1) is broken down by question, and the interviews (3.2) and case studies (3.2) are broken down per person and by three categories: emotional, social, and economic implications of Stolen Wages. Case studies and interviews have been left anonymous.

SECTION 3.1: The Public Opinion Survey

The public opinion survey data below is compiled from the 50 Australian residents who took the survey.

Question 1:

The first two questions relate to each other in the sense that Question 1 asks what kind of relationship exists and Question 2 asks why this exists. The data for Question 1 was broken down into the following categories as they separated naturally in accordance to participant answers: Negative, Positive, Don't know, Varies by Area, Middle, and There Isn't a Relationship. Overall, most participants categorized the relationship that Indigenous and Non-Indigenous peoples have as negative. The next largest response category was "Don't Know," followed by a positive view of the relationship, and variations on negative and positive following. One person stated that there was no relationship between the two groups. The following table (Table 1) displays this information.

Table 1: Response to Question 1: How would you characterize the relationship between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Australians?

Type Relationship	of	Number Respondents	of	Percentage of Total Respondents
Negative		33		66
Positive		4		8
Don't know		6		12
Varies By Area		3		6
Middle		2		4

There isn't a relationship	2	4
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Question 2:

Table 2: Response to Question 2: Why Does This Relationship Exist? Prevalence of Responses

Reasoning for Non-Indigenous/Indigenous Relationship	Number of Times reasoning was mentioned.	Percentage
Historical Politics	13	21.3
Live on Government Money	10	16.4
Don't know	8	13.1
Aboriginals "get more"	6	9.8
Cultural Differences	5	8.2
Alcohol	4	6.6
People stereotype	3	4.9
Respect	3	4.9
Lack of Education (About Indigenous Culture)	1	1.6
Lack of Opportunity	1	1.6
"Their attitude"	1	1.6
Primitive Culture	1	1.6
Class Distinction	1	1.6
Individual Relations	1	1.6
Lack of Community Interactions	1	1.6
Both live in Australia	1	1.639344
Media	1	1.639344
		1.639344

The most common response, "historical politics", illustrated that people recognized that the past has played a large role in how people are presently interacting. It is essential to point out, however, that 7 out of 13 of the "historical politics" answer was in reference to *Aboriginal fault entirely*. Some of the responses that display this theme, and illustrate a misunderstanding of history include:

- "They need to move past it"
- "Their primitive culture can't catch up"
- "Thousands of years ago we took their land and stole their children."
- "They say we stole their land, but there are two sides to every story."
- "There is this fuss over the stolen generation."

- “A lot of the stolen generation wasn’t actually stolen. Many Aboriginal mothers brought their children to the missions and settlements because they knew they couldn’t take care of them.”

Question 3:

Besides illustrating how many participants believe Indigenous Australians are in poverty and why, there were certain common ideas that were often mentioned together. For example, out of all participants who believed that the Indigenous were in poverty, 10 believed that Indigenous individuals could not manage their own money, while only 1 respondent who did not think Indigenous individuals were in poverty believed this. Thus, the following data also measures correlations between ideas and whether or not participants view poverty as a sincere problem for Indigenous individuals.

Table 3: Response to Part 1 Question 3: Are a lot of Indigenous People in Poverty?

Response	# of Respondents	Percentage of Total Respondents
Yes	42	84
No	5	10
Unsure	2	4
Depends on Region	1	2

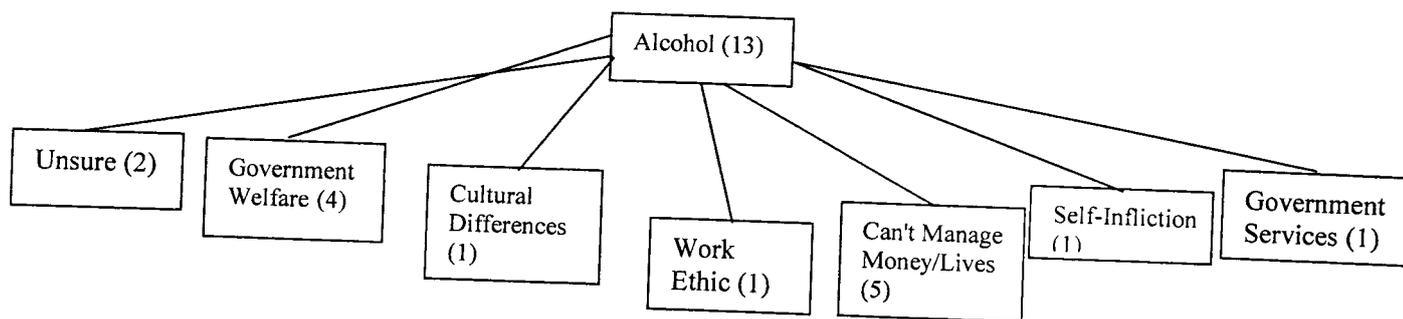
Table 4: Correlation between Part 2 answers for Question 3 (Why or Why Not Are Indigenous in Poverty?) with answers to Part 1 (Yes or No)

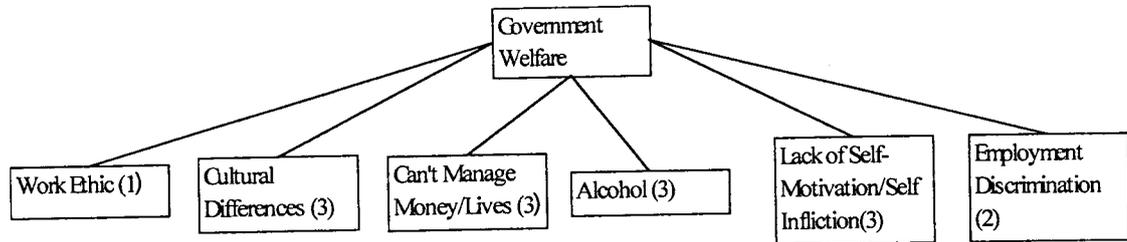
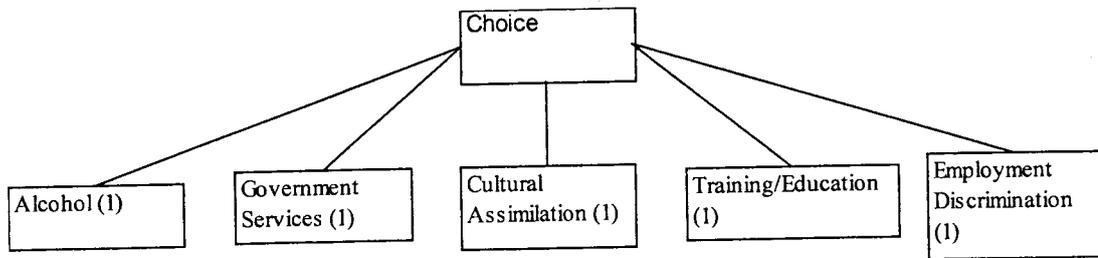
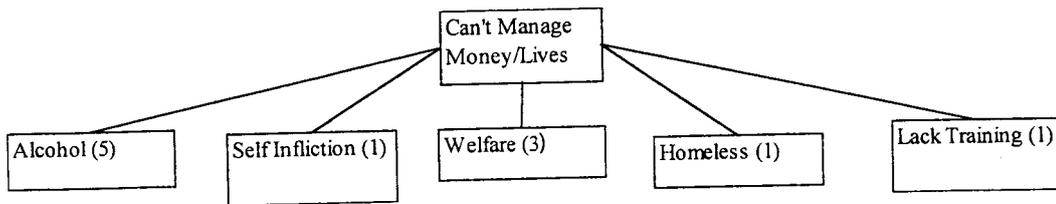
Why Indigenous are/are not impoverished	# of Responses corresponding to “Yes” in Part 1	# of Responses Corresponding to “No” in Part 1
Alcohol	13	0
Can’t Manage Money/Lives	10	1
Choice/Cultural Difference	10	2
Government Welfare	9	1
Difficulty with Cultural Assimilation	6	0
Employment Discrimination	5	0
Don’t Know	4	0
Government Services are misguided/Inefficient	4	0
Lack of Education/Training	3	0
Low Work Ethic	3	0

Self Infliction	3	0
Cycle of Discrimination	2	0
Stolen Generation	1	0
Marginalized by Society	1	0
Media	1	0
Lack of Opportunities	1	0
Missions	1	0
They are Fine	0	0
		1

The most common answer was alcohol, and it was never correlated with "No" (people who thought they were not in poverty) from part one. Also, 5/7 (71%) of all other responses that were correlated with alcohol placed Aboriginals at fault entirely. In fact, the 4 most popular reasons for why Aboriginals are in poverty (Alcohol, Can't Manage Money/Lives, Cultural Difference/Choice, and Government Welfare) did not correlate at all with responses such as Missions, Cycle of Discrimination, Stolen Generation, Media, Marginalized by Society, Lack of Opportunity, or other responses that were linked to these effects of historical institutions, or institutionalization and did not point the finger at the Indigenous person at the same time.

Figure 2: Correlations between 4 most reported reasons for indigenous poverty (Alcohol, Can't Manage Money/Lives, Cultural Difference/Choice, and Government Welfare) and other responses.





Question 4:

Table 5: Response to Question 4: Why are there so few Indigenous workers in local businesses?

Reason for lack of Indigenous Employment in Private Business Sector	# Times Responded	Percentage
Employment Discrimination	15	30
Choice	10	20
Poor Work Ethic	8	16
Lack of Motivation	4	8
Prefer Benefits (Government Welfare)	7	14
Lack of Training/Education	6	12

Question 5:

Table 6: Response to Question 5: Should the government provide services and support that are directly aimed towards Aboriginals?

Response	# Respondents	Percentage
Yes	31	62
Depends	11	22
No	7	14
Unsure	1	2

When participants provided reasoning behind their answer for this question, the most popular remark was that Indigenous people get more benefits than other Australians, and that if they were to have benefits, they should receive the same benefits as everyone else. Similar phrases that were repeated by different respondents included:

- “We should all be treated equal”
- “Whites are in poverty too”
- “I don’t mind if they get services, as long as it’s no more than what whites get”
- “They get more than us”

There was also a prevalence of certain responses from those who believed government services were helpful, and those that did not. Figure 2 illustrates how responses correlated to opinion of whether or not government services should exist solely for Aboriginals.

Question 6:

Table 7: Response to Question 6: Are the government services that are provided now for Aboriginals efficient?

Response	# of Respondents	Percentage
No	21	42
Yes	14	28
Depends	7	14
Don’t Know	6	12
Too Efficient	2	4

Out of the 21 “No’s” that dominated this question, 5 of the respondents (29%) believed the services were inefficient due to something that Aboriginals did wrong (such as taking advantage of the system, or having low motivation, 8 (38%) stated that

the services were inefficient due to something the government or ATSIC was doing wrong, and the other 8 “no” respondents (38%) had no reasoning for the inefficiency. The 2 respondents that stated services were “too efficient” meant that Aboriginals received too much money.

Question 7:

Table 8: Response to Question 7: Have you heard of the Aboriginal Protection Act?

Response	# Respondents	Percentage
No	42	84%
Yes	8	16%

Question 8:

Table 9: Response to Question 8: Have you heard of the Stolen Wages issue?

Response	# Respondents	Percentage
Yes	22	44%
No	24	48%
Don't Know	4	8%

Question 9:

Table 10: Response to Question 9: Were you aware that Indigenous people were forced to work on settlements until the 1970s with very little or no pay?

Response	# Respondents	Percentage
Yes	30	60%
No	19	38%
Don't Know	1	2%

Out of the people who answered “No” in Question 9, 5 answered “Yes” in Question 8. Similarly, 11 of the people who said “Yes” in Question 9 answered “no” in question 8. Both of these statistics mean that respondents were sometimes confused as to what the term “Stolen Wages” referred to, while still understanding the concept, and vice verse.

There was, however, a discrepancy in how well the concept of stolen wages was understood (tested in Question 9). Out of the 30 people who answered yes to Question 9, claiming they had some sort of understanding of the Stolen Wage issue. 10 (30%) made statements that would suggest otherwise in other parts of the survey. For example, after answering question 9, some responded with these phrases (or ones that were very similar):

- “They’ve already gotten that money back”
- “They didn’t work for less wages”
- “It was an equal trade for housing”
- “Even if they worked for slightly less, the government was supporting their entire families. So often, only 2 people were working, but essentially 5 could have been receiving benefits”
- “It’s all a lie.”
- “There is no documentation”
- “If they get that money back, they should pay taxes like the rest of us”

Question 10:

Table 11: Response to Question 10: Do Indigenous individuals who had their wages stolen have a right to them now?

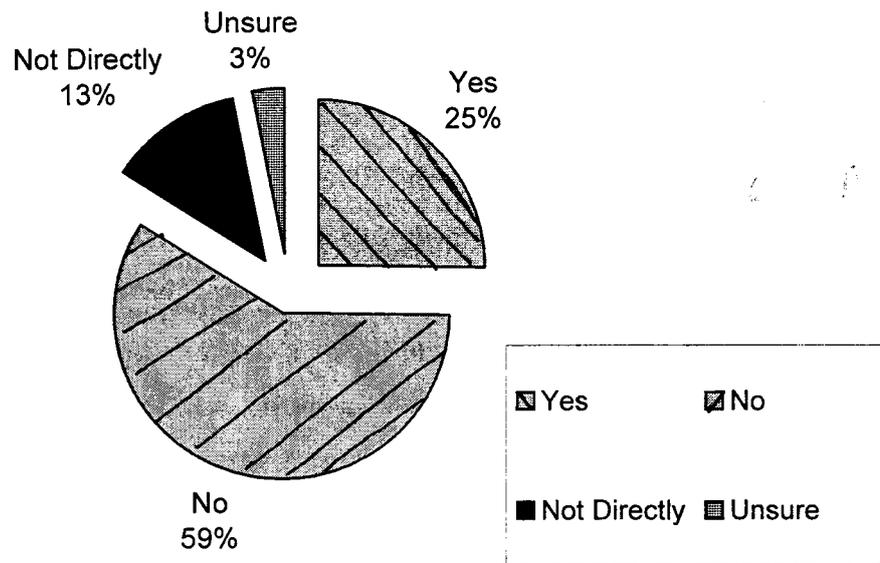
Response	# Respondents	Percentage
Yes	35	70%
No	11	22%
Depends on whether they were compensated in another way	3	6%
Don't Know	1	2%

In this question, 4 “No’s” and 2 “Depends” were from individuals who exhibited no understanding or familiarity of Stolen Wages; they answered to both 8 and 9 “No.”

Also, 2 “No’s” and 0 “depends” was from an individual who answered both questions 8 and 9 “Yes,” displaying a keen familiarity with stolen wages.

Question 11:

Figure 3: Response to Question 11: Does the Stolen Wages issue affect you at all?



Out of 50 respondents, only 25% affirmatively stated that stolen wages affected their life in any way at all. 3 respondents, of the 25% that stated they were affected by the issue remarked that it was because they were linked as a tax payer. The majority of respondents did not see any direct effect of Stolen Wages on their lives, economically, socially, or emotionally. The 3% that was unsure stated this because they claimed not to know the history of the issue.

Question 12:

Table 12: Response to Question 12 : Did the Australian government, through its policies, intentionally mean to disadvantage the Indigenous community?

Response	# Respondents	Percentage
No	32	64
In the past, yes. Now, no	12	24
Yes	5	10
Don't know	1	2

Question 13:

The last question asked the participant to rate the average Australian's understanding of Indigenous art, culture, politics, history, and issues. The average self-judged education rate was 2.3 out of 5. This means that according to public

opinion, the average Australian knows only 46% of what a highly educated person should know. This percentage is likely to be generous, as many of the individuals who ranked education highly had not heard of one of the key history facts (questions 7,8,and 9) and yet still mentioned that people generally knew a lot.

SECTION 3.2: Intensive Interviews

In this section, case studies and intensive interviews have helped illustrate what life was like on settlements, how wages were taken from individuals, and what the impacts of those stolen wages (and the system that allowed wages to be stolen) were. The following data is broken down by category. For complete interview and case study notes (broken down by category and person), see appendix B.

Settlement Life

For interviewees, stolen wages was a smaller issue entwined in the system of settlements, reservations, missions, and cattle stations. This system was one of control, poverty, institutionalisation, and cheap, exploited labor. The idea that one's wages could be legally and willingly stolen (and so finely documented) is a testament to the twisted politics of the era. All interviewees spoke of what life was like on the settlements, and the habitual deprivation surely created a controlled reality that most had to accept to survive. The conditions people lived in emphasized the economic, social, and emotional effects of monetary control and stolen wages.

For all interviewees, police controlled life. All groceries were to be bought through them, and all life decisions (such as marriage) were to be made through them.¹³ Although settlements and missions were originally built with the publicized ideals of saving the Aborigine for himself through education and assimilation into Western culture, children were only allowed schooling until grade 4, and most were put to work from dawn until as late as 11pm 6 ½ days per week. Work included domestics for girls and women, and manual labor for boys and men. Work was very difficult and there were no modern amenities, such as washing machines, to aid

¹³ Interview D

especially domestics in their daily work. Case F, a worker at a hotel and pub, worked entirely by hand, even washing entire loads of hotel sheets without a washer. These modern amenities had been invented – yet even with union fees and taxes, they were unavailable on settlements.

Many people (children and adults) ended up on settlements and missions because they were forceably removed. Once placed on settlements, “mug shots” were taken, and “inmates” were given English names and on some settlements, numbers. There were boundaries within the settlement, and Interview D recalled thinking it was very much like a prison. Children were not allowed to speak or have contact with family in many occasions, and they had to speak in English. Also, they were separated often from their parents and lived in dormitories. Finally, if the Protector of Aboriginals at the settlement decided to move you to another location, he had the right to do so, and your wages would be moved for you accordingly.

Finally, settlement life was riddled with fear, which was instilled by the characteristics of the lifestyle. For example, rape and sexual assault was rampant. Interview Yvonne used to work late and on her way back would run home past the police quarters. As case Interview A poignantly remembered:

And oh, I used to be scared, I used to be scared, I used to run fast past that police station at night when I used to finish work. Cause they were doing that stuff, there were rapes, you know, women had babies .¹⁴

This situation was characteristic of the theme of fear: it was impossible to lodge a complaint. If one did, they would be sent to Palm Island. This was the same situation for making a complaint in regards to unfair wages. If a person were to stand up for their rights, they would be shipped to one of the harshest settlement areas, Palm Island. As protectors used to say to workers on the Island: "you've got nothing."¹⁵

Control

As touched on in the previous category, the police that ran the settlements controlled all aspects of Aboriginal life. Church missions had curfews, which had to be strictly abided by. When “inmates” had to leave a settlement to go into the nearest town, permission from the police had to be granted first, and if they were not back by a

¹⁴ Interview A

¹⁵ Interview B

certain time, police from different towns would be informed to bring the "inmates" back.

In terms of day-to-day life, anything that needed to be bought had to go through the protectors. The following is an excerpt from Case study jubilee of a letter to the protector in Brisbane from the Protector at Case E's settlement in regards to buying clothes:

"XXX is of the opinion that he is entitled to an issue of clothing. If such is the case, he wants 2 pairs of trousers size 5, 2 shirts size 15 ½, 2 singlets 38, and ½ doz handkerchiefs.

Control also manifested itself through the sentiment that Aboriginals could not manage their own lives. In an application by Case E to be exempted from the Act, the following was given as reason why this exemption would be impossible:

I consider XXXX to be a capable man and would be able to hand his old affairs. His wife, XXXX is a full blooded Aboriginal and would be incapable of handling her own affairs ... should XXX be exempted from the provisions of [the Act] his wife XXX would be incapable of handling her own affairs even with the assistance of her husband.¹⁶

There were other instances in Case study E. And Case study G where exemption was applied for, but denied because it would not be in the individual's best interest, according to protectorates.¹⁷

Other instances of control included that of children. Besides the systematic attempts by the government to culturally assimilate Aboriginal children into white society, the fate of pregnant women, especially those who were raped by police officials, were often in the hands of Protectorates. The niece of interview C was impregnated by a police official. When her pregnancy was discovered, she was shipped to Palm Island.¹⁸ Thus, all people, all aspects of life were controlled: babies to elders, clothes to marriage. This type of control made the interviewees feel:

- Degraded
- Imprisoned
- Angry

¹⁶ Letter from W.J. Hillyard, Deputy Director of native affairs, to J.J. Ryan, Protector, Ingham. 22nd September, 1950

¹⁷ letters regarding minimum award and exemption.

¹⁸ Interview C

Interviewees felt that this control led to the following social issues later in their lives, and in the Indigenous community in general:

- Inability to control lives, especially when initially freed.
- Resentment towards westerners and western culture. Many Park People feel that they want to do what they want, mostly because they never got the chance to. The disregard of Western culture is due to this resentment.
- Institutionalised individuals

All people interviewed still carry deep hurt from this controlled time period.

Stolen Wages

The society of fear and control outlined above provided the perfect atmosphere for the systematic impoverization of the Indigenous people of Australia. In all case studies and interviews, there is ample evidence that the government was well aware of the lost wage situation. Interview C believes, “they made us live in poverty.”¹⁹

The following points were the characteristics of the stolen wage system:

- Protectors controlled all funds.
- Most people worked very long hours, for many years. Some worked their entire lives on government settlements.
- Besides not receiving all of their wages “inmates” paid worker’s compensation fees, union fees, taxes, and settlement fees for rations, blankets, and housing.
- It was impossible for “inmates” to collect their own savings.
- It was illegal for an Aboriginal under the Act to own property (such as a house or a car).
- No one had heard of things like the stock market or other investments.
- On some settlements, Monday – Friday was worked without pay to cover the costs of rations, however, cash was still taken out of individuals’ accounts to pay for living costs.

¹⁹ Interview C

- When people did receive wages , they only kept, on average roughly \$2 pocket money per week. The rest went either under the control of the protector at their settlement, or to the Aborigines Welfare Fund in Brisbane.
- A thumbprint system was used to authorize withdrawals from accounts. This system was notoriously flawed as many Aboriginals could not read or write English (thus had to sign with a thumbprint). Many protectors took advantage of this to take money out of accounts for their own benefits.

All of the interviewees and all of the case studies had their wages stolen. There is strict documentation as to how much was taken, where the money went, and who it was taken from. For example, although case Jubilee worked for 40 years, only retired 2 years before his death, and was paid 7 dollars an week (only physically could keep \$2 dollars per week), the government informed his children that at his death, he only had \$90 to his name. Clearly, much of the money was either stolen or lost in the precarious welfare funds.²⁰ Interview A remembers distinctly when she began to notice that something seemed wrong about her families financial situation, remembering “how they took care of everything...then as you grow older you can think: hang on, this police officer came here with a beat up old car, and now he’s driving the latest one on the market ... We would be walking and here’s this officer with this... flash car, and you jokingly say to your mum, yea, probably you and dad got shares in that. You didn’t have to be a genius to notice.”²¹

There were other ways that wages were stolen from individuals besides the police actually stealing the money. The government actually made millions of dollars off of the “blood, sweat and tears” of the Aboriginal people. Aboriginals were denied essential services that they, literally, paying for. Aboriginal women did not receive maternity allowances on the grounds that they were Aboriginal. In Australia, workers have pension plans – rarely were pensions paid to individuals who worked on settlements; even the ones that worked their entire lives. Aboriginal cattle workers fuelled the cattle industry that was so important in the British economy. Wages that were in the Welfare Fund were used to build hospitals, railroads, main roads, and

²⁰ Case Study E

²¹ Interview A

even to steal the children of the stolen generation. Welfare Fund money paid for the policing and the transportation that was essential for these institutions.

Finally, no one got paid a decent wage, ever, during the entirety of the Act and even afterwards. Even the wages that people did get paid never made it completely to their rightful owners. Malnourishment due to lack of funds for proper food, was rampant, and countless children died every year from it. Interview A spent 2 years of her childhood in the hospital for being malnourished. She could barely afford to eat.

Present Day Implications of Stolen Wages

Economic Implications:

The following implications were listed by interviewees and in case studies as economic impacts of lost wages:

- Unable to retain capital. Presently, do not have the capital to own a home (elderly interviewees).
- Because of decreased economic status, Aboriginals live in poorer living situations and overcrowded housing. Often, children have to take on the role as surrogate mothers/fathers because of these issues.
- Many could not afford to go to school (had to pay to finish secondary school).
- Case Carl could have bought his house for 15,000 in the 1960's. Because of the no property law, he has rented it for 40 years.
- Jails full of Indigenous people who can not afford proper legal services
- Jails are full of Indigenous youth who commit petty crimes. When asked why, they state, "Because we are hungry."²²
- By accepting the government reparations offer, Aboriginals must give up their right to sue.

Social Implications:

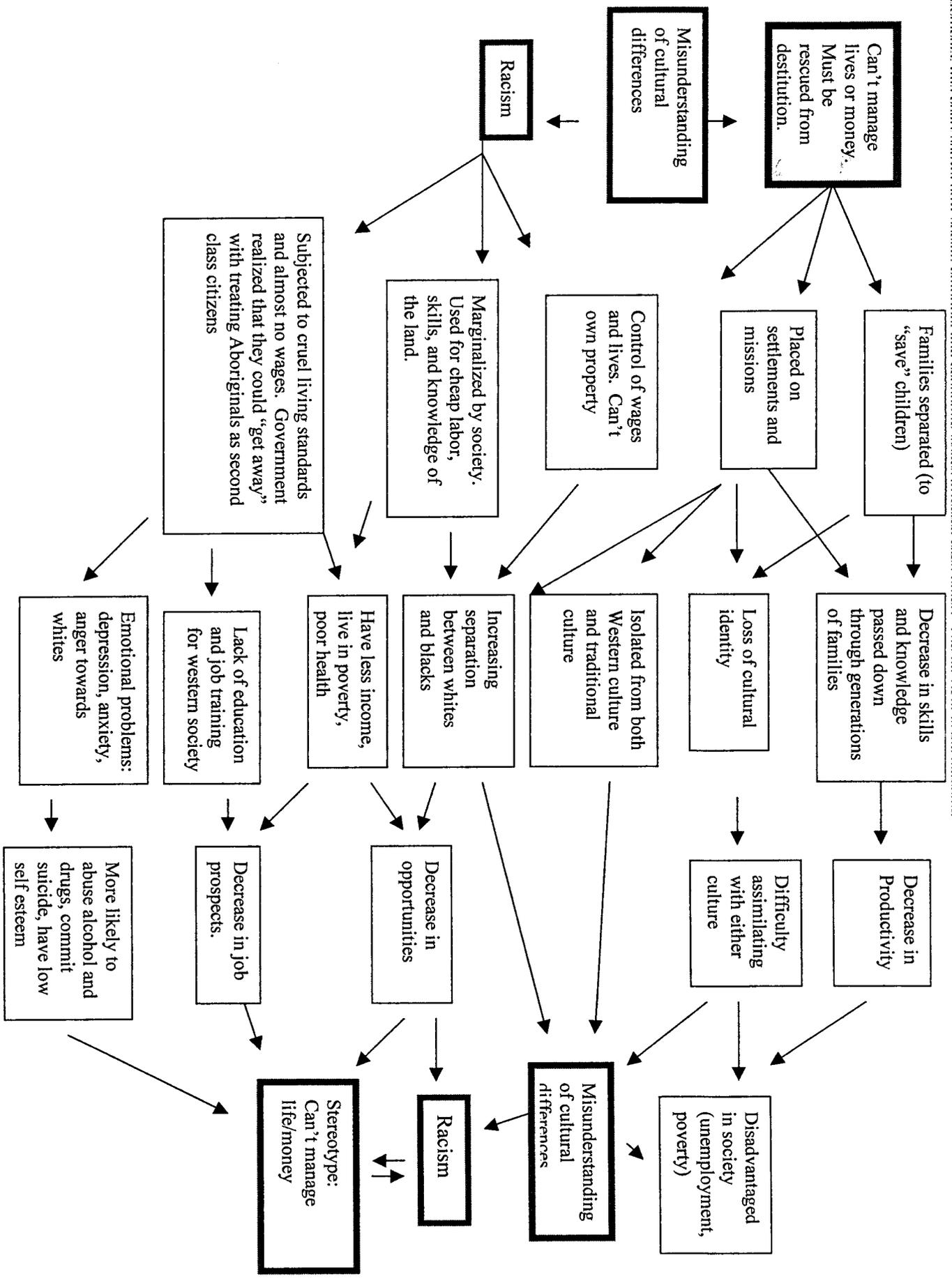
- Poor money management skills, sometimes passed down through generations
- Institutionalised individuals

Emotional Implications:

²² Interview A

- Emotional pain from being so disrespected lives on in many. Some turn to alcohol and drugs to combat it.
- Still carry anxiety, hostility, and mistrust towards police officials.
- Children have low self-worth due in many cases to living conditions at home.

Figure 4: Economic, Social, Emotional Flow Chart: Starting at the left (historically, the beginning of Settlements, this chart shows how social, emotion, and economic issues affected each other. The far right is the outcome.



4.0 – DISCUSSION

The results of this study show that Stolen wages did, in fact, affect those who lived under the act. They were affected emotionally, socially, and economically. The greater Australian society was also affected by stolen wages through economic burden and institutionalization of a racist society. The following section will address, in the context of the interviews, case studies, and survey, how these three types of effects interact with each other, and how they affect society.

Current issues within Indigenous communities, according to interviews, lectures, and case studies, include poverty, lack of education and job training, alcoholism (among select, but very visible groups), health problems, unemployment, and emotional problems. The following will discuss how these are linked to Stolen Wages.

4.1 – ECONOMIC ISSUES

Firstly, through official and non-official government and personal records, there is a vast amount of information proving that, by just looking at raw numbers, Indigenous Individuals lost a very significant amount of money, and the government and government protectors and clerks benefited greatly, from Stolen Wages. From its inception in 1943 through 1990, it is recorded that \$93 million was withdrawn from the Aboriginal Welfare Fund. It is doubtful that most of these withdrawals actually benefited Indigenous workers²³. Besides having wages taken or not paid, many lost a lot of money from not being able to recover inheritances. In the reparations offer the government is proposing today, even where there is significant evidence of a will or money left in an estate, individuals can not claim reparations for deceased relatives (even mother and father) who died before 9 May 2003.

There is also significant evidence that had this money been given to the people who worked for it, there would not be as much poverty and economic social dysfunctions in Australia today. For starters, one needs to address the raw numbers.

²³ ENIAR.org, *Financial Data*, accessed on April 30th, 2003 at www.eniar.org/action/stolen1.org

Table 13: Amounts owed to Pastoral workers due to underpayment (today's dollars)²⁴

Year	Number of Workers Underpaid	Amount Underpaid to Each	Percentage of Pastoral rate
1940	1,982	\$2,214 (relative to regulation) \$5,109 (in relation to award rates ²⁵)	40%
1949	4,500	\$3,931 (rel to regulation) \$7,750 (rel. to award)	31%
1960	4,600	\$4,136	65%
1967	5,000	\$4,265	70%

Table 14: Amount owed to reserve workers due to underpayment (today's dollars)²⁶

Year	# of Workers	Amount Each Underpaid (in relation to state minimum wage)
1940	3,121	\$9,950
1949	3,454	\$10,875
1960	4,310	\$8,998
1970	2,500	\$8,110
1975	2,500	\$13,978
1980	1,463	\$11,490
1985	901	\$5,923

In the table above, it is important to note the amount of people who were underpaid, especially between the years of 1975 to 1985. After the Anti-Discrimination Act in 1975 and the Constitutional amendment in 1967, there began to be something of a push for the government to fairly pay workers (more so in the 1980s). The number of workers underpaid, however, does not represent a good thing in 1985. 901 people

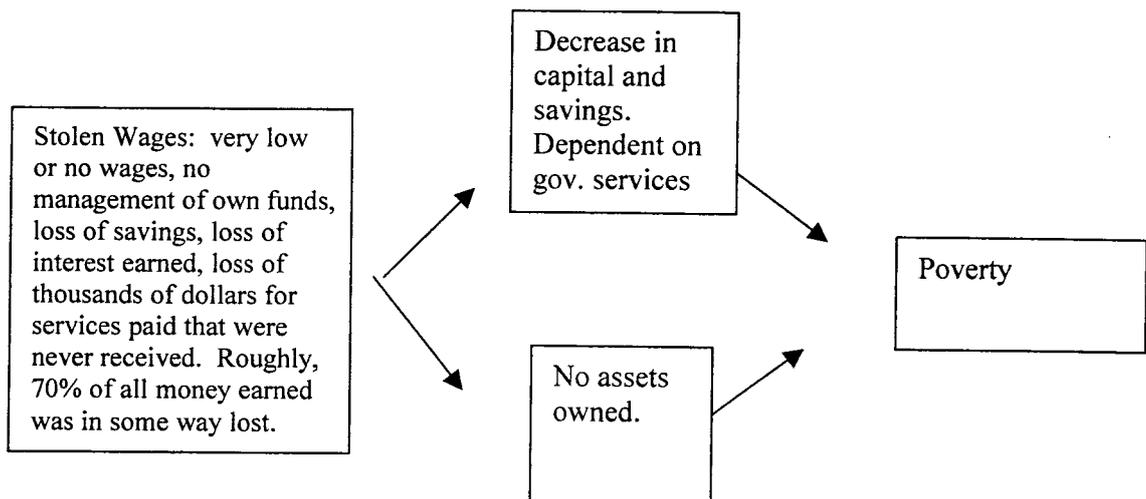
²⁴ eniar.org *Financial Data*, accessed April 30, 2003

²⁵ Award rates are similar to what a "minimum wage" is.

²⁶ Eniar.org, *Financial Data*, Accessed April 30, 2003

were underpaid because the rest of the workers had been fired, because of budget restrictions (even though there was excess money in the budget for Aboriginal affairs, and the government was collecting inflated rents for housing)²⁷. This was more than a 50% decrease in labor in just a 5 year period; it was devastating for many families. Keeping these figures in mind, it is important to remember that they come from actual documentation. One of the more popular sentiments from the Public Opinion Survey was that regardless of whether or not respondents believed individuals had a right to their past wages, most felt there was not any documentation on the issue.

Figure 5: The effects of Stolen Wages on poverty



Stolen wages has affected the economic standings of Indigenous people who lived under the act even into the present. Firstly, as demonstrated in interviews and case studies, when workers were paid, it was gross underpayment. Only receiving a fraction of their wages either per week or per fortnight (it was usually around 1-2 pounds, then \$2.00), Protector always controlled at least 50% of each worker's wages. The rest went into funds and savings accounts that were out of the control of individual workers. Also out of the control of workers was the amount of taxes paid to the government. In 1916, Aboriginal workers began paying worker's compensation, although barely receiving benefits from it. After all of the taxes, loss of interest, loss of services, workers had almost nothing (especially cash in the hand).

²⁷ Kidd, page 61, 2000

According to Willie Thaiday, a worker on Palm Island, there were several instances where one worked without receiving anything. "You pick up the shells all right but the government. We get nothing for it. We only get tobacco and we make damper and dumpling. That's all we get."²⁸ The inaccessibility to one's own accounts also created a situation where although workers were living in abject poverty, they could barely access their funds, so even with what little money they had, they could not buy essentials such as milk, clothes, proper housing.

There was a policy that lived all the way into the 1960 of work without wages at all (work for rations and housing). This is a situation that has puzzled some non-Indigenous Australians who have heard of Stolen Wages. During the Public Opinion Survey, a popular thought was "didn't they work for other things, like housing and food? Why should they then receive 'double' wages?" The answer is that although many individuals worked for rations and housing, the amenities offered were barely survivable. The following is a description of Cherbourg. This was one of the oldest settlements.

These appalling conditions were well known to the government, endlessly recorded on files emanating from various health officers as well as from their departmental reports ... Cherbourg in the late 1940s ... internal reports described huts and gunyahs as filthy and overcrowded, kitchens dirt encrusted, toilets leaking and smelly, clothing and bedding unwashed. A survey of homes confirmed that many were neither weather – nor waterproof and commonly lacked bedding, cooking and eating utensils, few had clean water or toilets. In most instances more than four people shared each bed, and the lack of milk, fruit and fresh meat meant that they survived on a diet of damper and syrup. Ten years later, little had changed at Cherbourg.²⁹

Another negative condition of settlement life and Stolen Wages that the government knew about but did not stop was that of the fraudulent thumbprint system. In order to withdraw money from a person's account (for example, for clothes or groceries) one had to authorize the transaction. Many Aboriginal workers did not read or write, especially towards the earlier part of the Act, so a system of thumbprint authorization was implemented. When withdrawals were authorized, a thumbprint of the worker was all that was needed. Protectors took

²⁸ Thaiday, Willie. Under the Act, The NQ. Black Publishing Company, LTD, Townsville, QLD, 1981. Page 17.

²⁹ Kidd, Rosalind. Black Lives, Government Lies. Privately published by Dr. Kidd, Redcliffe, 2002, Page 33.

advantage of this system and often had workers thumbprint false withdrawals, as the workers could not always read the withdrawal form. For an example of this form, see appendix C.

Poverty, essentially, became a way of life due to the wage system. Since generations affect generations, many Aboriginals are still feeling the effects of poverty. Some Aboriginals live in conditions that are worse than those of third world countries.³⁰ According to Census data, in 1991, 27.6% of all Indigenous families with children lived at 80% of the poverty line (compared with 8.5% of non-Indigenous families). 50.1% of Indigenous families lived at the poverty line (compared with 20.9% of the non-Indigenous families), and 61.5% of the Indigenous family population lived at just 120% of the poverty rate (as opposed to 31.3% for non-Indigenous families).³¹ According to the 1996 census, Indigenous income is 69% that of non-Indigenous median income levels.³² Plus, Indigenous households are more likely than non-Indigenous households to provide a living space for more people due to cultural differences (greater importance and connection with extended family) and poverty. Because of this distinction, the median income per capita is very low compared with non-Indigenous Australians. Finally, a key way to save money is to own a home. Legislation under the Act barred any Aboriginal from owning property, thus not nearly as many own homes today. In 1996, 33% of Indigenous own a home, or are in the process of owning a home compared with 71% of non-Indigenous individuals.³³ Living in poverty affects again, future generations through malnutrition and lack of schooling (due to increased households, household responsibilities go up, thus many children do not have the time to go to school).

Unemployment

Employment is a major issue concerning both the Indigenous community and the non-Indigenous community. Not only were Aboriginal people disconnected from their traditional way of life, but the mission and settlement school systems left Aboriginal students ill equipped for life in the western society they were being forced into. Thus, workers and "inmates" were

³⁰ Interview D, April 24, 2003.

³¹ Taylor, J. *The relative economic status of indigenous people in Queensland*, CAEPR, No. 172, 1998

³² Daly, AE, & Smith, D. *Indigenous household demography: socio-economic status*, CAEPR, No. 181 1999

³³ Daly, AE and Smith, D. 999

left at the end of an era period unprepared for either their traditional lifestyle and the one they were being forced into.

Aboriginals were further economically impoverished by the education system. Especially since one was not allowed to attend school past the 4th grade, there was a serious discrepancy in the amount of training Indigenous workers received and the amount non-Indigenous Australians received (and needed to survive in white society)³⁴. This lack of preparation lead to low job prospects and wages for Indigenous workers. Even today, there is a serious problem with Indigenous youth staying in school. In 1996, 57% of Indigenous 16 year olds were in school, as opposed to 84% of the general population. Cultural and language barriers also play a role in the lack of education for Aboriginal youth. 26 % of Aboriginal youth in school in 1996 felt uncomfortable with the English language. Aboriginal history and issues are rarely incorporated into mainstream Australian education, which is perhaps a factor in the high rate of Indigenous dropouts.

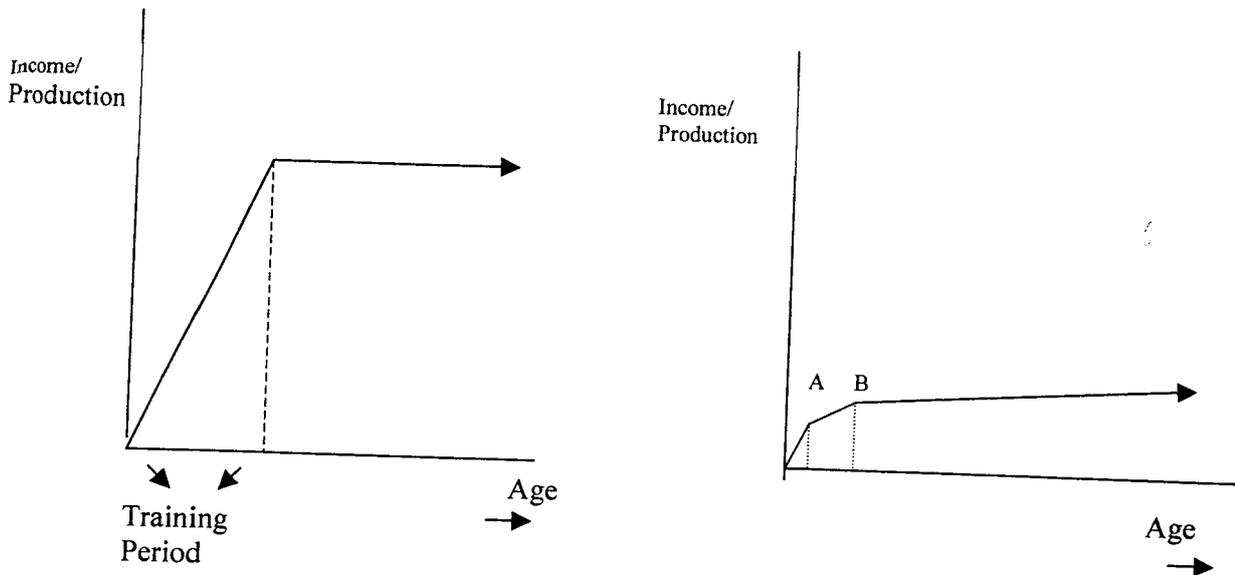
Economic effects are further shown by a lack of job prospects for Indigenous. Since some Indigenous individuals felt/feel uncomfortable in the western societal model, and the jobs that they are urged to apply for are not desirable or fit with their cultural model. These factors coupled with the already impoverished history of Indigenous people creates even less opportunities for Indigenous individuals in the workplace. The side effects of these abovementioned issues fuel stereotypes regarding Indigenous individuals and their work ethic, thus fuelling racism (and employment discrimination). The following figure illustrates the importance of education and passed down knowledge in terms of income prospects. Basically, since Indigenous individuals on settlements never had the opportunity to literally invest in themselves (through education, training, and knowledge) they now have a decreased opportunity to earn a decent income. This theory is called the Human Capital.³⁵

Figure : The Human Capital with and without Training

³⁴ Interview B and C. April 23, 2003.

³⁵ Raines, Frederic. Labor Economics Lecture, Washington University in St. Louis, St. Louis, MO, November, 2002.

Figure 6: Productivity and Income projection with training and without (settlement life).



These graphs illustrate the damaging effects of loss of training. The graph on the left is the income and productivity in a situation where the individual received full training either from school or parents. The graph on the right illustrates what happened to children under the Act. Point A represents the removal of children from their families and onto settlements. Until point A, contact with the family meant the passing down of family knowledge and culture. From points A – B, the child receives minimal training at settlement schools. B and on is the income prospect for such an individual. As one can clearly see, income prospects are seriously reduced with the onset of settlement life.

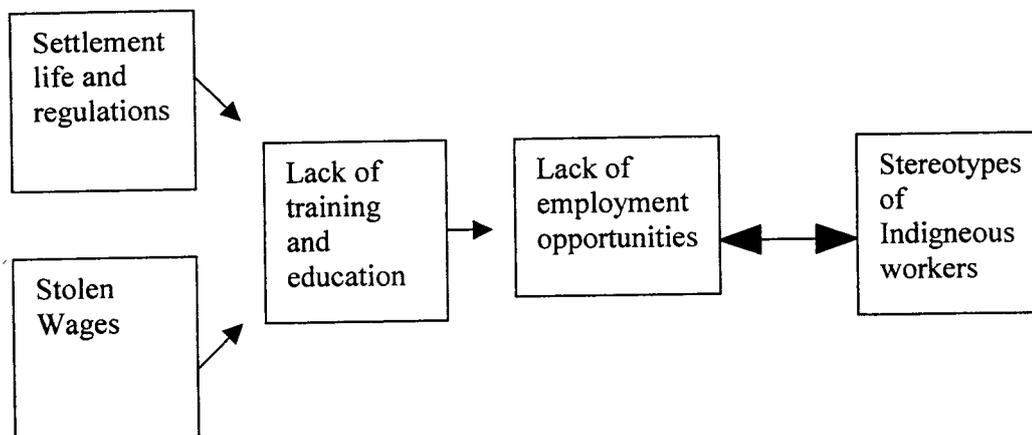
Thus, educational status affects economic status. Stolen Wages and the system it was under provided a lack of education and, since secondary school had to be paid for, the lack of money to make up the education. For some, school was available later in childhood, but only if the student paid for it. Since individuals on settlements did not have either the funds to pay for this education, or the ability to use their funds how they pleased, very few got an education.³⁶

The lack of opportunities for Indigenous individuals to obtain work has only sustained stereotypes. In the Public Opinion Survey negative stereotypes of Indigenous individuals were related to statements or questions involving employment. These very stereotypes in turn make it more difficult for Aboriginals to find work, due to employment discrimination. Currently, the unemployment rate for Indigenous workers is significantly higher than for non-Indigenous workers. In fact, it is unprecedentedly high compared to unemployment rates across the world. In 1996, the unemployment rate for Indigenous individuals was 22.4%, while the rate for the

³⁶ Yvonne Butler, Townsville, April 2003.

general population was 9.5%. Through the Public Opinion Survey, it was clear that many misinterpreted the unemployment rate, as they used it to justify stereotypes that Indigenous workers were lazy and didn't want to work. Thus, I will clarify the meaning. The unemployment rate is the rate of individuals who are *actively seeking work* but cannot get hired. The participation rate is the amount of people who are actively participating in the labor market by either working or looking for a job. Thus, there is a significant number of Indigenous individuals who are constantly looking for work (57% in 1996) yet cannot get hired. Surely, the statistical evidence must stand for something. Why such a discrepancy between the number of indigenous versus non-indigenous who can get employed? There is a clear link between settlement life, stolen wages, lack of education, and lack of employment. It is as clear as the numbers. It is also clear that the survey results show respondents did not recognize these links.

Figure 7: The Effects of Stolen Wages on employment



4.2 – SOCIAL ISSUES

The above mentioned economic situations stem and lead to corrupt and dysfunctional social systems. Among them are racism, institutionalisation, and alcoholism.

Racism

There is no doubt that the Aboriginal Protection Act and the system it installed was fuelled by racism. Although at one point, intentions may have been somewhat good, they always stemmed from racism. In the 1800's Aboriginals were viewed as inferior and savage; they needed white help to survive. Opium was ruining their lives, according to early researchers, thus missions and control were the answer. "What began as an attempt to protect Aboriginals against exploitation in employment gradually changed to a control of every facet of their lives on and off reserves."³⁷

And control the government did. It has already been mentioned in this study by interviewees that many lives were in complete control of the Australian government. All interviewed remembered how one could not even buy milk without the permission of the protector (see Appendix D for an example of a withdrawal form for food and other amenities). Under the Act, one needed permission to even marry. See Appendix E for an excerpt of the 1939 amended act, as published in local papers:

This control was one of the main destroyers of Aboriginal society and culture, and individual lives. The process of managing Aboriginal wages was severe, and it trained individuals not only how *not* to manage money (since they were never given the opportunity) but to live within an institution. As Interview A mentioned regarding freedom from the Act:

It is an odd thing when all you know is imprisonment to be suddenly free. Many didn't know how to live in society.³⁸

In the 1950's observer Dr. F. Macken noted on response to the heinous conditions that "inmates" were kept in:

It is completely futile and artificial and unnatural to enclose, or rather encage, women, and expect any sort of normal psychological balance on their release.³⁹

This situation caused a dependency on the very culture and institutions that imprisoned so many. Interviews recognized this dependency, and they recognize it in today's world as well. This dependency has surely caused resentment towards Indigenous from the non-Indigenous community. As mentioned in section 3 of this study, there were, hauntingly, common "buzzwords" that leaked out of individuals during their interviews. They included:

³⁷ Thaiday, Page 7

³⁸ Interview A

³⁹ Kidd, Page 18, 2002.

- “Well, you know, they just want to live on the dole [welfare system].”
- “They don’t work for anything. They don’t know what its like to work for something so they can’t appreciate it.”
- “They already get so much from the government.”
- “They just want to work the system”
- “They have too much. They have more than us”
- “They just destroy everything they are given.”

This last quote especially stirred a lot of respondents. Once again, since the public only sees the side effects of corrupt systems, the root cause was missed. Aboriginals are caught in limbo⁴⁰. They are between two different worlds and set of laws. They are between two different social systems, and social interactions. There society they are forced into is the one that oppressed them, and the oppression was not just hundreds of years ago. It continues today, and was only legally stopped in the late 1960’s through to the 1990’s. Memories are not forgotten. Suppression is still rampant and oppression is still on the tips of tongues. This misunderstanding is recognized by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Many people in the survey pointed out that there were vast cultural differences. Yet, just like it did in the 1800’s, even recognizing these differences is not enough; they need to be understood. The result without this information and understanding is racism.

Institutionalisation

Stolen Wages was a key part of the institutionalisation of Indigenous workers. Through control of funds, Indigenous workers who were under the act were conditioned into dependency, and trained to feel fear, anxiety and imprisonment. Interview A refuses to wear a wedding band to this day. She feels as if someone would own her if she did.

It was essential to control and institutionalise. Children were raised in an environment where speaking up for rights meant a boat ride to Palm Island⁴¹, and where heinous, monotonous, and dangerous conditions were normal for *blacks only*. There is no doubt that this surfaces presently through anger, rage,

⁴⁰ Case A

⁴¹ Interview B

depression, and confusion. When being institutionalised is so engrained in a person's being, it is difficult to survive in a different sort of environment. Especially since missions and reserves were completely isolated, they enhanced the difficulty many Indigenous individuals had when being thrust into Western society. Many, in fact, still live on reserve settlements, and some are afraid to start life elsewhere. Eerily, the very places that oppressed Indigenous Australians have become their home. There is a street on Palm Island called Mango Street. Settlements and reserves contained many boundaries, and this street was the boundary between white and black areas. To this day, elders who lived on this settlement do not walk down this street as it was the border to a restricted area, even though today it is restricted no more⁴².

This sort of rift between freedom and oppression, has also been the source of alcohol problems in the Indigenous community. Interview D's sister became an alcoholic after spending her childhood in a nunnery, as directed by the state. When she was finally freed of the order, she was a young woman, and had barely associated with the general population. The culture shock that ensued drove her to drinking, and in her mid-40's she died. Once again, the alcohol problem is not a problem separate from the above issues of control, and also poverty relating to Stolen Wages. Sadly, many Australians that were interviewed for the Public Opinion Survey do not see this, and use this as another reason why "Indigenous money needs to be controlled", and "Indigenous Australians can not manage their lives."

Indigenous Australians are not the only ones who have been twisted by institutions. White Australians have as well. It was the constant control of Indigenous workers and the constant acceptance of racism and racist policies that have convinced many Australians today, that the Indigenous stereotypes are correct. It is this joint institutionalisation of racism, and the education systems lack of addressing the situation that keeps it, and the habits spawned from the Act era going.

4.3 – EMOTIONAL ISSUES

⁴² Interview D

One of the key results of this study is that Stolen Wages affected individuals just as much emotionally as it did economically. The following are key emotional responses to Stolen Wages

- Feeling degraded
- Feeling out of control
- Anxiety
- Depression
- Aggression
- Hostility
- Resentment
- Confusion
- Fear

During testimonies, these emotional responses were touched on, and in each case, the individual stated that the feelings were still with him/her now, just like they were under the Act. Having wages controlled was entirely degrading, and made some of the interviewees feel unhuman. The dependency on certain government services (because of poverty, etc in relation to the Stolen Wages) has created aggression, resentment, and hostility in many⁴³. Many young children suffer from depression or low self worth. They are aware of how many Australians characterize their culture. For many of them, their homes are impoverished, and they have a decreased drive to partake in western society due to the abundance of hurdles that are in place solely for those who are Indigenous⁴⁴. These strong emotions create even larger rifts between cultures. They are also proof that the solution to the poverty, the reparations debate, the constant dependence on social services will not be solved by continuing to throw money at Indigenous Projects. The reparations offer is laughable, in fact insulting⁴⁵. It plays on the emotions of effected individuals. \$2000 or \$4000⁴⁶ will not bring

⁴³ Interview D

⁴⁴ Interview D

⁴⁵ Interview A

⁴⁶ This is the reparations offer.

anyone out of poverty, thus it is a reminder that Aboriginals are still neglected and insulted. In fact, the Australian government via John Howard still refuses to apologize for the atrocities. This allows many Australians to believe that they never happened, and countless Indigenous people to remember that they did.

4.4 – Emotional Social Economics

The issues raised above are not self-contained. They interact in a way that perpetuates the cycle of disenfranchisement. Stolen wages is the middle of social trends. It was born from a certain type of system and its effects are that same type of system. It is unforgettably haunting to hear phrases dribble out of Public Opinion respondents that sounds *exactly* like Archibald Meston, or other men in the government in the 1800's who felt the Indigenous needed help and control, thus they provided it in the form of institutionalised racism (settlements).

Emotional Social Economics thus works in the following way in regards to Stolen Wages:

1. A racist government installs racist policies.
2. Victims of this society are scarred emotionally.
3. Victims are socialized into dependency, alcoholism, and emotional problems.
4. This institutionalisation and abundance of emotional problems fuel stereotypes and actually *allow* some non-indigenous to be racist.
5. The dependency is a financial burden on the government, yet the government created and fuels the burden. Any poverty that affects an entire community (especially systematic impoverishment) will affect the entire economy.

The above phenomenon fuel a cyclically racist society. The issues above (4.1, 4.2, 4.3) are smaller examples of the larger picture. All aspects of a society, its social and emotional problems *must* be taken into account when attempting to assess an economic situation, and vice-versa.

Thus, when looking at the system as a whole, the system failed the entire society, whites and blacks. Whites have been trained to oppress, and they have oppressed and suppressed the Indigenous community at large monetarily (Stolen

Wages), socially, and emotionally. What is so striking is how systematically Australian citizens do this. There is little education in schools regarding the issue, and Aboriginal issues are barely touched on in mainstream media. Yet, when interviewing 50 random Australian citizens from 2 different cities located 5 hours apart, robotically, the same *phrases* were discussed. The economic effects alone of Stolen Wages are clear: They impoverished thousands of individuals, they put a strain on the actual system that implemented them. The social effects are clear: all people have been socialized to accept the system which the Act was implemented under. It has caused cultural and social distress, and a very large rift between two communities living in the same land. The emotional effects are clear: All people *feel* the effects of the Act era. White and blacks alike have continuously and cyclically reacted to each other in a downward fashion. One generation passes down their history/emotions/experiences/knowledge to the other. The cycle will not break until the society addresses all aspects of the issue.

5.0– SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

It is this researcher's opinion that a significant amount of research must be conducted into this issue. While Aboriginals are the most categorized, documented and studied group of people in the world, there is very little written about Australia's dark history, and how it *directly* affected Indigenous lives. There should be more correlations between census data and history, and there should be longitudinal studies conducted to assess the long term effects of history, and the current social situation. This study proves the famous saying "with understanding comes acceptance." Perhaps, with further study and awareness, this will come true for Australia.

INDIGENOUS WAGES AND SAVINGS REPARATION PROCESS HOW WILL IT WORK?

1

CLAIM FORM

People wanting to put in a claim have to:

- Fill in the claim form
- Have proof of date of birth

If you want to put in a claim for someone who has passed away you have to:

- Fill in the claim form
- Have proof of date of birth of the deceased
- Have proof of their date of death

2

ACKNOWLEDGMENT LETTER

Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy (DATSIP) will:

- Register details of all claim forms received (enter on database)
- Send a letter to each claimant telling them that their claim form has been received
- Tell people what their Claim ID number is in this letter. People will need to tell DATSIP this number whenever they call us for information.

3

ASSESSING CLAIMS

DATSIP will:

- Assess elderly and seriously ill claimants as first priority
- Look for a record of a claimant's wages or savings being controlled under a 'Protection Act'
- Assess the claim as either 'eligible' OR 'ineligible'
- 'Eligible' means the person will be offered a payment and apology
- 'Ineligible' means the person will not be offered a payment and apology

4

ASSESSMENT LETTERS – ELIGIBLE

ELIGIBLE CLAIMANTS

DATSIP will:

- Send a letter to all 'eligible' claimants telling them when a meeting will be held in their area so that they can get independent legal advice
- Provide an EFT form for eligible claimants to give their bank account details on. If the claimant decides to accept a payment after they've had their legal advice, they should send the completed form to DATSIP.

INDIGENOUS WAGES AND SAVINGS REPARATION PROCESS HOW WILL IT WORK?

5

ASSESSMENT LETTERS – INELIGIBLE

INELIGIBLE CLAIMANTS

DATSIP will:

- Send a letter to all 'ineligible' claimants telling them why their claim is 'ineligible'
- Give 'ineligible' claimants a Freecall phone number to call to talk about why their claim is 'ineligible'
- Assess the claim again, if 'ineligible' claimants can give more information.

6

LEGAL ADVICE AND 'DEED'

ELIGIBLE CLAIMANTS

DATSIP will:

- Pay for a lawyer to give eligible claimants independent legal advice

After they get their legal advice claimants will:

- Have at least 24 hours 'cooling off' time before they decide if they want to or if they don't want to accept the offer
- After the 24 hours, people can choose to sign the 'Deed of Agreement' accepting the offer of money if they want to

7

PAYMENT AND APOLOGY

ELIGIBLE CLAIMANTS

DATSIP will:

- Receive the signed 'Deed of Agreement' document
- Send out a letter of apology from the Minister to the person who signed the Deed
- Make the reparation payment to the claimant (either straight into their bank account or by cheque)

8

CLAIMS FOR DECEASED PERSONS

- DATSIP will follow the Succession Act in making payments for eligible deceased claimants
- This will mean paying back whoever paid for the funeral
- Then if any money is left it will go to the Public Trustee for paying rightful beneficiaries



**Queensland
Government**
Department of
Aboriginal and
Torres Strait Islander
Policy

For more information see Claim Form and Information Sheet

Appendix B: Interview and case study raw data

<p>Interview A</p>	<p>Work History:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lived on Mt. Garnet since the age of 2 • Started working at 12. Worked as a domestic: mopped floors, babysat, taught white children correspondence, cooked, and sent weather reports. • Worked from dawn until 11pm, 6.5 days per week • Worked until July of 1967 • Received Freedom papers in 1968: When she got her exemption papers, she burned them. "I thought how dare they ... I've always been a free person."
	<p>Control:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police controlled your life • Had to ask for everything you would need to buy, including undergarments and food. • Had to seek permission to leave, and if you weren't back they would look for you • Had to escape from the settlement in order to leave; the police were looking for her. If found, she would have been sent to Palm Island • Remembers lining up for random medical checks and shots. Neither her nor her sisters were told what they were for. Many of her siblings died sudden and early deaths in their middle age, yet old age runs in her family.
	<p>Economics/Wages:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Received \$2 pocket money per week, she gave \$1 to her parents, so she had \$1 for herself. They kept the rest. • Tried to get wages from her father's estate when he died, but they told her there was a very minimal amount left (even though there should have been more). • Could never save money • Paid union fees and workers compensation, never received the benefits for them, • Lucky because her husband and herself have survival skills. When they couldn't afford to eat, they went fishing and made money and caught food. Many people lost all skills when separated from their family • A lot of Aboriginals are in jail due to lack of access to legal services and committing petty crimes in response to hunger and poverty.

	<p>Emotional Effects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing up on the settlement and being controlled was degrading • Even now, she still feels the hurt and the emotions she did when she was younger. She felt like a prisoner. • Feels guilty driving vehicles, many look at her as if she doesn't deserve the property she has • Insulted by the reparations offer: "do they think we're stupid?" • Insulted that the government wants to take hard earned wages and give them to ATSIC for projects • Aboriginal culture and history is not really taught in schools. Children feel degraded.
	<p>Social Effects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was hard for people who were suddenly freed from a lifetime of control to effectively manage their lives. Many didn't know how to suddenly live in Western society. • There have only been about 30 years to recover from the Act years. • We're at a catch up. • Did not start to feel like an equal until 1985 when she started school. • Alcohol is a sign of suffering. • Society is dysfunctional because the government broke up culture, laws, and people. • People became institutionalized. • "We are caught up in two laws."

Interviews B and C	<p>Work History:</p> <p>Case B:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Started on Palm Island 1940. Was 19 or 20. • Cut cane from 1942 – 1955.] • 1947 went to Innisfail under a cane agreement: 7 shillings per TON of cane. He got half of his wages, and the rest went to Brisbane. Cane Growers Association. • Cut cane by season. • Did brick working, butcher shop, store clerk. • Last job was in the store before he went to the mainland to work on building boats. • Made 4 pounds/5 shillings a fortnight and had no machinery. • Innisfail: random jobs after 1 year, went back to Palm. • 1948: cane till 1955. • Worked 7 years on the railroad. • Worked in the city council until he retired in 1987. 65 when retired. • Forced labor. Had to build a jail in 2 weeks. Couldn't have a day off. • Had no rights <p>Case C:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1965: exemption for whole family. • Started to work as a teachers aid and began getting wages in 1944 (2 pounds/7/6) per week. 5 years. <p>Control:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No freedom. Couldn't speak, couldn't protest. You could go to court, but where are you going to get the money to go to court. • Couldn't buy clothes or food. The police controlled everything. • Can't have access to their documents anymore.
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Economics/Wages:

- 1947 Innisfail cane agreement: 7 shillings per TON of cane. He got half of his wages, and the rest went to Brisbane
- 1963: 16 pounds every fortnight in the pocket. Worked for the railway
- Only allowed 2 pounds per fortnight (if you wanted to take out money from your account). IF you wanted more, the protectors had to write to Brisbane.
- Didn't actually get wages. Got a voucher that was good for nothing.
- 5 shillings a week for cutting timber ... this was actually real money in the hand.
- 1954: 2 pounds were in his account (around 4 dollars now).
- Their [police] favourite phrase was "you got nothing." Got ration every Wednesday.
- Monday through Friday you didn't get paid because you worked for rations – and you still got money taken out of your accounts to pay for them.
- Went to Innisfail. Got pocket money, got married.
- Wages were stolen and went to build the following in Townsville: dams, public works, main roads, hospitals, and even "to take our children away from us. Paid for the police and the transportation."
- Had to pay to go to school.
- Couldn't buy house because Aboriginals could not own property. Would have had an asset that could have handed down to children. Instead have paid rent for 40 years.
- "They made us live in poverty."
- England depended on meat industry. Aboriginals kept the cattle industry going.
- "We would have owned a lot of things"
- "If we had been on equal footing with whites, would have owned several"
- "We never had a chance to have a good home. We could only rent
- [Case C] took me and my mother when I was 3 years old., my brother and my eldest sister. Brother worked for 40 years and they said he only had \$1000 dollars in his account.

Emotional Effects:

- Met family for the first time in 1994
- Still in memory what happened.
- Feel terrible
- Lost your childhood.
- Degrading.
- Humiliating.
- In schools taught that aboriginals are savages

	<p>Social Effects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When finally free, couldn't even eat with whites because you were institutionalized to think you were not as good. You were different. • Park people are products from that era. They are rebellious. "This is my land, I can do what I want." They were never able to do what they wanted. Nice homes are given to the homeless, but when they get angry they smash it up. It's a rebellion against the white man. A lot of the younger generation have that anger, especially when they try over and over again to get a job. Aboriginal history is not taught in schools. • Whites got served first everywhere, aboriginals go the worst food (meat, for example) • When finally free, didn't even know how to pay the gas bill. Had never owned anything.
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Interview D	<p>Work History:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Great Grandmother, Grandmother, Mother and herself were all forcibly removed and placed on reserves. • Lived in an orphanage with brother and sister • Domestic work for girls, men hard labor.
	<p>Control</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At the reserves, all were photographed like a mug shot and treated like prisoners. • Felt like a prison • Kids weren't allowed to speak or have contact with family. Forbidden to speak their native language • The protector controlled lives (marriages, etc). Segregated on the reserves • If fought for rights sent to Palm island. • Case D was taken from her mother on the grounds that show as neglected. But she clearly remembers: "we weren't neglected. My mother wanted us to have an education"
	<p>Economics/Wages:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rations were given to families: rice, sugar, tea, and flour. • Cattle, sugar, and rail industry were established on the blood, sweat, and tears of indigenous labor.
	<p>Emotional Effects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother suffered emotional and physical problems until she died in 2000. • Haven't been able to heal.

	<p>Social Effects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If you wanted to leave you had to be exempted. This exemption caused a lot of hostility within the community, because you had to deny your aboriginality. Today, that has caused issues within the Aboriginal community. • Institutionalized: there was a street on Palm island Called mango avenue. To this day, elders don't walk down it because it was the boundary of the "white area." • Many can't reconnect or assimilate and turn to alcohol. • High suicide rate. • High violence against women. • Incarceration of aboriginal men. They are stripped of their cultural roles. • Unemployment high. • A lot come from removed backgrounds, so they have little education. • Some living conditions of aboriginals are that of a third world country. • A lot of these people lost their living skills by living on Missions • Hard to get jobs because of racism
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<p>Case Study E</p>	<p>Work History:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worked for the Wyandotte Pastoral Company • Branded with numbers, not just names. For example, k.365 • Applied for exemption. Denied because his wife was Aboriginal and couldn't manage her own affairs.
	<p>Control:</p> <p>When Case E wanted clothes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "XXXX is of the opinion that he is entitled to an issue of clothing. If such is the case, he wants 2 pairs of trousers size 5, 2 shirts size 15 ½, 2 singlets 38, and ½ doz handkerchiefs." This is to ask permission from protectors in Brisbane for XXXX's minimal amounts of clothing. The letter also asks how much of Jubilee's money should be sent to Brisbane. • When too much money was taken out of the savings account by <i>XXXX himself</i> protectors got worried: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ "XXXX and YYYY ... have been allowed withdrawals amounting to 64 pounds during the past two months. Is this man's wife and family also residing in Ingham; if so, it will be necessary for their expenditure also to be closely scrutinized in order to prevent XXXX account becoming overdrawn."

	<p>Economics/Wages:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fraud proof: XXXX couldn't read. One of the ways that wages were extracted from people's savings was through thumbprint system. XXXX authorized withdrawals through this system. • Daughter inquired about father's wages very shortly after his death, yet she was informed multiple times he only had \$90 in his account. Yet he worked 40 years of his life on a cattle station, and 5 dollars were banked every week. For the last 20 years. He was banking \$250 per year roughly in the 1940's. • Letters at Ingham station show that wages were paid to the protector, J.J. Ryan, not to XXXX. • Applied for workers compensation because a horse fell on his leg. Although on paper he received the money, it was paid to the protector and he never saw it. • Letters: prove that backbone of cattle station. Yet was not even receiving the unskilled labor wage.
	<p>Emotional Effects</p>
	<p>Social Effects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racist slurs in letters.

Case Study E (Wife of Case study D)	<p>Work History:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lived at Mt. Garnet starting in October of 1952 • Accounts transferred from settlement to settlement, depending on whether or not you were moved from place to place. If you moved, the balance of your account was transferred to the next settlement.
	<p>Control:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When she wanted an advance of 5 dollars, letters had to be sent from the protector at Ravenshoe, to the Director of Native Affairs and to the protector at Mt. Garnet, and the protector of Aboriginals . • Widows pension was being sent to her at the police station, not her post office. She had walk up a hill in her old age in order to collect it, and many times the station was closed. Letter from Cameron, the District officer of the Department of Aboriginal and Island: “She states that she works all day at Lucey’s Hotel, Mount Garnet, and when she desires some money she has got to walk up to the top of the hill to the Police Station after getting some time off. She states that on occasions when she gets to the Police Station same is closed as the Police are out and this would be correct, and se has to walk up again. I as District officer and the only person authorised to make payments and have some of my rest days during the week and it could be on these days that Mrs. YYYY calls and then has to come back the following day. The applicant in this instance receives her endowment direct to her and I cannot see any reason why her endowment Widows Pension could not be paid in a similar manner. IT would certainly save her a lot of inconvenience and you may be pleased to assist in relation to her request.”
	<p>Economics/Wages:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7 pounds per month specifically to take care of her 4 children. • In 1952, October, she had 4 pounds in her account. BUT was charged a transportation fee when she was transferred to Mt. Garnet from Ingham. • Rita received a pension in 1971 of 22.20 dollars per fortnight. She had to work to supplement the rest. This was a widow’s pension from the department of social services. • Department sent many notes making sure she was no overpaid. • “Women who are Aboriginal natives of Australia shall not be paid a Maternity Allowance.” A. Afflick, the Deputy commissioner of Maternity Allowance and the Director of Native Affairs.
	Emotional Effects
	<p>Social Effects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Given a number. Institutionalised. • Had lists written out of what they bought. They really wouldn’t let them buy anything.

Case Study F	Work History: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worked in the Mt. Garnet area since 1950. • Died at Mossman hall special hospital in Feb. 1968. Entered in august of 1967. Did not receive pension after he entered in 1967.
	Control: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was a period where pat was missing, and there were frantic letters regarding his whereabouts. • Had to apply to purchase a transistor wireless set. The protector thought he should buy a different one (undermining his own decision to by something with his own money). • Has to have permission to leave the reservation: Letter from Deputy director of native affairs to the Mt. Garnet protector, (6th January, 1956) "it has been stressed ... that you should be notified and permission obtained from this office for any holiday visits to Brisbane so that the necessary accommodation etc. can be arranged."
	Economics/Wages: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Had \$143.48 dollars in his account when he died. Given to two sisters (split evenly) • Because no one would pay award wages, ZZZZ was not granted his freedom • Received invalid pension in 1966. Couldn't care for himself.
	Emotional Effects:
	Social Effects:

Appendix C

Blood Relatives (if Single) other than Parents (Required for Estate Purposes)

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	PROTECTORATE

Right Thumb Print

A clear, legible, rolled print is required in every case, whether Aboriginal can write or not.



Marks, Scars, Etc.

Left Thumb Print



Signature of Aboriginal

(This is required in every case where Aboriginal can sign his or her name)

Witness to Signature or Thumb Print

K. Kaahund

Govt. Printer, Brisbane. (P)

APPEN. D

14	B.2168	31/12/46	13. 2. 10	Bed mats Drapery Other clothing	[Redacted]
13	B.2173	20/1/47	7. 0. 0.	Funeral Excs (child)	[Redacted]
17	B.2213	22/4/47	8. 10. 7	Clothing (women)	[Redacted]
19	Ac. B.29366	18/1/47	6. 0. 0.	P/M.	[Redacted]
20	Ac. B.29391	23/7/47	5. 0. 0.	P/M.	[Redacted]
22	B.2206	13/5/47	1. 4. 1	Groceries	[Redacted]
	D.27619	26/5/47	1. 1. 9	✓	[Redacted]
	D.27629	9/6/47	1. 3. 10	✓	[Redacted]
	D.27631	23/6/47	1. 0. 7	✓	[Redacted]
	D.27640	1/6/47	1. 1. 8	Bread (June)	[Redacted]
	D.27616	7/5/47	1. 3. 3	✓ (Mar)	[Redacted]
	B.2198	1/5/47	3. 7. 3	Meat	[Redacted]
	D.27638	1/6/47	2. 9. 3	meat	[Redacted]
	B.2394	24/2/47	2. 0. 0.	Dental	[Redacted]
	B.2389	4/1/47	9. 12. 11	Market Riding Boots Stamps Other clothes	[Redacted]
			<u>24. 4. 7.</u>		

8/1/90



Signature
of
worker
(blacked out
for anonymity)

Appendix E Amendments to the Act, 1939

R22: A Protector or superintendent shall have the power to prohibit in writing, the playing of any game, whether played with cards or otherwise however on a reserve, settlement or mission reserve under his supervision.

R18: Every Aboriginal on a reserve, settlement or mission reserve shall obey all lawful orders of the protector or superintendent and other officers of such reserve, settlement or mission reserve.

R28(1): Every Aboriginal shall, when required by the protector or superintendent, perform, according to his ability, any work necessary for the development and maintenance of the reserve, settlement or mission reserve as directed by the protector or superintendent; provided that an Aboriginal shall not be called upon to work in excess of thirty-two hours in any one week without remuneration. [Can work up to 32 hours with no pay].⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Thaiday, Page 5

Appendix F

The following extracts are from Mt Garnet Wages Register (A/69078)

Name & Work Location	Dates	Weekly rate to be banked	Collected & banked	Gross wk rate	Gross earning	Provident fund	Tax
1965 January							
██████████ Minnamoolka	1/10/64 30/12/64	£7-12-0	£81-4-6 13/1/65	£10-12-0	£123-6-0	£6-3-4	£8-1-6
1965 May							
██████████ Minnamoolka	1/1/65 31/3/65	£2-10-0	£14-3-4 7/5/65	£3-0-0	£51-4-3	£2-4-3	£3-11-1
1965 June							
██████████ ██████████	1/10/64 30/6/65	£5-0-0	£190-16-8 23/6/65	Award	£403-18-4	£10-2-4	
1965 August							
██████████ ██████████	17/5/65 30/6/65	£2-15-0	£18-7-6 17/8/65	£3-15-0	£24-17-6	£1-4-10	
1965 October							
██████████ ██████████	1/7/65 30/9/65	£5-0-0	£29-7-4 14/10/65	Award	£157-19-8	£3-19-5	
██████████ ██████████	1/10/65 14/10/65	£5-15-0	£13-8-4 16/11/65	£5-15-0	£20-8-4	£1-0-5	
1965 Nov							
██████████ ██████████	1/7/65 30/9/65	£2-15-0	£36-14-2 8/11/65	£3-15-0	£49-17-5	£2-9-11	10/- underpd last qtr
1964 January							
██████████ Wyandotte Past.	1/7/63 30/10/63	£5-10-0	£74-5-0 6/1/64	£7-10-0	£101-5-0	£2-10-8	
██████████ Wyandotte Past.	1/11/63 24/12/63	£7-10-0	£57-10-0 15/1/64	£7-10-0	£57-10-0	£1-8-9	
██████████ Minnamoolka	1/10/63 31/12/63	£7-10-0	£66-19-0 31/1/64	£10-0-0	£115-0-0	£2-17-6	
1964 April							
██████████ M.A. Lucey	1/10/63 31/3/64	£5-0-0	£130-16-8 22/4/64	£11-11-6	£295-4-2	£17-9-0	

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