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situations which are as relaxed as possible and yet require the child to communicate in English. Much of the good instruction and classroom drill is wasted if the learner does not have the opportunity for real practice. Furthermore, the learner must have daily practice speaking to an English speaker - the only one usually being the teacher. If we subtract from the school day the amount of time spent at lunch, at play, at sport, at writing and calculating and reading, at listening, watching, painting, singing and so on, there is very little time available *per child* for that child to actually *generate English language*. If, in some schools, we add the demands of a bilingual program, the opportunities are very limited indeed - probably not more than a few minutes per child.

The teacher must, even at the expense of many other daily activities, incorporate into the school day, not only instruction and drills which are vital but relatively easy to arrange, but also maximum opportunities for each individual child to generate English language himself.

.....

Mornington Is.

STEREOTYPES - THEIR FORMATION AND FUTURE



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Stereotypes "can be defined as the attribution of general psychological characteristics to large human groups." (I. Tajfel, p.150). Often stereotypes have their origin in historical and cultural traditions though the prevailing social climate may also be an influence. Bettelheim and Janowitz (I. p.48) distinguished between two types of stereotyping:

- 1) the superego variety with traits such as over-ambition, craftiness, shrewdness and slyness;
- 2) the id variety with derogatory traits such as lack of ambition, stupidity, laziness, lack of inhibition, dirtiness, smelliness and over-sexiness.

Jowell (3, p.48) illustrates how these stereotypes may be interchangeable:

Mr X : The Jews think of nothing but money; that is why there are so many Jewish bankers.

Mr Y : But a recent study shows that the percentage of Jews in the banking business is negligible; far smaller than the percentage of non-Jews.

Mr X : That's just it; they don't go in for respectable business; they are only in the movie business or run night-clubs.

Similarly the British complain of the number of immigrants because "they simply live off unemployment benefits and take all our jobs." (3, p.48). Where stereotypes and prejudice are concerned, it is therefore impossible to anticipate consistent rational behaviour corresponding to expressed attitudes. Le Piere (3, p.47) Kutner, Wilkins and Yarrow (3, p.47) showed how hoteliers, restaurateurs and others in similar occupations differed in what they *said* and what they *did*. When the test group were asked their opinion of a certain minority, they responded with outpourings of popular stereotypes and claimed that they would be unacceptable as clients. In practice they behaved politely and civilly when faced with polite and respectable clients from the minority group which they had so recently criticized.

Tajfel (1, p.80) claims that most psychologists agree that the general structure and function of stereotypes arises through categorization. Any reasoning person would have to admit that any race consists of a complex set of individuals and while they may be characterized by physical attributes, their behavioural and cognitive attributes differ markedly. Stereotypes are usually simplifications of these complexities. Even if it means facts will be distorted, we knowingly do this to preserve our over-simplification. When we have little specific knowledge about an individual, we tend to ascribe to him the characteristics arising from the general stereotype. In doing this we often unconsciously exaggerate those traits which conform to the stereotype we have adopted and minimize those traits which do not. Wilkes (1, p.81) illustrated how this could evolve :

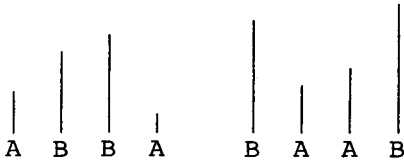
i)



Four short lines labelled A

Four longer lines labelled B

ii)



Labels A and B attached each to half of the lines but in random relation to length.

iii)



No labels given.

The above three patterns were presented to groups a number of times. When asked to reproduce the length of the lines, Group I exaggerated the difference between the longest length in A and the shortest in B. The other groups showed no marked variation.

The process is very similar to social stereotyping. If A and B stood for the classification of two peoples and the lengths of the lines represented racial, ethnic, national and social criteria, then the diagram would refer to a social stereotype.

The Razron report (1, p.82) also deduced that the adoption of these social stereotypes is a subconscious process. The experimental group was shown thirty photographs of girls ethnically non-specific - like any random sample of white American girls. The group was told to categorize the photographs according to likability, beauty, intelligence and character. About two months later the group was shown the photographs again. This time, the surnames which were typically Irish, Jewish and Italian were added. To this group were added fifteen photographs with typical American surnames. The group then changed their previous categorization to keep within the stereotype they held, for example, Jews went down in likability beauty and character and up in ambition and intelligence. The white group with American names fitted the group norm and therefore scored high in likability, etc.

Once a hostile stereotype is concocted, it festers and grows and resists and dismisses any information which shows the stereotype to be incorrect. If a person can see negative characteristics in another group, he automatically feels himself to be a member of another superior group. Thus, to satisfy his ego, it is of value to him to preserve the differentiations between his group and the other:

We are then confronted with a spiral effect in which the existence of prejudice at large not only provides additional support and rewards for hostile judgements; it also removes the possibility of a "reality check" for these judgements which then feed upon each other and become more and more strongly entrenched in the form of powerful social myths. (1, p.85)

As a child grows, and learns the common stereotypes of a group, he also learns and adopts the behaviour of his group towards another.. As he grows older, this stereotype pattern hardens. Because of the gregarious nature of schooling, much is done there to initiate and perpetuate stereotypes. When Blake and Dennis (4) tested a group of white American children, aged ten, for the expected personality traits of a Negro group, the responses were consistently negative though vague and less prone to stereotyping. When the same test was conducted with a group of seventeen-year-olds, it was found that the attitude had hardened though the responses were more differentiated. More often negative characteristics such as 'ignorant' and 'lazy' were mentioned.

All this evidence points to the high sensitivity of children to the context of social influences in which they live - even when these influences are at cross-purposes with the powerful forces working towards an identification with the child's own racial or ethnic group. The enduring basis for future prejudices and conflicts is laid most crucially in childhood. And - as might be expected - the sensitivity to the social context continues throughout life." (1, p.89)

Since society so often rejects the characteristics of the minority group, children of the minority group have difficulty in associating and identifying with their group, i.e. they become sensitive to the social context. Clark and Clark (1, p.88) showed a brown doll and a white doll to a group of nursery school Negro children and asked which doll the children liked, and which looked most like them.-

66% identified with the brown doll;

66% expressed a preference for the white doll;

59% said the brown doll looked bad.

(Perhaps the children were answering what they thought the questioner wanted to hear, but further tests by Mulner 1972, Jahoda, Thomson and Bhatt 1972, (4) support the original results.

Yinger and Simpson (5, p.115) claim that the easiest way for stereotypes to be destroyed is through inter-group contact. This was suggested by the Information and Education Division of the Army Service Forces after several Negro rifle platoons were attached to white companies during World War II in Europe. After two months of contact, a representative group of white commissioned and non-commissioned officers were asked if their attitudes to the Negroes had changed. The responses were as follows: (5, p.121)

	White Officers %	White Noncoms. %
No, my feeling is the same	16	21
Yes, have become more favourable	77	77
No answer	7	2

In 1948, Mackenzie (5, p.121) showed that a group of University students who had controlled contact with a group of Negroes developed more favourable attitudes to them and there was a corresponding break-up of stereotypes. Similarly, Mann (5, p.121) divided 78 graduate students at the New York City Teachers' College into six discussion groups containing both Negroes and whites. Before and after prolonged contact, sociometric tests were given. These revealed a marked reduction in racial prejudice.

Lorna Lippman (6) adds that if one is aware of racism - aware of prejudice - aware of discrimination, then *this* may lead to a breaking of stereotypes and the adoption of more favourable attitudes. She found in the Country Towns Survey (7) that 92-99% of those involved were prepared to generalize on Aborigines. This contrasts with the English and American survey where Banton (8) showed 59% of those tested refused to apply stereotypes. Without prompting, examinees volunteered the following stereotypes in the Country Towns survey (7, p.164):

<u>Stereotypes</u>	<u>Dirty</u>	<u>Drunken</u>	<u>Irresponsible</u>	<u>Inferior</u>
Eastville	20	5	7	5
Westville	9	4	3	4
Northtown	10	10	12	7
Southtown	9	11	7	4
N= 50	48	30	29	20

Ronald Taft (9) in his study of Aborigines in Western Australia, found the most popular negative stereotypes were:

irresponsible, lazy and dirty.

(1) *"All Aborigines are dirty".*

Compared to whites, Aborigines are socially deviant. We judge people on occupation, life-style, education and our value system. Since Aborigines do not belong, they are unacceptable. This prejudice is reflected in opposing groups referring to each other as dirty. (Thus the English call the Irish dirty. The Poles call the Czechs dirty, etc.) When we are referring to majority/minority groups, however, the accusation flows only one way.

Many food manufacturers will not employ Aborigines. Chicka Dixon went to one such factory:

"Why won't you employ Aborigines?"

"Well, Aborigines, they can't handle the foodstuffs."

"Why can't they handle the foodstuffs?"

"They're unclean."

"I'm an Aborigine and I consider myself as clean as the next person."

"I'm sorry, but we couldn't give you a job in our food processing factory. Now, we have a job in the toilets, cleaning the toilets..." (10)

Perhaps whites have a psychological hang-up on hygiene. At a very young age (usually -1 year) infants are subjected to toilet training. As the infant grows, he expects anyone who deviates from the norm to be punished as he was. There is not this same emphasis among Aborigines. Childhood is a happy time and no infantile guilt complexes are reflected in maturing adults.

Among adults and children, a lack of hygiene might also be traced to poor living conditions and the lack of facilities for cleanliness.

Water Supply in N.S.W. (11, p.320)

Source of Supply	Population %
Piped water	56.5
Effective rain tanks	4.0
Tap within 50 yards	13.2
Tap over 50 yards	13.2
Tank supplemented from creek, river, dam etc.	4.8
Creek, river or dam only	8.3

Thus, 39% of the Aborigines in New South Wales have no effective water supply. Water has to be carried to the dwelling for personal ablutions, washing of utensils or drinking. Washing of clothes has to be done at the source of water supply, thus encouraging pollution.

Bathing Facilities in N.S.W and Eyre Peninsula (11, p.320)

	N.S.W. %	Eyre Pen.%
Not recorded	1.8	Nil
Bathroom in dwelling	51.4	69.3
Communal bathroom	4.8	2.3
No bathroom	37.3	21.5
Portable tub only		
Other means used	4.1	Nil
No apparent facilities	0.8	7.0

Similar conditions exist on Mornington Island. Twenty-three D.A.I.A.- constructed houses occupied by Aborigines have bathrooms but no hot water. No other houses occupied by indigines have running water in the house. Seventeen houses have taps outside the dwelling which provide water for all purposes. The remainder of the population (several hundred) are forced to use community taps and ablution block. Our audacity and insensitivity in branding all Aborigines as dirty because of conditions we impose must negate our democratic ideals.

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* Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement

(ii) *"All Aborigines are drunks"*

When 500,000 white people are diagnosed as confirmed alcoholics, white society sympathetically excuses them for succumbing to social pressures and seeking refuge through alcohol. Yet in the same breath they condemn all Aborigines who have a drinking problem.

Historically, ethnocentric whites have tried to destroy all Aboriginal culture. They have debased the Aboriginal image and attempted to destroy his identity. With their assimilation policy attempting genocide for all Aborigines, whites added to the confusion by refusing to accept Aborigines into their society. Is it any wonder a few Aborigines seek solace in alcohol?

In spite of Government legislation, some hotels discourage Aborigines from drinking at the bar. As a result, they are forced to buy their alcoholic beverages at bottle departments and consume them in the nearest public place. (Aboriginal housing is generally grossly overcrowded so there is limited avenue for drinking in homes.) The white then, staggering home after a night at the 'local', sees Aborigines drinking in the local park and sanctimoniously criticizes them for their degeneracy. There are in excess of 5,000 Aborigines in the Townsville area, yet very seldom are more than twenty seen 'drinking' in a park. Because of a few, the majority must bear the stereotype.

The members of communities and reserves, constantly under the dictatorial rule of white administrators, denied the rights of normal Australian citizenship, jealously guard any concessions conceded them. Where there is a wet canteen, the right to drink beer is permitted. Thus the people tend to drink the quota allowed rather than the social requirement.

White society members attempt to disguise the effects of over-indulgence in alcohol. We pretend we can always "walk the line". Aborigines do not emulate our inhibited behaviour, firstly because they fail to understand the deviousness of our culture, secondly because they tend to conform to our expectations of them. On numerous occasions they have been told the effects of drinking alcohol. When they drink, then, they know what is supposedly typical behaviour. Thus our expectations, our belief in the stereotype only propagates the derogatory behaviour pattern.

(iii) *"All Aborigines are irresponsible. They are lazy, unreliable and thriftless. Whenever they're given a steady job, they go walkabout."*

Professor Tatz tells a very thought-provoking story illustrating that Aboriginal irresponsibility is very often a form of active resistance. Accompanied by two Aboriginal researchers, he visited Alexandria Station - one of the largest in the world. The manager regaled them -

... with the dumbness, stupidity, laziness, unproductiveness and worthlessness of Aboriginal workers.' We asked him for examples. He said, 'Sure, there are about sixty-five water bores on this property. They cost about \$5,000 to drill and about \$5,000 for pumping machinery, in short about \$10,000 a bore. All these blackfellas have got to do every morning when they start the bore is to put a couple of drops of oil in the starting mechanism to get things going, and away goes the bore. In the last years we've had something like twenty-five bores explode - at \$5,000 a time! Because the silly bastards don't put in any oil - just a simple routine thing like that - putting a few drops of oil in a pump.' While sitting there - smoking cigars and drinking beer - I looked out and could see, just across from the homestead, a metal triangle in the distance. I asked what it was.

'Oh, that's the bore for the black camp,' he said.

'Who looks after the bore in the black camp?'

'Oh, the same fellows who look after all the other bores.'

'Has it ever blown up?'

'No!' he cried, 'come to think of it, it hasn't.' (10, p.67)

Investigation by Professor Tatz among the Aboriginal stockmen revealed that there was a definite relationship between the times the bore ran dry and refusal by the manager to allow time off (usually when the stockmen wanted to perform a ceremony or bury some dead.)

Shirley Smith (10, p.42) records another case where a teacher called an Aboriginal child "a lazy brat". The girl, Annette, and her brothers and sisters had had no breakfast because their mother

was on social service benefits and had no money left for food. Annette was thinking of food and listening for the lunch bell. The mother's child endowment was paid into the school tuck-shop and so she was assured of lunch. How many times do teachers investigate an Aborigine's inattention as due to external factors rather than assuming the factors are innate?

Traditional nomadism is often blamed for Aborigines' failure to remain at the same job for any length of time. Even this statement is a myth. In a New South Wales random sample for a rural area, Rowley found that -

...no less than 85% of these household heads had been in their present localities for over three years and 65.6% for over ten years. (11, p.322)

Most Aborigines are in unskilled manual employment which in rural areas is often seasonal in nature. Even so, in New South Wales, "no less than 2.9% of all male workers had been without work for over six months." (11, p.339)

Michael Anderson (10, p.18) explains that he becomes bored doing menial jobs; working like a "robot man" and frequently changes jobs looking for something more interesting - but of course, the job opportunities open are very limited and so the pattern continues. For many other Aborigines industrial inefficiency must be associated with poor education, 'powerlessness' and cultural poverty.

(iv) *"The Islanders might be O.K., but Aborigines really are inferior, aren't they?"*

Because of their tardiness in mastering white culture and their general slowness at schools, Aborigines are seen as biologically inferior rather than inhibited by environmental factors. 'Substantiated' by Darwinism, ethnocentric whites consider the *primitive* Aborigine as a lower form of life.....closer to monkeys.

R. McKeich (12, p.21) emphasizes that Aborigines should never be regarded as mentally inferior. Initial intelligence tests, couched in foreign language, culturally biased in favour of white culture, did little to actually test the mental capacity of Aborigines. Revised testing shows minimal difference between Aborigines and whites.

Few consider that technological retardation might be caused by isolation and the lack of natural opportunities for the development of agriculture. In addition, circumstances did not encourage

the development of agriculture as the harvest of the hunter/food gathering tribes rendered cropping unnecessary. Anthropologists, neglecting to account the adaptation to environment by Aborigines, propagated the myth of a tenuous balance existing between life and death as governed by the whim of nature. Because agriculture had not been developed, Aborigines were branded as lower on the evolutionary scale than their foreign counterparts. People who have investigated Aboriginal systems have found a complex system of art, religion and kinship. Their material culture was ideally suited to their requirements. In contemporary society, Lippman adds that

...the low social position of a minority, after all, stems from its economic and political powerlessness which in turn, results from unequal access to community resources. (7, p.19)

Islanders were not subjected to the intense punitive contact as was endured by the Aborigines. Certainly they suffered at the hands of the frontier fishing industry, but because of their isolation, their culture was not destroyed nor their lands usurped. With only minor adjustments they were able to cope with any white encroachments. In today's more egalitarian society, they do not harbour the historical, emotional insecurity enforced on Aborigines. Ken Colbung supports this idea:

Today we (Aborigines) are rejected, dejected and subjected to some of the most inhuman things in the world but apparently 100 years ago we were 'at ease' even though we were baboons. (10. p.46)

When Aborigines turn their backs on white culture should we think of them as inferior or should we seek to improve our system?

(v) *"Aborigines should never be allowed into decent houses. They just encourage 'hangers-on' and they have no idea of caring for a house - just look at their communities!"*

Many people now realize that Aboriginal culture allows an extended family system rather than the nuclear family unit we have developed. When relatives visit the city, they are guaranteed a place to sleep.... even if it is the floor. Chicka Dixon (10, pp 33-34) did a survey of twelve Aboriginal houses selected at random in Sydney. The least number of people living in them was twenty-four and the largest number was thirty-eight. Sometimes relatives are encouraged to 'visit' to offset the high cost of renting. The difference in thinking is illustrated by Dixon's conversation with his white next-door neighbour :

"Why do you have all those no-hopers coming and living with you? When my relatives come, I hide!" Now that's his life - it's not necessarily mine. So he says: "You will never have anything in life." He puts emphasis on the material things of life. His concern is that if the man in the bottom flat has a new T.V., he wants to go one better. The white man looks for the material things of life. The black man looks for something to put in his stomach and something to put over his head. (10, pp 33-34)

This overcrowding has consequence for schooling of course. Imagine the facilities for study if there are in excess of twenty people crowded into one small house. How can children do homework? How can they be expected to have sufficient sleep? How can they get to school on time? An unsympathetic, insensitive teacher, unaware of the problem can quite easily create an unbearable situation for the child, resulting in a high rate of absenteeism. There is no simple solution to this problem. Obviously housing must be improved. There must be more personal contact between parents and teachers so that mutual understanding can develop. Future employment must be found for Aboriginal school leavers to motivate their attendance at school.....otherwise what is the use of becoming educated in white schools when they never have opportunity to use their newly acquired skills?

As for the unkempt appearance of houses on the communities, Kevin Gilbert precisely reveals the reason for neglect:

What is the purpose; why keep the house clean; wire all the fences? We don't own it. The government can kick us out at any time. They are just as likely to put the bulldozer through to knock the house down. (10.p.7)

When will those in authority ask the Aborigines for the type of houses desired instead of providing their expectations of requirements. Houses are used for different purposes. Whites tend to use houses as refuges from the tensions of everyday life. They like to curtain the windows, fence the properties, so confining themselves in cloister. Aborigines tend to use houses to sleep in at night or as a shelter from the elements. Usually the houses are uninhabited by day. It is usually cooler under the house or in the shade of a tree. Cooking is best accomplished in backyard fires. It is much simpler to bake fish, dugong, turtle etc. in the coals of a fire

rather than the oven of an unfamiliar electric range. The misuse of houses based on white standards is only to be expected when the requirements of the Aborigines are ignored.

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In Australia many independent groups are now seeking to destroy racial stereotypes and are attempting to understand minorities instead of expecting them to conform to mainstream culture. The Australian Council of Churches - "affirm our conviction of racial equality and remove suspicion that we are governed by colour prejudice." (7, p.44). The Trade Unions have been tardy in considering any aid to the Aborigines because they have been governed by the bogey of standards being lowered. However, in September 1963, the Congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions unanimously adopted the following policy statement:

Congress declares that it is the natural right of the Aboriginal people to enjoy a social and legal equality with other Australians. Aboriginal people, while forming a part of the Australian population are at the same time distinct, viable, national minorities entitled to special facilities for self-improvement. (7, p.46)

The medical journals are now regularly containing articles on Aboriginal mortality rates which are related to poor housing, malnutrition, squalor, etc. Architects are starting to acknowledge the cultural differences of extended families and are seeing the need for different types of housing based on Aboriginal requirements rather than on what whites perceive as right. (7, p.47). The Legal Aid services have started to have an effect on police procedures. (7, p.47). The teaching profession is becoming increasingly aware of problems experienced by Aboriginal children. The Federal Government has funded Aboriginal studies programs, for example at Armidale College of Advanced Education and Townsville College of Advanced Education.

Student demonstrations against racism are constantly brought to our notice. In March 1960, in Sydney, there were demonstrations against apartheid. In 1961, before the elections, there were demonstrations against the White Australia Policy. During 1965, there were Freedom Rides through New South Wales to enforce Aboriginal right of entry to public places. In 1971 there were public demonstrations against the visit of the South African Rugby Union team. (These consequently caused the cancellation of the Springbok cricket tour scheduled for summer 1971.) All found racism abhorrent, but

why did not this abhorrence apply to treatment of Aborigines as well. What happened to this anti-racist zeal as students matured and advanced to responsible, influential positions in society? Lippman offers some explanation:

In a modern mass society the common ideals instilled early in life may later change considerably in order to accord with the norms of the group to which the individual belongs; and that behaviour in an industrialized society is in practice controlled by social institutions and organized interest groups.(7, p.20)

It is immaterial if stereotypes developed from prejudice or prejudice developed from stereotypes. What is important is that we clinically examine our double standards towards racism and live up to our proposed democratic ideals.

...you will not live up to the ideals you profess - justice, humanity, decency. You will do everything to present your image overseas by shelling out for Austcare, Freedom from Hunger, but you never clean up your own back yard. (10, p.5)

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AN ABORIGINAL CHILD'S HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA**

The Macassans came for hundreds of years. They showed us how to make canoes and they brought money and flags. We fly flags when a person dies to keep people away from the house with the dead body.

Some of our people still know the Macassan language. Many of our words like *rupia* (money), *lipalipa* (canoe) and *balanda* (white people) and *ngarali* (tobacco) are Macassan words. At some places we still use the Macassan wells to get our water. There is one on Entrance Island near Maningrida and a special one at Milingimbi.

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(See review, p.54, this issue. Ed.)