

The Call for Recognition

A Report on the Situation of
Australian South Sea Islanders

**HUMAN RIGHTS AND EQUAL
OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION**

15 December 1992

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Human Rights Australia



President

20 January 1993

The Hon Michael Duffy MP
Attorney-General
Parliament House
CANBERRA ACT 2600

Dear Attorney

I have pleasure in presenting the Report on the Situation of Australian South Sea Islanders.

Pursuant to your request dated 23 August 1991 the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission authorised the Race Discrimination Commissioner to conduct an inquiry on its behalf pursuant to sections 20(1)(b) and (c) of the Racial Discrimination Act 1975.

The Report addresses particular disadvantage suffered by Australian South Sea Islander people.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Ron Wilson'.

Ronald Wilson
President

FOREWORD

This report is based on research by Mr Colin Menzies of the Public Practice Pty Ltd.

The Office of Multicultural Affairs contributed to the funding of this Inquiry.

The research and report proceeded from a consultative approach which would not have not been possible without the freely given time and generous cooperation of Australian South Sea Islanders. I would like to thank all the Australian South Sea Islander communities for their contribution to this Inquiry.

In addition to Colin Menzies, who finalised his research under a very tight deadline, my thanks are due to staff of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.



Irene Moss

RACE DISCRIMINATION COMMISSIONER

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1 INTRODUCTION

Australian South Sea Islanders are by and large the descendants of the 55,000 to 60,000 Melanesian people recruited to Queensland between 1863 and 1904, for the task of developing the sugar industry. They were brought, often against their will, from some eighty Pacific islands, principally Vanuatu and the Solomons. They were once referred to as '*Kanakas*', which is now regarded as a derogatory and offensive term.

Whilst many South Sea Islanders remained in Australia only for a few years, several thousand settled here after their initial three-year indentured contracts expired. However, between 1904 and 1906, most were deported under the *White Australia Policy*, implemented as one of the first acts of the newly formed Commonwealth of Australia.

Around 1,400 South Sea Islanders were exempted from deportation and it seems that another 1,000 evaded deportation.

Most of those remaining were men, reflecting the higher proportion of men recruited, as the labour traders had been reluctant to bring in women. (Nonetheless, a significant number of women were brought as indentured labour to work in the planters' homes as domestics and in the cane fields beside the men.) Some men were married to South Sea Islander women, others to people from other races, particularly Aboriginal people. Today's South Sea Islanders are descendants of this remnant community.

There are an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 descendants¹ of the original indentured labourers in Australia today. Most of these have mixed ancestry, with more than half having Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander forebears. They fall broadly into three groupings:

- some 10,000 to 12,000 who identify as South Sea Islanders, some of whom also identify as Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islanders or recent arrivals from the South Pacific Islands;
- several thousand who identify as Aboriginal (on the mainland) or Torres Strait Islanders (mainly in the Torres Strait);

- probably fewer than a thousand others who do not identify as South Sea Islander, Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, generally because none of these is their main ancestry;

This Inquiry confronted a primary and a secondary problem faced by South Sea Islanders: since 1904-1906, when they were the only race of people in this country's history to be subjected to mass deportation, they have not been recognised as a discrete ethnic and cultural group by Australian legislators and policy makers. Yet recognition is a precondition to remedy - a remedy Australian South Sea Islanders believe their circumstances warrant.

Despite having been in Australia for some 130 years, South Sea Islanders have had remarkably little written about their situation. The most important work for this Inquiry was a major study of South Sea Islander history from 1908 to 1988, *White Australia Defied - A Centennial History of South Sea Islanders in North Queensland*, by Patricia Mercer, unpublished at the time of this Inquiry but kindly made available by the author. Smaller manuscripts by Hearne and Bliss were also useful, as was a joint paper by Mercer and Clive Moore, an historian who has studied South Sea Islanders and who gave valuable briefings to the consultant.

Few South Sea Islanders have written their own story or about their own people. Faith Bandler has written *Wacvie, Marani in Australia* and *Welou, My Brother* which are based on the lives of South Sea Islanders in Northern New South Wales. Thomas Lowah, a Torres Strait Islander whose father was a Solomon Islander kidnapped during the *blackbirding* days (see Appendix 1), has written his life story *Eded Mer (My Life)*. Noel Fatnowna has written a book on his life, *Fragments of a Lost Heritage*, while *No Regrets*, the life story of a South Sea Islander woman, has just been published.

As far as could be discovered, there has been only one Government study of South Sea Islanders in the last eighty years. This was an inquiry conducted in 1977 by an Interdepartmental Committee, the Report of which is referred to here as the *IDC Report*.

In 1977, the Royal Commission into Human Relationships received evidence on the situation of South Sea Islanders. It reported that white Australians regarded them as Aboriginal people, but that they were not eligible for benefits given to Aboriginal people unless they denied their South Sea Islander origins. The Royal Commission recommended that:

*... action should be taken to extend to them eligibility for benefits now available to
Aboriginals.²*

The recommendation was not implemented.

In 1991, the Evatt Foundation directed the attention of the Government to some major issues concerning social and economic disadvantage facing South Sea Islander people and consequently the Government sought further inquiry by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (the Commission). The frame of reference and method of the Commission Inquiry is set out in Chapter 2.

This Report focuses on the situation of 10,000 to 12,000 self-identified Australian South Sea Islanders. As a matter of social fact, albeit not of official awareness, they are a discrete ethnic and cultural group. Though the South Sea Islanders who remained after 1906 came from many different villages and islands, their common experiences have brought them together to form a group which has developed its own name, *Australian South Sea Islanders*. The children and grandchildren of the original workers are the elders of today's community. Their culture was shaped by their treatment during the indentured labour period and the difficult early years of this century. The attitudes which South Sea Islanders today hold were those of the labourers who adapted and survived in the harsh racist environment of Queensland of not that many years ago. Their forebears were coerced into a role of servility - to work for the whites - and having worked hard, withdrew into their own communities.³

Australian South Sea Islanders form a black minority group. One of the conditions that they have faced in the provision of assistance by Governments has been the absence of recognition of South Sea Islanders as a distinct group. When problems arise, they cannot go to a South Sea Islander agency for help - there are none - they turn instead to members of their family or of their community. Those in leadership roles such as church pastors or heads of large families, spend much of their time voluntarily looking after the problems of their kin and community.

They feel they will not become a part of multicultural Australia until they are acknowledged as a group with a special heritage and cultural traditions.

This Report presents a preliminary sketch of the disadvantage faced by Australian South Sea Islanders today. The Report addresses disadvantage using a range of

broad statistical, largely economic, parameters. Time and resource constraints precluded a more thorough qualitative analysis of socio-psychological definitions of disadvantage.

Despite this methodological limitation, the Commission believes that the evidence gathered indicates, fairly strongly, that Australian South Sea Islanders are disadvantaged in many areas and that care should be taken not to set too high a standard of proof as a precondition to remedial measures.

The statistical sketch of the situation of Australian South Sea Islanders today, depicted in the later chapters of this Report, is presented against the background of profound systemic racial discrimination which dominates the history of Australian South Sea Islanders. (This Report presents an overview of that history in Chapter 3.)

2 CONDUCT OF THE COMMISSION INQUIRY

2.1 Development of the Inquiry

It was the legacy of the history of discrimination faced by Australian South Sea Islanders that the Evatt Foundation report urged the Government to address.

By letter dated 23 August 1991 the Attorney-General, the Hon Michael Duffy MP, requested that the Commission inquire into and report on the situation of South Sea Islander people in Australia with a view to preparing recommendations for consideration by the Government. It was suggested that the Report compare the situation of South Sea Islanders with that of more recent arrivals from the South Pacific islands, and migrants generally, as well as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, to see if they are particularly disadvantaged.

2.2 Method

2.2.1 Consultant

A public policy consultant, Mr Colin Menzies, of The Public Practice Pty Ltd, was engaged in March 1992 to conduct the Inquiry and prepare a report for the Commission. This Report is based on his work.

2.2.2 Steps of inquiry

As a corollary to the relative absence of recent studies of the South Sea Islanders, there proved to be an almost total absence of statistical data. In this respect the Inquiry essentially started from scratch.

It was evident that immediate consultation with South Sea Islander representatives should take place.

The consultant met with the President and other members of the Australian South Sea Islander United Council (ASSIUC). He then travelled from Townsville to Brisbane on the first field trip, meeting South Sea Islander groups in many towns, discussing their situation generally, and their special concerns.

At an early meeting with the consultant, South Sea Islanders proposed the idea of a census styled survey as a means of gathering enough data to paint a statistical sketch of the group. Every subsequent meeting supported this suggestion. Some South Sea Islanders saw this as an important follow-up to the Evatt Foundation report; for many others, this act was, in itself, an important step in their recognition.

The next stage of the Inquiry was the development and execution of the census. During a further field trip, organisational issues and priority concerns were discussed. The Census started on 24 August 1992; the forms were returned to the Commission for entry onto a database during September and October 1992.

The third stage was the analysis of the census data, and production of a background paper reporting its results, approximately 800 copies of which were circulated to participants. During a brief third field trip, the consultant discussed the implications of the findings in Mackay and Townsville. Representatives from other communities travelled to these meetings and others were spoken to by telephone. The Rockhampton office of the Commission had additional meetings with South Sea Islanders in Gladstone, Rockhampton and Bundaberg.

2.2.3 South Sea Islander participation

It became apparent early that South Sea Islanders were calling for *recognition*, and that the first act of recognition should be to involve them fully in the process of the Inquiry. They had to set their own priorities. It was also obvious that the collection of statistics and other evidence would be facilitated through direct consultation with the people in community meetings. The consultant structured these meetings to identify themes through general discussion.

Places visited were:

| | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| Atherton | Byron Bay | Ingham | Nambour |
| Ayr | Cairns | Innisfail | Rockhampton |
| Bowen | Caldwell | Kyogle | Townsville |
| Brisbane | Gladstone | Mackay | Tully |
| Bundaberg | Hervey Bay | Mt Isa | Tweed Heads. |

There were several meetings with South Sea Islanders in Sydney, including with a representative of the Riverina community.

In all, the consultant met several hundred South Sea Islanders. He held telephone discussions with others in locations including Adelaide, Canberra, Dareton, Katherine, Melbourne, Palm Island, Perth, Renmark, Robinvale and Ulladulla.

After the consultant identified the broader themes at community meetings, he arranged interviews with selected individuals and with smaller groups. In these meetings, more specific questions were explored. These discussions provide much of the qualitative evidence used in this report and have informed its conclusions and recommendations.

2.2.4 Inquiry newsletters

Advice as to the Inquiry's progress was provided through newsletters. In all, eight newsletters were produced, with the final circulation being 500 sent to almost 300 addresses (groups were sent multiple copies).

2.3 The South Sea Islander Census

The census was the major organisational task of the Inquiry, and consumed many hundreds of voluntary hours of South Sea Islanders' time. The consultant managed the design, printing and initial analysis of the census, while the South Sea Islander community organised the distribution and return of the census forms.

2.3.1 Why not a survey?

For several reasons, it was decided to use a census - aimed at collecting data from **all** those who identify themselves as South Sea Islanders - rather than a sample survey.

First, information on a wide range of characteristics such as age, sex, race, employment, education, housing and income was considered essential. Each would have different degrees of variation in the community and the appropriate size of a random sample would differ for each characteristic. For some characteristics, results might be reasonably predictable (for example, it was likely the population would comprise 50% males and 50% females), requiring a small sample. For a characteristic such as occupation, possible wide variation had to be taken into account, so a much larger sample would be needed. In order to avoid such sampling problems, it was decided that the Inquiry proceed by way of a census.

Second, defining a sample would involve work similar to undertaking a full census. It was, for example, suggested that a list of all South Sea Islander households be developed so that (say) one in ten could be surveyed. However, once every household was identified, it would have been almost as easy to deliver a form to every one as it was to select a sample.

Third, consultation with South Sea Islander leaders confirmed that many people would be wary of filling out an official-looking form, and significant over-sampling might be required, thereby making smaller the difference in size between a sample survey and a census.

Fourth, it was not clear which households identified as South Sea Islander. The census approach would allow any household where there was at least one self-identified South Sea Islander person to take part.

A consequence of this is of methodological significance: self-identification became a basis of selection of the relevant population. Hence, more recent arrivals from the South Pacific Islands will have been picked up. Accordingly, this Report does not purport to compare the situation of those Australians descended from the colonial labourers with that of more recent arrivals. The Report reflects the view that, in terms of disadvantage, all Australian South Sea Islanders carry the legacy of the historical relation.

2.3.2 Design of the census form

The census form was modelled on the official five-yearly national census for 1991 conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), since that provided the basic socio-economic data used by government agencies and community groups for analysing needs. South Sea Islander data would, to that extent, be comparable to that of other groups.

The form, reproduced at Appendix 2, is a combination of a household census and an individual census where data is collected on each household (such as the nature of the premises) and on each person in the household. The ABS form was modified by deleting unnecessary questions (such as about country of birth and native language), and adding other questions based on those drafted for surveys planned by South Sea Islanders in Mackay, Ayr and Rockhampton. These sought information on racial discrimination, ancestry, telephones, urban/rural location, benefits received, and business loans. (The Commission collects ethnicity data from complainants only on a voluntary disclosure basis. It holds no records of racial discrimination complaints as lodged by self-identified South Sea Islanders.)

A draft census form was circulated to the South Sea Islander community groups and to the ABS for comment, upon receipt of which a second draft was produced. The second draft was tested on some 200 people during the second field trip, and errors in interpreting or answering the form were examined.

The second draft was then modified and became the final census form. It had thirty-nine questions, twelve on the household and twenty-seven on each person.

Given the resources and time available to this Inquiry, the census focused only on the key economic indicators of disadvantage. Social indicators were largely excluded and the selection of economic indicators was limited. For example, the indicators adopted do not include reliance on community and government services.

Whilst it is not suggested that there is a raw equation between poverty and disadvantage, it was anticipated that the collective weight of the selected indicators would at least suggest a trend. In this sense, the survey results are advanced as indicative, rather than as conclusive.

2.3.3 Confidentiality and privacy

It was important that the census meet the requirements of the Federal *Privacy Act 1988* in respect of the collection, storage, use and access to the confidential information provided by the participants. The following measures were adopted:

- (1) names and addresses of participants were not sought;
- (2) persons involved in the distribution and/or collection signed an assurance of confidentiality;
- (3) lists of households or persons compiled for the census distribution were destroyed after the census;
- (4) a reply-paid envelope addressed to the Commission was provided with each form;
- (5) all forms were destroyed when the data entry and checking were concluded;
- (6) access to individual data was not permitted;
- (7) no identifying data was included in any interim reports;
- (8) voluntary participation was emphasised;
- (9) pressure to participate was not to be applied in any circumstances.

2.3.4 Distribution and collection

Census distribution was undertaken voluntarily by South Sea Islanders. Participants were kept informed through newsletters, meetings and phone calls.

Participants self-identified or were traced through family and other social networks. By census time, some thirty-three towns or areas had a census organiser or organising group. These included every mainland town where more than twelve South Sea Islander households were thought to be located.

The Census started on 24 August 1992. In the previous week, South Sea Islanders distributed about 2600 forms, and some one hundred were posted directly to individual households. People were encouraged to complete the census as close to that night as possible. Most forms were returned in the reply paid envelope, but in the main population centres the census organisers also collected forms and returned them in bundles to the Commission.

Some 2700 households containing at least one South Sea Islander were identified, and 1,189 forms returned. Of these, three were excluded due to interpretation problems, and two were received too late for analysis.

The return rate was 45%.

2.3.5 Census accuracy

It is estimated that at least 90% of the South Sea Islander population had the opportunity to take part in the census, and that about two hundred households were not located. While 45% is a high return rate for a voluntary survey (over 30% is rare), the question remains as to how representative the census data is. Three matters for consideration are:

(1) Reasons for non-return

The dominant reason cited was that anticipated at the outset - that many South Sea Islanders were receiving Aboriginal benefits, that this was under challenge, and they feared loss of those benefits. (This is addressed later in this Report.)

A second reason (mainly in Mackay, which had the lowest return rate) was that due to tensions between family groups, whole households did not take part.

A third reason was that some people identified as Aboriginal people, despite some South Sea Islander ancestry.

The fourth most common reason was the complexity of the form.

(2) Internal consistency of data

Does the population as portrayed have 'smooth' variations (e.g. in the proportion of each age), or are there irregularities that cannot be explained?

- (1) The age/sex graph is quite smooth, with minor differences between the proportions of men and women of each age. The largest differences between males and females are in the 0-4 year olds (11.0% to 9.1%), 20-24 year olds

(9.9% to 8.4%), and 35-39 year olds (6.2% to 7.7%). These variations are possible within a relatively small population (e.g. around 300-400 in each age/sex bracket).

- (2) Another test for consistency is that the number of married men and women is equal - the census sample had 604 married men and 599 married women.
- (3) The data can be compared with a similar population or with other data sources on the same population. The age/sex profile shows a pattern remarkably like the Aboriginal population, which is as might reasonably be anticipated given similar patterns of extended families, history and living conditions.

2.3.6 Other sources of information

In this Report, principal reliance is placed on the data elicited from the census.

Another limitation imposed by resource constraints was that no local follow up survey or interview sample was incorporated into the research. However, through discussions in the course of the development of the census and its findings, the consultant gathered much anecdotal and impressionistic material which is reflected in this Report.

2.3.7 Comparative statistics

Comparative statistics are drawn mainly from *The Economic Status of Migrants and Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People*, both published by the ABS, and relying largely on the 1986 national Census. The South Sea Islander census data in this report thus postdates the comparative data by six years. This time gap should be borne in mind when indicators such as employment and income are examined.

It should also be noted that time constraints restricted the opportunity to undertake extensive cross tabulations of the data elicited by the census. Ideally, for example, unemployment would be cross tabulated against geographical location. Nonetheless, the literature suggests that there are strong correlations between race on the one hand and class, occupation and geographical location on the other.⁴

3 RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The existence of such a class [Melanesians] is calculated to have a deteriorating influence on all our institutions - civil, religious and political ... for this unintelligent labour of aliens or semi-civilised races is incapable of exercising the rights of citizenship.⁵

So many South Sea Islanders during the course of this Inquiry referred to themselves as 'the descendants of slaves', that it was clear that the community harboured a deep sense of injustice.

Legally, the original workers were not slaves, but 'indentured labourers'. However, slavery is more than a legal concept, it is a way of describing how two groups of people relate. This issue is further addressed in the outline history in Appendix 1. The South Sea Islander history over the past century indicates that their general treatment was as close to slavery as the laws of the time would allow. White society used them as labourers when needed and discarded them when no longer needed: they were coerced and expendable labour.

3.1 Before Federation

As indicated by the passage quoted above, notions of racial superiority were the basis of early Queensland attitudes to South Sea Islanders. There were two main variations of this racism. One attitude expressed was that of the plantation owners, who commonly argued that their care of South Sea Islanders was appropriate because they were 'uncivilised children'.⁶ The Clerk of Parliament described the South Sea Islanders as:

peaceful, law-abiding, kindly-disposed savages ... wonderfully responsive to benevolence.⁷

Those opposing the presence of South Sea Islanders were motivated by the desire to keep Queensland as a white colony which excluded 'men of an inferior race'.⁸ The Liberals (a different organisation from the present Liberal Party) argued that allowing them to remain in the colony would lead to a caste-based society, and so they passed most of the restrictive legislation. However, historian Saunders observes:

*legislation restricting the Melanesians in locale, industry, and ... occupation was actually ensuring the perpetuation of the caste society.*⁹

The legislative constraints on the South Sea Islanders included:

- the *Masters and Servants Act* was in force during the whole period South Sea Islanders were indentured, and frequently used to punish South Sea Islanders, particularly for refusing to obey an order or for absconding.¹⁰
- the *Naturalisation of Aliens Act 1861-67* prevented South Sea Islanders from acquiring citizenship, regardless of their length of stay - only Africans and Asiatics among non-Europeans were allowed citizenship.¹¹
- the *Polynesian Labourers Act Amendment Bill* introduced in 1877 by Liberal Premier Douglas prohibited employment of South Sea Islanders more than 30 miles from the coast, denying the cattle squatters access to these servants and bush hands. This was not passed by the Conservative dominated Upper House, so regulations to achieve a similar effect were introduced.¹²
- an amendment to the *Pacific Island Labourers Act*, passed by the Liberals in 1884, further restricted South Sea Islanders to employment within the sugar industry, and even then only on menial tasks such as clearing, planting and weeding.¹³
- a further amendment in 1892 excluded South Sea Islanders from working in the refineries and from ploughing¹⁴ - these more skilled jobs were reserved for whites.

By 1892 South Sea Islanders were forced to be basic manual sugar-cane labourers. However, they continued to find some work as domestics. In the mid 1890s, Cabinet Minister and later Premier J R Dickson was fined 10 shillings for having a South Sea Islander domestic.¹⁵ But as the trade union movement strengthened in this decade, such illegal employment was generally reported and stopped - the union movement was a white movement.

Racist attitudes towards South Sea Islanders appeared to be worst towards the end of the 1800s: stories of cannibalism, violence, and drunkenness¹⁶ multiplied. *The Queenslander* of 1873 observed that Melanesians:

*... are notoriously a race of men of the most brutal passions and they are showing every indication of a tendency to indulge in them.*¹⁷

The Bulletin in 1901 reported the black man was *foaming at the mouth with malevolent desire for the white woman*.¹⁸ Even though Saunders found not one case of gang-rape by South Sea Islanders of a white woman from 1863 to 1906, *The Queensland Figaro* of 1883 reported *it was common for twenty or thirty buck-niggers to rape one white woman*.¹⁹

This increase in racist attitudes had a major effect on the passage of the White Australia Policy legislation by the new Commonwealth Parliament in 1901. The Member for Morton advised the Parliament:

*My desire is, at the earliest possible moment, to have a 'White Australia', and to keep from our shores all coloured labourers of a lower degree of civilisation than our own.*²⁰

3.2 The Expulsion of the South Sea Islanders after Federation

*While the Chinese had been the object of restrictive immigration by the colonies in the 1880s, the Pacific Islanders were the only group to be deported - a measure of their powerlessness, in contrast to the nationals of states such as Japan or China and even more important colonial possessions such as British India.*²¹

3.2.1 The White Australia Policy

The Liberals in Queensland opposed South Sea Islander recruitment and the use of South Sea Islander labour as promoting the existence of a non-white underclass. Rich plantation owners who supported the Conservative Party advocated the continuation of their supply of cheap labour. During 1884 and 1885, the Royal Commission into kidnapping of South Sea Islanders in the New Guinea islands strengthened public opposition to the importation of South Sea Islanders. The Liberal Government acted to prohibit the indenturing of Melanesians after 31 December 1890.

However, by 1890 when the indenturing was supposed to end, the colony and its sugar industry were heading into recession, and implementation of the Act was postponed for a further ten years.²²

Whilst the recession led to South Sea Islanders being allowed to stay longer, it also destroyed the plantation system under which most South Sea Islanders worked. This had the effect of fuelling white fears of wandering and uncontrolled black men, and so made the eventual expulsion of South Sea Islanders on racist grounds more likely.

One of the first acts of the new Commonwealth Parliament, the *Pacific Island Labourers Act* of 1901, required the end of recruitment from 31 March 1904, and the deportation of all South Sea Islanders who had not left by 31 December 1906, except 'ticket holders' and those born in Australia (but not their parents).

This was allowable under Section 51 (xxvi) of the Constitution which at the time enabled the Commonwealth Parliament to make laws with respect to *The people of any race, other than the Aboriginal race in any State, for whom it is deemed necessary to make any special laws.*²³

It should be noted that this section of the Constitution was drafted principally so the Parliament could control 'alien' labour. The debates at the Constitutional Convention indicate that it was intended that these powers be exercised early in the life of the Commonwealth.²⁴ This eventuated, but only the South Sea Islanders were deported. Ironically, the amendment of this section in 1967 to remove the exclusion of Aboriginal people has allowed the Commonwealth to enact special legislation for them.

3.2.2 Protest and review

While protests to the deportation on humanitarian grounds developed, particularly from churches,²⁵ objections by Queenslanders were questioned on the grounds that many simply wanted to continue having access to cheap labour. Nonetheless, the protests led the Commonwealth Government to establish a Royal Commission in 1906, to investigate the deportation and the availability of replacement labour. The majority of those giving evidence argued for compassionate treatment of the South Sea Islanders.²⁶

The deportation was resented by many of the South Sea Islanders. One, Peter Arroo, testified to the Royal Commission:

*These boys no come from their Island by their own will. Ship come to their Islands and make fools of them, and fetch them to this country. Now when they open their eyes and know God and get civilised [they are deported]. I am ashamed to think you drive people like that. That is a thing I would never do.*²⁷

The South Sea Islander protests were quite extensive, including petitions, delegations to Parliamentarians, and letters of protest. The Pacific Islander Association was formed in Mackay in November 1901, and under its second Chairman, Henry Tongoa, held at least eleven meetings in Queensland towns, attracting up to 200 South Sea Islanders. By 1906 it had 426 members,²⁸ and even had a protest March to the Royal Commission where evidence was presented by Tongoa.

The various South Sea Islanders' evidence to the Commission indicates there were:

*distinctions between those who wished to remain permanently and those who were willing to leave. The first group was composed in general of long-term residents, most of them married men and women, and those who had a special reason not to return home. In the second group, single men who had been in Queensland for a few years only and were experiencing difficulties in securing employment were predominant.*²⁹

The evidence before the Royal Commission created a groundswell of sympathy for the South Sea Islanders, and this was bolstered by fear of international protests that might embarrass the British Government.³⁰ The Royal Commission reported on 30 June 1906, recommending extension of the exemption from deportation.

The *Pacific Island Labourers Amendment Act* was passed in October that year, allowing to stay those who had been resident for twenty years, those too old or infirm to earn a living, those married to a person from a different Island or non-Islander, and land owners.³¹ By this stage, with only three months until deportation, South Sea Islanders not allowed to stay were preparing to leave, the humanitarian protesters were satisfied, and protests to deportation died away. Temporary exemption certificates were granted to some South Sea Islanders allowing them to stay until 1908, for example, where they had a contract to harvest a sugar crop.

The effect of the 1906 amending legislation had been to allow some 1200 additional Islanders, many of whom would have been married with families, to remain legally in the country. While numerically small, this was demographically crucial, ensuring a sufficient "seed" community. Without the relaxation of the criteria for exemption, to achieve which both Islanders and their European

supporters had organised, the Pacific Islander population could not have survived as a distinct entity.³²

In total, 1,380 South Sea Islanders were allowed to remain in Australia³³ (including a few of the 'ticket-holders' who did not have to apply), mainly due to their length of residence. Some of these later left. In 1909, 1,654 South Sea Islanders were recorded in Australia.³⁴ Possibly a thousand others stayed either by hiding from authorities or being ignored (it must be recalled that most South Sea Islanders were in Queensland where the Government of the time opposed deportation).

It is estimated that around 2,500 South Sea Islanders remained in 1908.³⁵ Their Island of origin appeared to reflect broadly the proportions of labourers who came from each Island. Those from Vanuatu:

were the overwhelming majority, Solomon Islanders a prominent minority, (with) insignificant numbers from other islands. Of individual islands, Malaitans and Tannese were foremost.³⁶

The South Sea Islander community of today is descended from these people.

It appears certain that, even though the Government relaxed the requirements for exemption for deportation, the South Sea Islanders were squeezed out of an increasingly unwelcoming Australia. This was a foreboding of the treatment to come to those remaining.

Deportation of most South Sea Islanders was not sufficient for the Queensland or Commonwealth Governments. Those remaining were to suffer further racial discrimination.

3.3 Racial Discrimination until the Second World War

Through the early part of this century, both the Commonwealth and Queensland Governments, supported by the industrial courts, introduced a range of measures to force the remaining South Sea Islanders out of much of the sugar and other agricultural industries. After losing the fight against deportation, Queensland became a zealous convert to the White Australia Policy. After detailed investigations, historian Mercer found there were at least forty pieces of discriminatory Queensland legislation between 1900 and 1940.³⁷

The effect of these measures was to reduce most South Sea Islanders to subsistence living. Mercer sums up:

*Between 1908 and 1940, the sugar industry continued to provide a means of livelihood for the greatest number. Yet their employment was severely affected by a vigorous campaign, principally by the labour movement, to end non-European employment in sugar, a campaign which represented the peak of discrimination against non-Europeans in Australia.*³⁸

It should be noted that the British Government tended to oppose overt discriminatory legislation, and Royal Assent to Queensland legislation was sometimes withheld until it was amended. Legislation thus tended to refer to 'aliens' and to use a dictation test as an eligibility criterion, thereby indirectly discriminating against South Sea Islanders.

Some discriminatory legislation did not directly affect employment, but indicates the attitudes of the times. For example, the *Liquor Act* of 1912 prohibited the supply of alcohol to South Sea Islanders.

*More drastically, those with Aboriginal mothers and, from 1934, any person of Pacific Islander descent who lived with or associated with Aboriginals or was considered to need protection could be brought under the repressive controls of the Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts of 1897 and 1934.*³⁹

3.3.1 Restrictions in sugar and agricultural employment

In 1902, the Commonwealth Government encouraged white labour in the sugar industry by providing a bonus for sugar grown and milled by white workers.⁴⁰ Hearne records:

*The Excise Tariff Act 1902 imposed an excise duty of 3s. per hundredweight but allowed a rebate of 4s. per ton if sugar cane were produced solely by white labour. A similar provision in the Customs Tariff Act imposed an import duty of 6s. per hundredweight on sugar manufactured from sugar cane. This ensured the protection of sugar production and encouraged employers to use white labour only. The Sugar Bounty Act 1903 operated on the same principle and provided a bounty of 4s. per ton of sugar cane and 40s. per ton on sugar beet produced by white labour.*⁴¹

The results of the deportation of most South Sea Islanders and occupational restrictions on those remaining were dramatic.

*In 1902, 85.55% of all sugar produced in Queensland was produced by coloured labour. By 1908 white labour produced 87.89% of the total.*⁴²

*By 1910, 92.8% of Queensland sugar was grown and harvested by European labour.*⁴³

In 1907, the *Bounties Act* extended the *Sugar Bounty Act* to provide a subsidy for the production of cotton, flax, jute, oil plants, rice, rubber, coffee, tobacco, preserved fish, and some dried fruits, provided these were produced by non-white labour.⁴⁴ The *Banana Industry Cultivation Act 1921* restricted employment in this industry as well.⁴⁵

In addition, Queensland's 1912 *Leases to Aliens Act* (non-Australian-born South Sea Islanders were legally aliens) and 1913 *Sugar Acts* legally banned island-born Melanesians from cultivating land or growing cane.⁴⁶ One consequence of this requiring further investigation was that some South Sea Islanders purchased land in the name of either white farmers or churches, and descendants today claim this land has been lost to them.

The *Sugar Cultivation Act* of 1913 made it unlawful; for any alien who had not passed a dictation test to engage in the cultivation or manufacture of sugar. However, many South Sea Islanders were granted exemption from the test, partly because of pressure from CSR and other significant South Sea Islander employers. This treatment of South Sea Islanders in the first year of the *Sugar Cultivation Act* was a major complaint in the following election campaign.

When his Government took office, Premier Ryan sought to have exemptions cancelled but the Federal Government did not agree. He also tried to pay less for sugar produced by non-Europeans, but again was dissuaded.

Henceforth, Labor's legislative measures were restricted to the gazettal of regulations aimed at tightening up the operations of the *Sugar Cultivation Act*.⁴⁷

3.3.2 Industrial restrictions

The labour movement, particularly the Australian Workers Union (AWU), was a vehement opponent of the South Sea Islanders, who were refused membership along with other non-Europeans.⁴⁸ The union accused them of being strike-breakers while simultaneously not allowing them to join (even South Sea Islanders who went on strike were not allowed to enter the strikers camp).⁴⁹

The Ryan Labor Government, unable to pass legislation restricting coloured labour due to Federal resistance, used industrial awards to achieve this effect.

The sugar award handed down in 1916 stipulated (at the Government's insistence) that Asians, Africans and Pacific Islanders were to be paid their wages before a government officer.

The AWU applied later to have only union members in the sugar industry, principally on the grounds that this would prevent non-European labour. In 1919, the Queensland Industrial Court's Sugar Award banned 'coloured' people (overwhelmingly South Sea Islanders) from cane cutting after June that year. From 1 January 1920 they were not to be employed in cultivating cane on properties larger than seventy-five acres except where the farm was owned by another South Sea Islander; from June 1919 this was tightened to farms greater than forty acres. The AWU continued to press its case. In July 1921, the award granted preference to union members on all farms over forty acres.⁵⁰

The awards had their desired effect. Between May 1919 and May 1920, the number of non-European sugar workers in Northern Queensland fell from 1,131 to 326.⁵¹ Yet the campaign against South Sea Islander labour continued.

In 1924, regulations to the *Sugar Cultivation Act* required those with an exemption certificate (mainly South Sea Islanders) to present it annually at the court house; in 1929 further regulations required mills to report on all such workers. In 1933 a census of certificate holders was held - only 208 of the 1,55 certificate holders presented themselves; only seventy-four of these were South Sea Islanders.⁵² South Sea Islanders were legally out of the sugar industry.

3.4 Racial Discrimination after the Second World War

Racial discrimination continued after the Second World War, both institutionally and in other people's attitudes and treatment. The level of racial discrimination faced by a social **group** is difficult to measure or prove. To get some indication of its extent today, the South Sea Islander census asked households whether they had suffered racial discrimination in the past year, in:

- seeking private rental housing,
- seeking employment or at work, and
- from staff of government services.

For all three services, the response was broadly similar, with about:

- 40% saying *not applicable*,
- 40% saying *not in past year*,
- 10% saying *yes, occasionally*, and
- 5% saying *yes, often*.

Of those for whom the question was applicable, about one-quarter of South Sea Islanders reported experiencing racial discrimination in each of the three areas occasionally or often over the past year.

Private rental housing seems to be the area where discrimination is most obviously a problem for South Sea Islanders. In the seeking of private rental housing, 31% of tenant households for whom the question was applicable reported occasional or frequent racial discrimination in the past year. Of single-parent households, 36% reported racial discrimination in seeking housing.

This would tend to confirm anecdotal evidence that South Sea Islanders have difficulty in getting private rental housing because they are 'black'. This was reported to the consultant in towns from far North Queensland though to Northern NSW.

While there was anecdotal evidence that racial discrimination was worse in Northern Queensland, our census found that the levels of reported racial discrimination did not vary markedly by region.

Statements made to this Inquiry suggest that racism today is a pervasive influence on the lives of South Sea Islanders. Noel Fatnowna wrote in 1989 that South Sea Islanders continue to be refused service or were the last to be served in hotels and shops.⁵³ Walking the streets of towns where South Sea Islanders live makes it apparent that there are no South Sea Islanders to be seen in the shops or the banks, but they are seen around as labourers and cleaners. A typical statement from a South Sea Islander to this Inquiry was:

I applied for a receptionist position and was told to come back the next day. I had good references but they didn't seem to be too impressed. So I went and waited outside the place and a young white lad went in after me. He said he had just left school. Yet when he came out of the place he said he was more qualified by their standards. He told me the next day that the position had been filled. I went through high school and went to Business College but that still wasn't good enough for them

In 1976 the then Commissioner for Community Relations, Al Grassby, examined racism in Townsville, where a high proportion of the black population comprised South Sea Islanders. Fifty people were interviewed - thirty-eight Aboriginals and twelve 'Islanders' (note that at this time Torres Strait and South Sea Islanders were not distinguished), together with a similar 'control' group of white people. As well as interviewing the black people about their experiences, the study experimented by sending otherwise identical white and black people to rent a dwelling or apply for an advertised job. The study found:

Many of the respondents claimed direct experience with being denied jobs for which they were qualified, being paid less than whites, and being asked to do undesirable jobs ... Discrimination in housing is indicated by low access to the private rental market, by refusal to let, and by asking for higher tariffs from Aboriginal and Islander respondents.⁵⁴

(in the employment test) the results are stark. Fifty percent of the known job decision-makers refused even to see an Aboriginal applicant. When we add the probable large number who are rejected spuriously after some assessment, we begin to grasp the magnitude of employment discrimination.⁵⁵

(in the renting test) of 18 in-person applications ... 7 houses were not available .. The remaining 11 cases all showed some degree of discrimination (including 7 rejections).⁵⁶

There is reason to believe that with a relatively small number of regular employers of South Sea Islanders, discrimination was not a problem. South Sea Islanders frequently told this Inquiry with pride that '*We're good workers*', and that those who had hired them in the past would hire a South Sea Islander again. While it appears the case that this has allowed South Sea Islanders to gain employment in traditional (poorly paid) industries and occupations such as agriculture worker or railway ganger, it has been little help in assisting South Sea Islanders to move into other industries or occupations. As reported later, these are largely the same as they were fifty years ago.

3.5 The Introduction of Aboriginal Programs

Since the 1967 Referendum, the Federal Government has introduced a variety of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander programs to address their disadvantaged status.

It was in everybody's best interests that South Sea Islanders used Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander programs. After all, many South Sea Islanders were also of Aboriginal ancestry, and South Sea Islanders suffered many of the same disadvantages. In 1973 the then Minister for Aboriginal Affairs wrote:

... in the operation of this portfolio, Aborigine includes a person descended from the original inhabitants of Australia or the islands of the Commonwealth or from Pacific Islanders who resided in Australia, and who identify as Aborigines.

From 1967 to 1989, a South Sea Islander had to *identify as an Aboriginal* to get access to desperately needed programs - particularly **Abstudy** - so children could attend school.

For twenty five years, South Sea Islanders have known that if they ignore their heritage and cultural identity, and identify as Aboriginal, they will receive assistance.

For twenty five years, too, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have acquiesced in this situation:

let your black brothers identify as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, and share in the resources available to you.

Access to Aboriginal programs has benefited some South Sea Islanders, but this situation is becoming untenable. South Sea Islanders are by definition excluded from Aboriginal programs. Their perception is that they are being frozen out: by a cruel irony, being black has been enough for them to be subject to disadvantage, but being black is no longer enough for them to qualify for remedial programs.

4 SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS TODAY

4.1 How Many South Sea Islanders Are There?

There has not been an adequate count of South Sea Islanders since the 1906 expulsion. Estimating their numbers was but one challenge for this Inquiry.

National Censuses until 1966 asked a question on race, from which a 1977 Inter-departmental Committee estimated there were at that time 2,900 to 3,700 South Sea Islanders. However, this figure was always rejected by South Sea Islanders; the number of South Sea Islanders identified in this Inquiry indicates it was probably about half of the population at that time.

Mercer compared various Census counts with nominal sources (i.e. actually identifying and counting people from assorted records, family trees, and so forth) and concluded:

Underenumeration in the censuses probably was about 50%. A number of factors could account for such significant underenumeration, including the contorted method of racial classification employed, mistaken identification (especially in the Far North) as Aborigines, and general lack of visibility of a rural-based, low-status group to European census collectors. North Queensland's other black groups, Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, similarly have tended to be under counted significantly in the censuses.⁵⁷

A further reason is that questions on race are difficult to frame so that accurate information can be derived. For example, in the 1986 Census question about ancestry, only 133 people in Queensland responded 'Kanaka', while the response 'South Sea Islander' was not counted. Whether people recorded their Island of origin is not known, as the main recruiting islands of Vanuatu and The Solomons were grouped under 'Pacific Islands', and this group included recent migrants.

The **South Sea Islander Census** conducted as part of this Inquiry was an attempt to get better data on numbers and characteristics.

Considerable effort was made by the Inquiry and by South Sea Islanders to deliver a census form to every household with at least one person descended from the original labourers, and to get these returned. In the process, South Sea Islanders in thirty-

three areas located and counted such households. In total, some 2700 households with South Sea Islander ancestry were identified; relatively few consisted of a single South Sea Islander living with non-South Sea Islanders, generally in student shared housing. The vast majority were South Sea Islander families, though many had a family member without South Sea Islander ancestry, generally the spouse of a South Sea Islander.

The table below gives the results. Overall, a 45% response rate was gained, with 1184 valid forms recording 4435 persons, an average household size of 3.8 persons. This response is very high for voluntary participation by a community mistrustful of white efforts.

| Region | est. no h/holds | est. no. forms given | Forms back | return rate % | est popn |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Far Nth Qld | 70 | 70 | 56 | 80.00 | 266 |
| North West | 50 | 25 | 22 | 88.00 | 190 |
| Northern Qld | 430 | 430 | 208 | 48.37 | 1,634 |
| Mackay | 900 | 900 | 305 | 33.89 | 3,420 |
| Fitzroy | 300 | 300 | 143 | 47.67 | 1,140 |
| Wide Bay | 100 | 100 | 57 | 57.00 | 380 |
| Sunshine Coast | 30 | 30 | 25 | 83.33 | 114 |
| Brisbane/Moreton | 200 | 200 | 101 | 50.50 | 760 |
| rest Qld; unknown | 50 | 50 | 43 | 86.00 | 190 |
| Nth Rivers | 250 | 250 | 93 | 37.20 | 950 |
| Sydney | 100 | 100 | 36 | 36.00 | 380 |
| rest NSW; unknown | 30 | 30 | 22 | 73.33 | 114 |
| ACT | 40 | 20 | 9 | 45.00 | 152 |
| Melbourne | 30 | 20 | 15 | 75.00 | 114 |
| rest Vic. | 30 | 30 | 20 | 66.67 | 114 |
| Sth Aust | 30 | 20 | 10 | 50.00 | 114 |
| West Aust | 20 | 20 | 10 | 50.00 | 76 |
| NT | 30 | 20 | 9 | 45.00 | 114 |
| | 2,690 | 2,615 | 1,184 | 45.28 | 10,200 |

It is estimated that the South Sea Islander community consists of at least 10,000 people, and possibly up to 12,000. Gaining a more precise count is problematic where a people is of mixed race ancestry, and perhaps impossible while some South Sea Islanders choose Aboriginal identification.

4.2 Where South Sea Islanders Live

Most South Sea Islanders today live around the towns where there were large sugar plantations in the 1880s. Until the Second World War, they tended to live in fringe camps around coastal towns or in coastal villages. Over the past twenty years, many have been rehoused into public housing, improving their quality of dwelling but fragmenting the communities.

Since around the 1950s, some South Sea Islanders dispersed in search of employment such as seasonal picking, resulting in the small South Sea Islander communities in the Riverina, Barossa Valley and other rural areas. Since the 1970s, more people dispersed for employment - the South Sea Islander communities in Townsville, the capital cities, and Western Australia are largely a result of the search for work.

The South Sea Islander Census reveals that 72.6% of the South Sea Islander households live in cities or towns, 18% live in villages, and 9% on farms. This is as expected from the migration into hamlets then the re-housing into towns after the Second World War, described briefly in the previous section and in more detail in Mercer's book. However, these figures mask the fact that the towns are mainly country towns: whilst around 63% of all Australians live in major urban centres, only 11% of South Sea Islanders do.

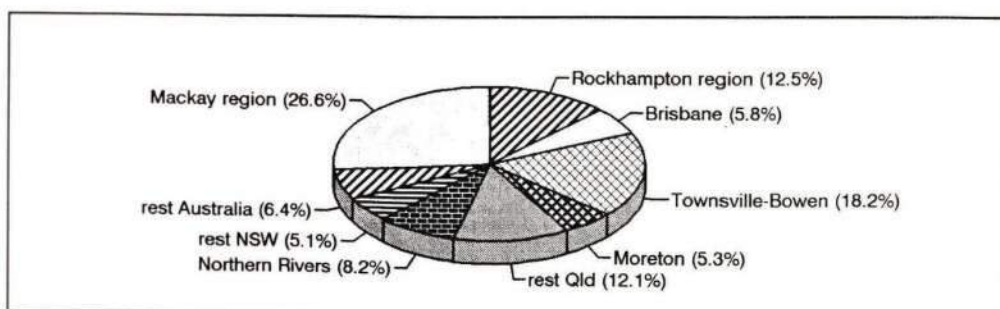


Figure 1 Proportion of South Sea Islander households by region, derived from household counts

The mobility data from the South Sea Islander Census confirms that, despite being clustered in the same towns as earlier this century, South Sea Islanders are reasonably mobile. Almost half (48%) of the adults had moved house in the last five years, compared with the Australian average of 40% in 1986. Half those who moved remained in the same local government area, while a further 11% stayed in the same region. The remainder moved mainly to another region in the same State. However, 11.6% of those who moved went interstate, compared with an Australian average of 10% (1987 ABS Internal Migration survey). Moves were mainly from Queensland towns to southern capital cities.

Finally, less than 1% of the adults migrated in the last five years. Some of these are Pacific Islanders who migrated and married into the South Sea Islander community, a recent though still small trend.

4.3 Demographic Characteristics

4.3.1 Age/sex profile

From the South Sea Islander Census, 49.5% of South Sea Islanders are male and 50.5% are female. The original imbalance in favour of males quite clearly has been eliminated.

The graph overleaf illustrates the proportion of men and women of each 5-year age group, for South Sea Islanders, Aboriginal people (left),⁵⁸ and for all Australian-born people.⁵⁹ The median age of all Australian-born people is 28.4 years;⁶⁰ the median South Sea Islander age is 23 years, with an average age of 26 years.

It can be seen that there is a significantly bigger proportion of young South Sea Islanders compared with all Australian-born people, but the proportion is less than that for Aboriginal people.

Once over 59 years old, the proportion of South Sea Islanders drops markedly. About 4% of all Australian-born men and women are aged 60-65, compared to 1% of South Sea Islander men and 1.4% of women. Very few South Sea Islanders are over 75, compared with about 2% of all Australian-born men and 4% of women.

While part of the reason for the lower proportion of older people could be that South Sea Islanders tend to have large families so there are more younger people, this does

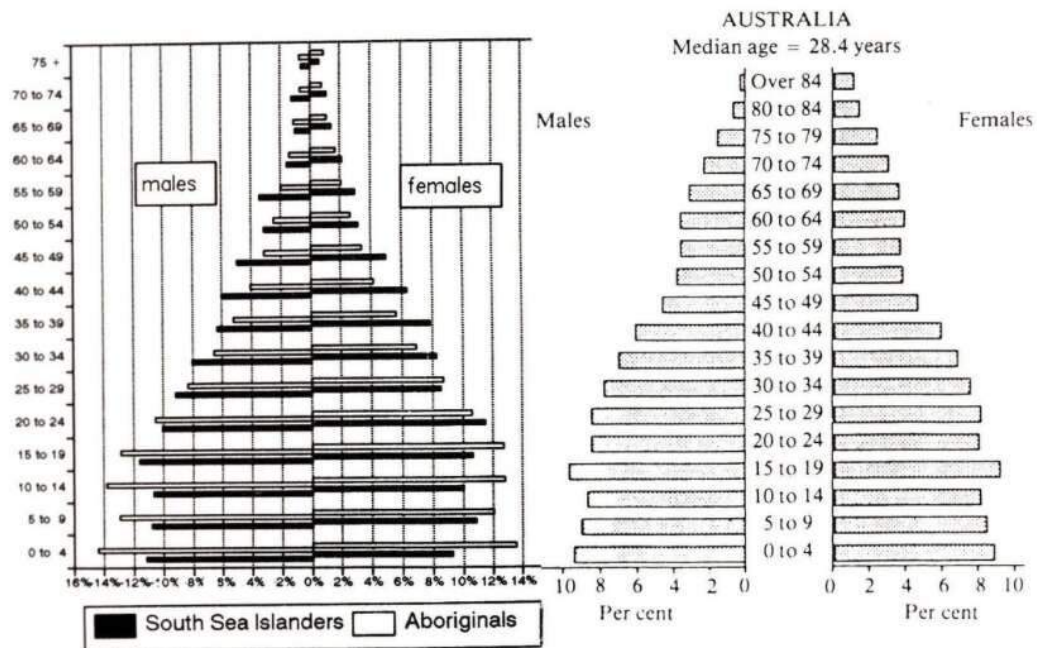


Figure 2 Age/sex profile - South Sea & Aborigines (left), all Australian-born (right)

not explain why there are so few over 70 years. Part of the reason may lie in the South Sea Islander history - those over 70 were born before 1922 when the South Sea Islander population was around its lowest level.

4.3.2 Marital status

As the graph overleaf shows, South Sea Islanders are more likely to have never married than the Australian average⁶¹ - 46% as against 32% of those over 15 years. Conversely, only 42% of South Sea Islander women and 43% of men are married, compared with 54% of Australians over 15 years old.

This is partly accounted for by the fact that the South Sea Islander community is younger than average. However, there are significant numbers of South Sea Islander female single mothers living with their parents. In discussion, South Sea Islanders suggested this was partly due to changing values, and that South Sea Islander men preferred not to marry until they could support their wives.

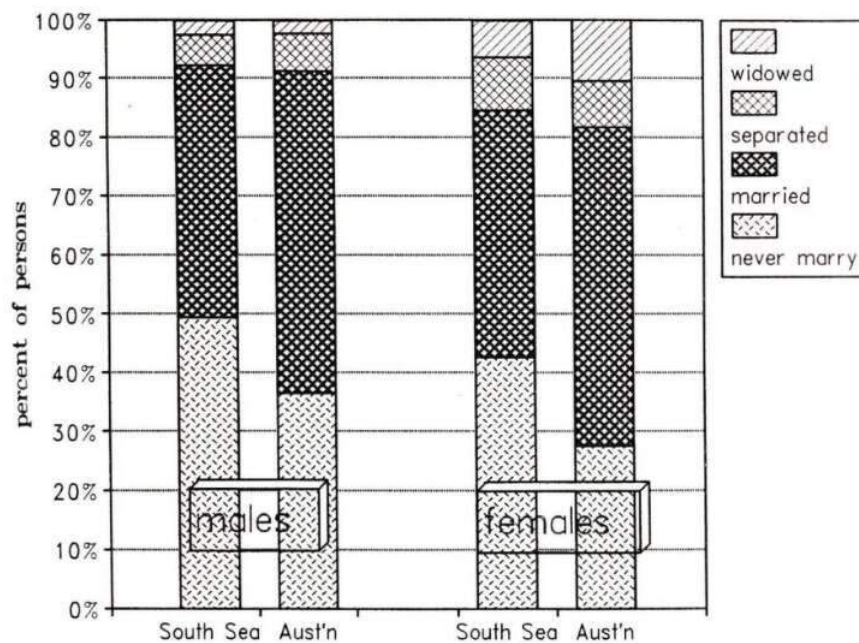


Figure 3 Marital status - South Seas & Australian

Of the South Sea Islanders over 30 years of age, 62.5% are married, and only 19% never married. It appears that the low marital rates may be caused by deferral of marriage more than by avoidance of it.

4.3.3 Fertility

At the time of the census, South Sea Islander women over 15 had had an average of 2.8 children (born alive), while men had 2.3 children. The average number of children for women of various age groups is:

| Age group | No. of children |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 20 to 29 years: | 1.3 |
| 30 to 39 years: | 3.0 |
| 40 to 49 years: | 3.4 |
| 50 to 59 years: | 4.7 |
| 60 years and over: | 6.1 |

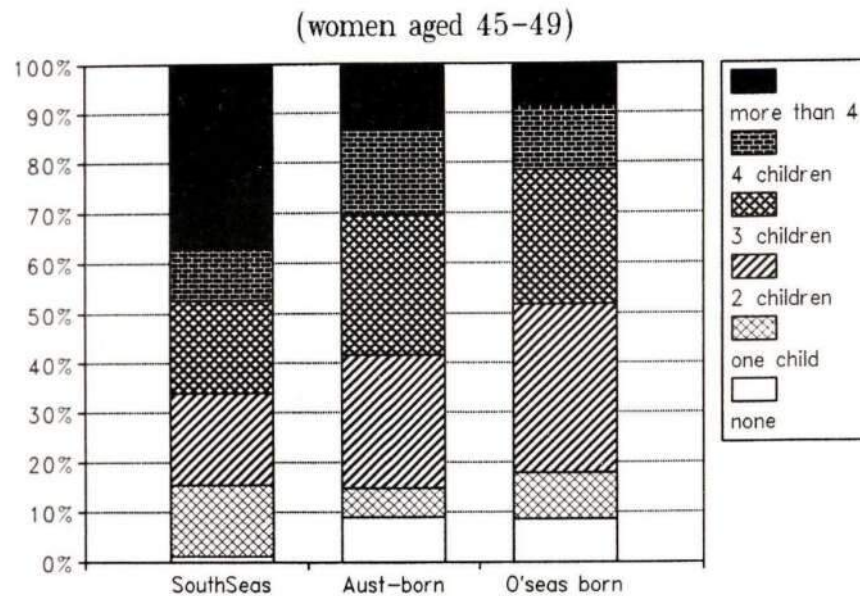


Figure 4 *Proportion of women and number of children born.*

The graph above compares the number of children born alive to women aged 45-49 (an age group which has generally finished child-birth), for South Sea Islander, Australian-born, and overseas-born women.⁶² It can be seen that very few of the South Sea Islander women had never had children, while 40% had more than four children. Among women of this age group, South Sea Islander women had an average of 3.8 children, while Australian-born women had 2.9, and overseas-born had 2.6.

4.3.4 Where family counts

Families are the core of South Sea Islander communities. This derives from the original South Sea Islander and the newer Christian values, and from the family's being the basic unit of support in any community. Older people live with their children and their children's families in many cases, rather than on their own. Children live with their parents long after having 'grown-up'. The proportion of families of various types listed overleaf masks the true complexity of many South Sea Islander families, which often have three generations living together.

| Type of family | % |
|---|------|
| single person | 10.5 |
| couple | 11.8 |
| couple, dependent child(ren) | 37.0 |
| couple, dependent children, adults | 8.0 |
| couple with other adults | 4.5 |
| single parent, dependent child(ren) | 8.9 |
| single parent, dependent child(ren), other adults | 5.8 |
| related adults | 11.5 |
| unrelated adults | 2.1 |

The graph below shows the proportion of families of different types for Aboriginal people,⁶³ South Sea Islanders, non-English speaking background (NESB) people,⁶⁴ and all Australian-born families. Aboriginal people have the highest proportion of families with children, notably single parents, while the South Sea Islander family structures are closer to those of migrants from non-English speaking countries than those who are Australian-born. There are more single parent families and families of related adults, and fewer singles or couples living alone, than either all Australian-born or overseas-born.

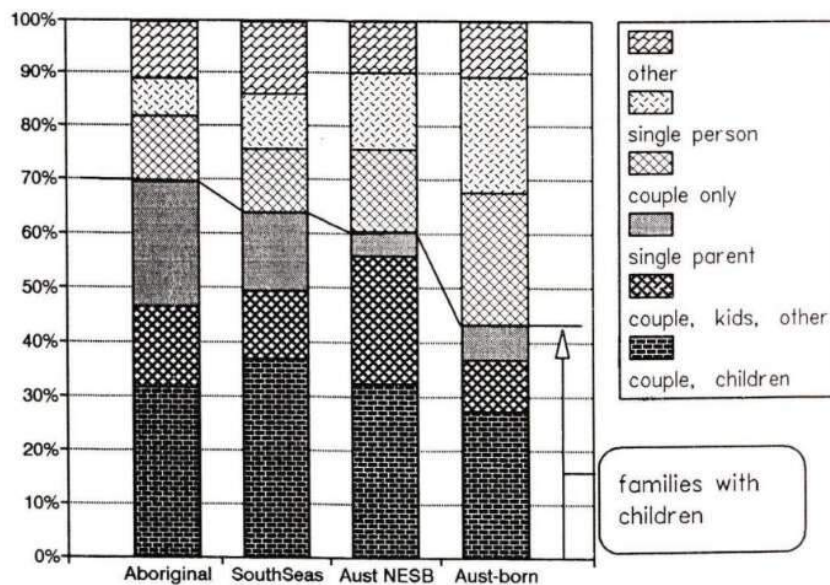


Figure 5 Family types.

4.4 Ancestry

4.4.1 Racial composition

South Sea Islanders mainly married South Sea Islanders up until the Second World War⁶⁵ - marriage to Europeans and Asians did take place but drew strong community disapproval; the number of such marriages was small. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander partners, though frowned upon, were more numerous.

However, by 1945 inter-Islander marriages had created many blood-links among South Sea Islander families.

Cousin marriages ... are not encouraged. Given the limitations on appropriate Melanesian partners, parental and community opposition to out-marriages inevitably has weakened.⁶⁶ By the early 1970s it was difficult to find a non-related partner of Islander descent ... out-marriage has become the norm rather than the exception.⁶⁷

Marriages to other races tended to be with Aboriginal families before 1960, and after 1960, more with Torres Strait Islanders or Europeans. The South Sea Islander Census attempted to find out more about people's ancestry today.

Questions on ancestry pose difficulties - the 1986 Census question asking people's main ancestry was dropped from the 1991 Census because the data was virtually useless.⁶⁸ The census for this Inquiry asked four questions on ancestry - whether each person's parents had South Sea Islander / Aboriginal / Torres Strait / Other ancestry.

The results are illustrated in the graph overleaf. It can be seen that 38% of people had South Sea Islander ancestry from both parents, and another 47% from one parent only (more than half the parents of today's community were not South Sea Islanders).

Just under half the community have Aboriginal ancestry. Similarly, about half the community have ancestry other than Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander - one-fifth from both sides of the family. However, only about one person in six has Torres Strait Islander ancestry. This is because Torres Strait Islanders have only been migrating into many of the Queensland towns in the past generation.

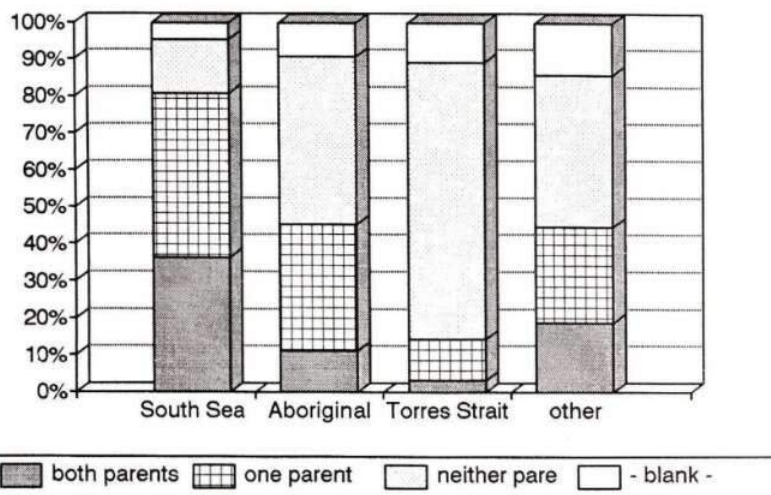


Figure 6 *Ancestry of South Sea Islander community*

The 15% who have no South Sea Islander ancestry are mainly people who have married into the South Sea Islander community. Some three-quarters of those were either the head of the household or his/her partner.

Those without South Sea Islander ancestry were mainly of ancestry other than Aboriginal or Torres Strait. Only 27% of these non-Melanesians had one or both parents Aboriginal, and only 11% had a parent with Torres Strait Islander ancestry. However, 59% had one or both parents with other ancestry.

In discussions on these findings in Mackay and Townsville, South Sea Islanders were asked how they could explain the continuation of their culture in the face of this mixed heritage. There appear to be two main explanations. First, while many have married non-Islanders, their children tend to marry other South Sea Islanders, so the South Sea Islander racial background is reinforced. Second, other people tend to marry into the South Sea Islander community rather than the South Sea Islander marrying out of it. South Sea Islanders marrying whites often live in the South Sea Islander community because South Sea Islanders are more accepting of them than the white community.

4.4.2 The importance of heritage

The mixed racial composition of the South Sea Islander community raises the question of whether it is culturally strong. The census asked people how important South Sea Islander heritage was for them. For 67.5% it was very important; for 18.0% it was important; and for only 13.4% was it not very important.

A comparison by age reveals insignificant differences in the importance of South Sea Islander heritage across groups. However, heritage may be less important for those who have yet to have children. The figures support the claim that South Sea Islander heritage remains strong today:

- Over 60: 77% said very important and 9% said important (total 86%)
- 40 to 60: 74% said very important and 13% said important (total 87%)
- 20 to 40: 66% said very important and 20% said important (total 86%).

Many South Sea Islander families have spent considerable time in collecting oral histories and researching archival materials to trace their family trees. For example, the Mooney family in Mackay have three volumes of family trees, and others have a book tracing their families. For others, their ancestry remains a mystery; often they report that their parents or grandparents told them little of where they came from. However, it may be possible for many to trace part of their ancestry through the extensive family linkages. There are older people with memories of when there were few South Sea Islanders - careful interviews and compilation of records from different sources could help a lot of South Sea Islanders build their links to the past.

4.4.3 Relating to the Islands

Most or all of the original South Sea Islander settlers were too poor to contemplate returning to their Pacific islands for a visit. There was also ambivalence for some who feared retribution on return. When the last of the Island-born people died, and some South Sea Islanders were able to save enough money, trips to the Islands of their forebears started.

The first recorded trip to the 'home' island was by Patricia Corowa in 1970 (to Tanna in Vanuatu); in 1976 a Mackay-Ayr group went to Vanuatu, and Noel and Winnie Fatnowna made the first revisit to The Solomons in 1974.⁶⁹ Those able to reconnect with their ancestral relatives and land were deeply moved by the experience. However, only one South Sea Islander is known to have migrated to his ancestral Island, even though several claim royal descent. When asked why, these South Sea Islanders generally reply, *'We're Australian now'*.

South Sea Islanders are proud of their now-independent countries of origin, and in Mackay a regular 'Independence Night' celebration is held in July between Vanuatu and The Solomon's Independence days.

4.4.4 Recognition and history

One important feature of South Sea Islander history and heritage is that it is generally unknown to the Australian public. Many South Sea Islanders expressed displeasure at this situation to the Inquiry. For them, their history still lives in their lives and affects their status, attitudes and identity.

An outline history of South Sea Islanders in Australia appears at Appendix 1.

South Sea Islander history was taught in Queensland schools in the 1960s. Now it is almost totally ignored. This affects the community in two significant ways. First, it reinforces the image of them as *the forgotten people*, and conveys the impression that their treatment by Australia in the past does not matter. Second, South Sea Islander children do not have the opportunity to study their own history, or to research in depth the accuracy of what little recorded history there is.

The South Sea Islanders are in a position similar to Aboriginal people twenty years ago in this regard. Since that time, Aboriginal history and culture have become part of mainstream education, with the result that the white community has learned of past grievances, and Aboriginal people have gained increased pride in their heritage.

Many South Sea Islanders asked this Inquiry to report on their history '*so the truth can be known*'. However, the summary history reported here may not be satisfactory to many South Sea Islanders, because it is based largely on the work of white historians. There are many areas where the oral histories of the South Sea Islanders, passed from grandparent and parent, conflict with recorded history - for example, in the extent of kidnapping. On some matters, such as the deportation period of 1904 to 1908, or the lives of South Sea Islanders in Northern New South Wales, there has been relatively little research. There is a need for systematic recording of oral history.

5 INDICATORS OF DISADVANTAGE

5.1 The Use of Indicators

The recorded history of the South Sea Islanders, sparse though it is, combined with the testimonies of South Sea Islanders interviewed during the course of this Inquiry, sketch a picture of a black minority group that has lived on the fringes of white society, getting irregular, mainly manual, work and living in poverty for the past hundred years.

Many people in Australia are disadvantaged in various ways and to differing degrees. Data from the South Sea Islander Census reported in this chapter reveals that many South Sea Islanders are among them. However, the key question is whether, as a group, South Sea Islanders suffer disadvantage when compared with the Australian average or with other racial groups in Australia. In the following discussion, South Sea Islanders are compared with various immigrant groups, particularly those more recently arrived where incomes are generally lower, and with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Comparisons with Aboriginal peoples are particularly relevant, because both they and South Sea Islanders are black minority groups which have been subject to racism. It is recognised that the indigenous peoples of Australia are severely disadvantaged because of past racism; the different but parallel history of South Sea Islanders led us to investigate whether the consequences have been the same for both groups.

The indicators used here are standard, largely economic indicators, for which data is generally collected in the national Census. They are mainly related to measuring people's ability to earn income and their wealth. Important indicators of earning capacity are level of education, occupations, and wages. Important indicators of wealth are home and car ownership. In addition, some indicators commonly reflective of income and wealth were examined, including health and telephone connections.

Resource constraints limited the selection of economic indicators and largely excluded social indicators. For example, two economic indicators of disadvantage not included were dependence on community services and dependence on government services. Similarly, time constraints restricted the opportunity to undertake extensive cross tabulations. For example, occupation and wage rates should be compared against geographical location.

Notwithstanding these methodological limitations, the collective weight of the selected economic indicators undoubtedly indicates a group that suffers persistent and pervasive poverty.

5.2 Housing

5.2.1 Ownership

Home ownership is a good indicator of people's wealth; indeed, most of Australia's wealth is in the form of dwellings. Not only does buying a house provide tax advantages (such as the tax exemption of capital gains), but it allows a tolerable life on the aged pension if the house is fully owned by them. Also important is that housing is a major form of inter-generational transfer of wealth, through parents passing their homes on to their children.

South Sea Islanders' home ownership rates are lower than any other racial group in Australia, with the possible exception of Aboriginal people. Less than one-third of South Sea Islander households owned or were buying their house, with only one in seven being full owners. Another one-third of households were public tenants; the rest were mainly private tenants.

| Dwelling owner | % h/holds |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| occupant | 30.8 |
| relative | 1.5 |
| Housing Department | 10.7 |
| Old Divn of Abor'l & Islander Affairs | 14.4 |
| Aboriginal housing cooperative | 8.4 |
| private landlord or employer | 28.8 |
| caravan; hostel; shed | 3.0 |
| other; not stated | 2.4 |

South Sea Islanders' home ownership (owning or buying) rate is less than half the Australian average - 30.8% of South Sea Islander households were owners or buyers in 1992, compared with an average of 68.3% for Australia in 1986. Moreover, South Sea Islanders are not buying their homes at the same rate as other people. Only 16% are buying their home, compared with 31% nationally.

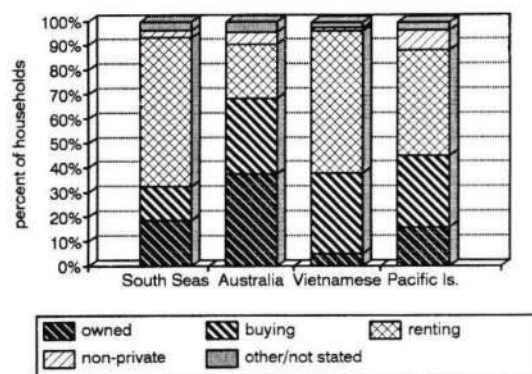


Figure 7 Housing tenure.

Overall, South Sea Islanders' home ownership rate in 1992 is lower than every sizeable migrant community⁷⁰ in 1986. Even the newly arrived Vietnamese, Pacific Islander and Chilean communities had higher home ownership levels because more were buying. Ownership is an indicator of community wealth for those ethnic groups - either they have good jobs that enable them to get a home loan, or others in their group are able to lend them funds. After more than a century of Australian residency, South Sea Islanders have not achieved the levels of home ownership these immigrants achieved in a decade.

By way of comparison, Aboriginal people in 1986 had a slightly lower home ownership rate than South Sea Islanders - 26.5% of households,⁷¹ including 16% who were buying. In more traditional rural localities where land is often under community ownership, individual home ownership was low (18%); in major urban areas it was 31%.

South Sea Islander home ownership is between the levels of rural and city Aboriginal people in 1986.

For South Sea Islander home owners, the average cost of housing is \$57 per week, but about half of these fully own their home. For those paying a mortgage, the average is \$480 a month. The 'rule of thumb' for bank housing loans is that the monthly mortgage should not exceed the weekly income; it is noteworthy that only one in seven South Sea Islanders earns \$480 a week or more, and one in seven is a purchaser.

The Queensland Minister for Housing appears aware of and sympathetic to the home purchase difficulties of South Sea Islanders. In April this year he wrote to a group of South Sea Islander tenants in Mackay advising that he had agreed to the extension of

deposit assistance of \$10,000 to South Sea Islander tenants of the Aboriginal Rental Housing Program and ATSIC funded cooperatives. As well, it was recently announced that, *for a short time only*, the Queensland HOME (Home Ownership Made Easier) scheme would give a grant of \$5000 specifically for South Sea Islanders taking a HOME loan, requiring a deposit of only \$1000.

5.2.2 Rental housing

Almost one in six South Sea Islander households are tenants of the Queensland Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs. This was the result of a policy of rehousing South Sea Islander families from fringe camps into government housing since the late 1960s. This agency was previously called Aboriginal and Islander Advancement; the consistent use of the word 'Islander' has made South Sea Islanders comfortable about applying for this housing. These houses were transferred to the Queensland Department of Housing in 1992, with the result that this Department will house about a quarter of the total South Sea Islander community. As most South Sea Islanders would be eligible for public housing, it should be relatively simple for a supportive department to overcome any difficulties arising from South Sea Islanders being in Aboriginal housing.

South Sea Islanders in Aboriginal housing cooperatives are in the most uncertain position of all tenures. Many reported to this Inquiry being nervous about eviction. Many of the Queensland and Northern NSW Aboriginal housing cooperatives had significant South Sea Islander participation in their establishment, and several have housing South Sea Islanders explicitly in their objectives. Several South Sea Islanders reported to this Inquiry that they were afraid that eviction of South Sea Islanders was imminent.

On average, South Sea Islanders do not pay very high rents. This is not surprising since a high proportion of South Sea Islanders live in public housing, where rents are set according to income. The average rent for all tenants is \$87 a week; for different landlords average rents are:

| | |
|---|----------|
| Housing Department | \$ 69 pw |
| Old Division of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs | \$ 74 pw |
| Aboriginal housing coops | \$ 79 pw |
| Private landlord | \$104 pw |

It can be observed that those in the private rental market pay on average about 40% more than those in public housing who are charged according to ability to pay. The table below gives the range of rents paid by South Sea Islander tenants over all types of landlords, public and private.

| Weekly rent | % tenant h/holds |
|----------------|------------------|
| nil | 1.9 |
| \$ 1 to \$48 | 10.0 |
| \$48 to \$77 | 33.5 |
| \$78 to \$107 | 28.8 |
| \$108 to \$137 | 15.1 |
| \$138 to \$167 | 7.9 |
| over \$168 | 2.9 |

5.2.3 Dwelling size and occupancy

South Sea Islander dwellings are 50% more crowded than the Australian national average. The average occupancy rate is 3.8 persons per dwelling; the average number of bedrooms is 2.8 per dwelling. This is largely a reflection of the larger family sizes.

However, it must be observed that for South Sea Islanders, extended families are very common. It is not unusual for a seasonal worker to live part of the year in his/her parent's house, for example. South Sea Islanders reported that often the public housing provided is inappropriate for their larger and extended families, as the houses do not have sufficient room to allow flexibility in family size.

5.3 Ill-health

The age/sex profile set out in Chapter 4 indicates that South Sea Islanders may be dying younger than Australians overall. Discussions during this Inquiry also provided much anecdotal evidence of health problems. The consultant's research disclosed no record of official studies of South Sea Islanders' health problems. However, the Mackay Regional Office of the Queensland Health Department has advised that it has funding to establish an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and South Sea Islander health unit. This is a welcome initiative.

The census data indicates that there may be a relatively high incidence of diabetes among South Sea Islanders. The reported average among South Sea Islanders was 3.1% compared with the ABS figure of 1.0% for the whole Australian population.

An article on Aboriginal diabetes concludes that *it can obviously be associated with a major lifestyle change ... there should be more focus on lifestyle issues i.e. poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing, racism.*⁷² It is not unreasonable to assert that the same might apply to South Sea Islanders.

5.4 Education

Educational levels are a good indicator of disadvantage, as increasing education generally leads to both better paid and more secure employment. The history of South Sea Islanders would lead us to believe that few older people had much education; this Inquiry investigated the extent this was the case, and whether educational achievement remains low today.

It was found that almost one-third of South Sea Islanders are currently receiving formal education, principally because there are many young people at school. Of the 4435 people who completed the South Sea Islander Census, 15% were attending primary school, 9.4% secondary school, and 6.7% tertiary education (half at university, most of the others at TAFE).

5.4.1 Schooling

For all South Sea Islanders, the average school leaving age is 15 years 4 months. However, South Sea Islanders are leaving school later than their parents. The graph shows the average school leaving age for different ages. While those aged 60 or more left at an average age of just under 14 years, those who are 19 today left at an average age of 16 years 8 months.

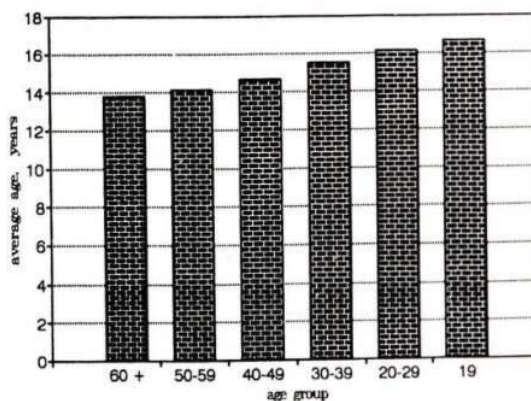


Figure 8 Average school leaving age, by age now

The graph below gives more details. For each age group, it shows the proportion of South Sea Islanders who left school at various ages.

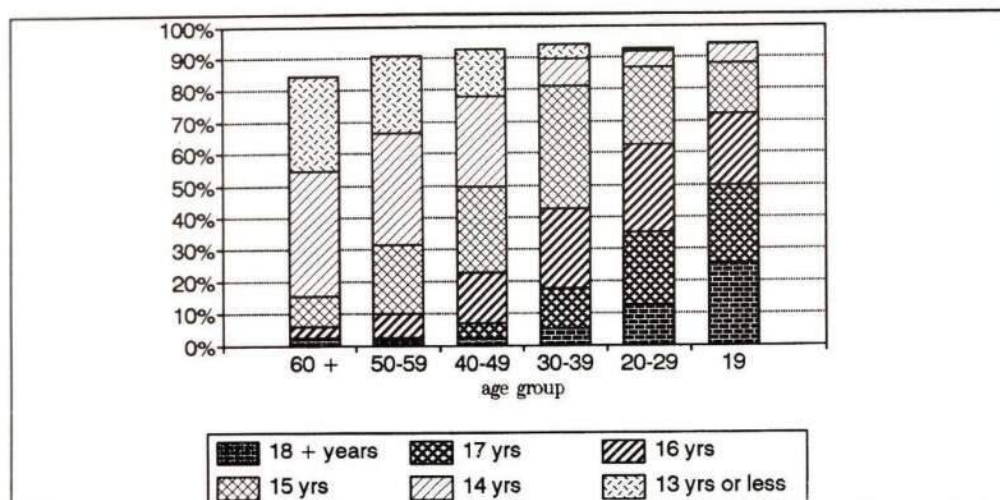


Figure 9 School leaving ages by age now

The educational pattern of older people is clear:

- of those over 60 years, only one in six were still at school when aged 15;
- of those in their fifties, only one-third were at school when aged 15;
- of those now in their forties, just half stayed at school until they were 15.

This educational disadvantage of older generations is important; they are the 'prime-age' workforce today - their past education affects their jobs and income, and thus the lifestyle of the children of today. Past disadvantage takes many years for its effects to dissipate, if at all.

Of those in their forties today (those who would probably be supporting a teenage family), half left school before they reached 15 years of age; another quarter left at 15. Of those in their thirties, who are likely to have school-aged children, over half left school at 15 or younger; and just under 20% left school before they turned 15. Those in their twenties today have higher school retention, but still almost 30% left school before they reached 15, and less than 20% remained at school after turning 17.

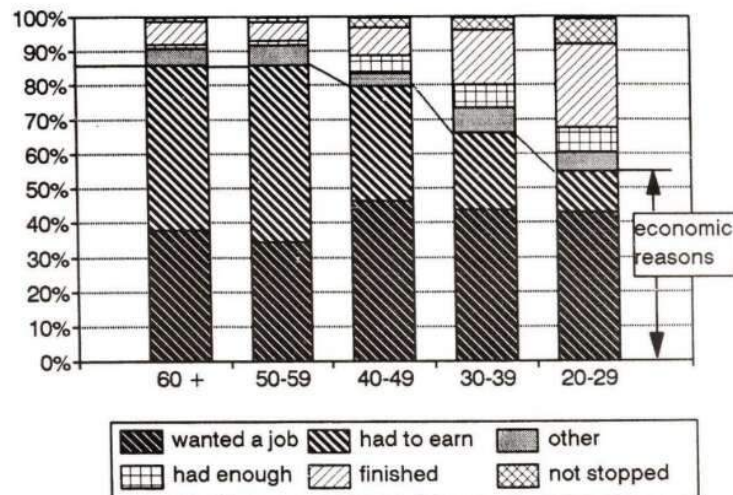


Figure 10 *Why education stopped*

The graph above shows the reasons that South Sea Islanders stopped education, as indicated in the South Sea Islander Census. For 85% of those over 50, and for 80% of those over 40, education ceased either because they had to earn an income, or because they wanted a job.

As Abstudy became more commonly used, these economic reasons have declined. Of the South Sea Islanders now in their twenties, only 55% stopped for economic reasons; 40% said they stopped because they completed their course, or had enough education, or that they had not yet stopped education.

5.4.2 Tertiary education

A small but increasing proportion of South Sea Islanders is completing tertiary education. The graph overleaf shows that very few South Sea Islanders gained any tertiary qualification before 1970. The number has risen since then, but the dominant qualification is a TAFE certificate. Even now, only a few South Sea Islanders gain a diploma or a degree each year.

Of the South Sea Islander people 15 or over, 20% now have a tertiary qualification, with 16% being certificates, 2.5% diplomas, and under 2% degrees. By comparison, 9% of Aboriginal people had tertiary qualifications in 1986,⁷³ with a similar three-quarters of these being certificates. In 1986, 30% of the Australian-born population over 15 had tertiary qualifications.

Low levels of tertiary qualification are not surprising considering the young school leaving ages. Discussions with South Sea Islanders indicate that the reasons young people today do not complete tertiary education to any great extent are mostly financial (both the cost and the loss of income), and the lack of cultural support at tertiary institutions.

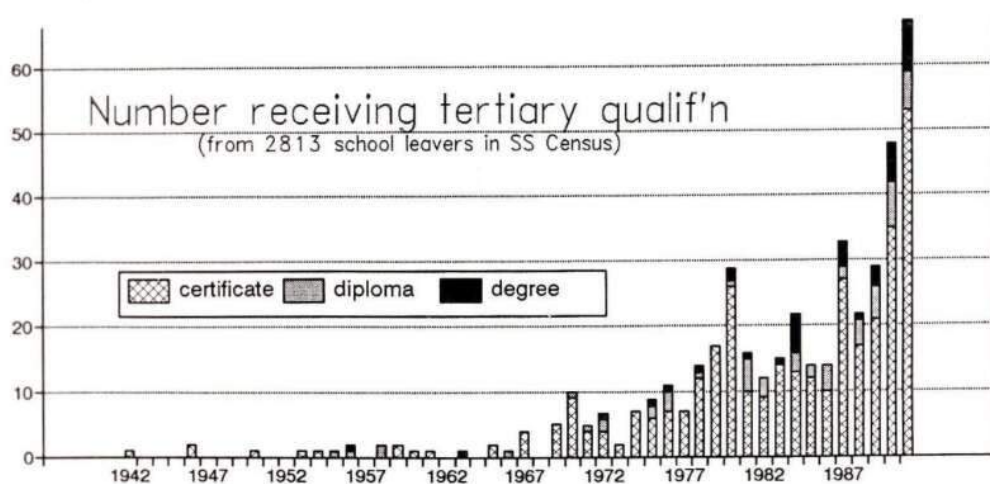


Figure 11 Tertiary qualifications and year completed

5.4.3 Schooling today

In the South Sea Islander Census, 634 children were of primary school age (6-12 years), and 97% were attending primary school, with 3% attending secondary school. This compares with 95% school attendance for Aboriginal people aged 6-14 in 1986.⁷⁴

Of 561 South Sea Islanders aged 13-18 years, almost three-quarters (72%) were at secondary school, with 7% in tertiary education and 4% in primary. One in six (17%) were not in formal education.

Among the most recent school leavers (taken as those now aged 19), almost half left school at 16 or younger; half of these left at 15 or younger. The proportion completing Year 12 is around 45%, significantly lower than the national average.

Nonetheless, the proportion of South Sea Islanders of various ages currently in formal education seems closer to the Australian average than to the average for Aboriginal people. The *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy* released in 1989, compared the participation in formal education of Aboriginal people and Australians overall for various age groups. Given the emphasis on school retention since this time, the reported levels may have risen somewhat by 1992, but are an approximate indication of participation in education:

| Age group | 16-17 | 18-20 | 20-24 | 25 + |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Aboriginal, 1986 | 30% | 7% | 4% | 3% |
| Australian, 1986 | 75% | 40% | 20% | 8% |
| South Seas, 1992 | 73% | 31% | 18% | 6% |

The graph overleaf shows the proportion of Aboriginal people and South Sea Islanders leaving school at various ages, for comparably aged people (because the Aboriginal data is from 1986, the comparable group of South Sea Islanders in 1992 is those about five years older). The school leaving age pattern for the two groups is remarkably similar, except for the much higher proportion of older Aboriginal people who never went to school. In 1986, about 5% of Aboriginal people aged 25-34 had left school before reaching 13 years of age, while few South Sea Islanders now do. However, almost identical proportions of South Sea Islanders and Aboriginal people of the same age today left school before turning 17.

These figures, combined with those showing many South Sea Islanders still leave school relatively young **on average**, indicate that South Sea Islander students may fall into two broad categories - those whose educational participation is similar to average, and those who have difficulties and drop out early, and whose educational experience is comparable to that of Aboriginal people.

This conclusion is supported by the only known study of South Sea Islanders' education, by Simon Bliss, who surveyed thirty-nine schools with South Sea Islander students:

I chose to use remedial classes as an indicator of South Sea Islander educational disadvantage, since children attend remedial classes to correct educational difficulties. My purpose was to determine whether South Sea Islanders are overly represented in remedial classes.⁷⁵

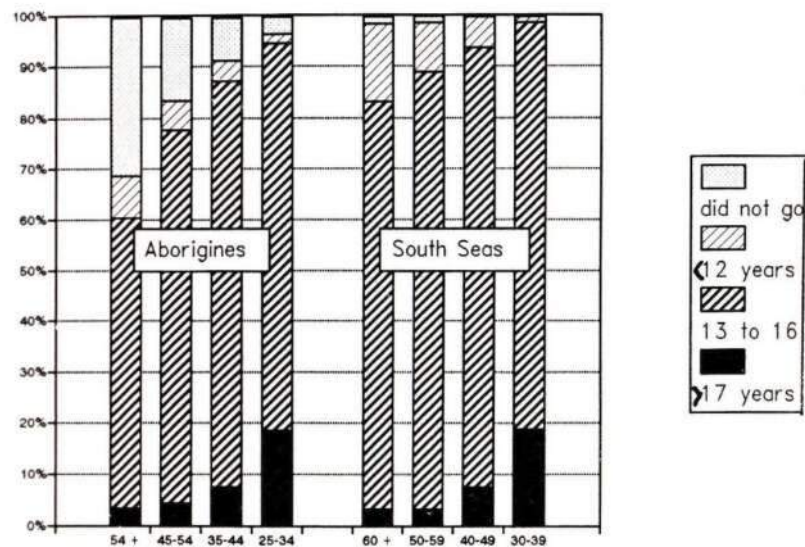


Figure 12 School leaving age by age now, Aborigines and South Sea Islanders

The situation that South Sea Islander students experience is far from acceptable. My research indicates that they experience numerous difficulties in education summarised as follows:

- *Islander students continue to experience difficulties in language skills and mathematics;*
- *they do not have their right to an appropriate education secured in government policy;*
- *very few services exist to support Islander students' educational difficulties;*
- *South Sea Islanders are a minority group in education;*
- *Islander students experience considerably higher rates of difficulties in education than their non-Islander peers; and*
- *any census could underestimate South Sea Islander student populations and, therefore, underestimate the extent of the difficulties they experience in education.*⁷⁶

In discussions with South Sea Islanders as part of this Inquiry, there were regular references to racism at schools both by teachers and other students. One aspect felt keenly by South Sea Islanders was their experience that it was common for school counsellors to encourage South Sea Islander students to select 'dead-end' courses which do not give them accreditation for progressing to Years 11 and 12 at high school.

5.4.4 Aboriginal programs

About one-third of South Sea Islanders have received Abstudy while completing their education in recent years. The graph (at right) shows the proportion of South Sea Islanders who have received Abstudy, sorted by their ages, according to the South Sea Islander Census. Abstudy became commonly available in the 1970s, and those over 40 years old may have used it for adult education.

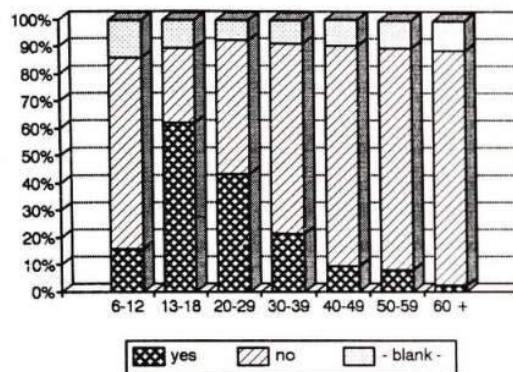


Figure 13 *Proportion of each age group who got Abstudy*

It can be seen that the proportion receiving Abstudy rises sharply as people get younger. Of today's 19 year olds, two-thirds have received Abstudy; of the 13-18 year olds, 62% reported receiving Abstudy. As discussed in the earlier details on the South Sea Islander Census, the main reason for non-participation reported by the census distributors was fear of losing Aboriginal benefits. Therefore it may be the case that the extent of Abstudy usage is greater than that found by the census. About half the South Sea Islanders in the census receiving Abstudy had Aboriginal ancestry, but about one-quarter of Abstudy recipients have no such ancestry.

The graph overleaf indicates the importance of Abstudy to South Sea Islanders' level of educational attainment. It shows the average age of school leaving and the proportion of people receiving Abstudy, for South Sea Islanders aged 19, 24, 29, 34, and 39 years. The increasing proportion receiving Abstudy as age falls is matched neatly by the increasing school leaving age.

A similar pattern of South Sea Islanders using Aboriginal programs appears to occur with two other Aboriginal schooling programs - ASSPA and the Tutorial Assistance Scheme. ASSPA, the Aboriginal Student Support and Parent Awareness Program, provides \$150 per Aboriginal student per year to school parent committees so they can provide additional resources to those students. The Tutorial Assistance Scheme provides additional funds to the school for each Aboriginal student, to provide homework assistance.

The reason so many South Sea Islanders have received and do receive Abstudy is that both they and the administering officials recognise its importance. For their part, South Sea Islanders often advised this Inquiry that without this financial assistance,

their children would not be able to stay at school as long as they do. As well, the importance of Abstudy has been recognised, albeit unofficially, by those administering the programs, who have encouraged South Sea Islanders to apply so their children can attend school.

In the course of this Inquiry, discussions with officers of the administering Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) and of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), made it quite apparent that many knew that South Sea Islanders were receiving Abstudy and needed and benefited from this assistance.

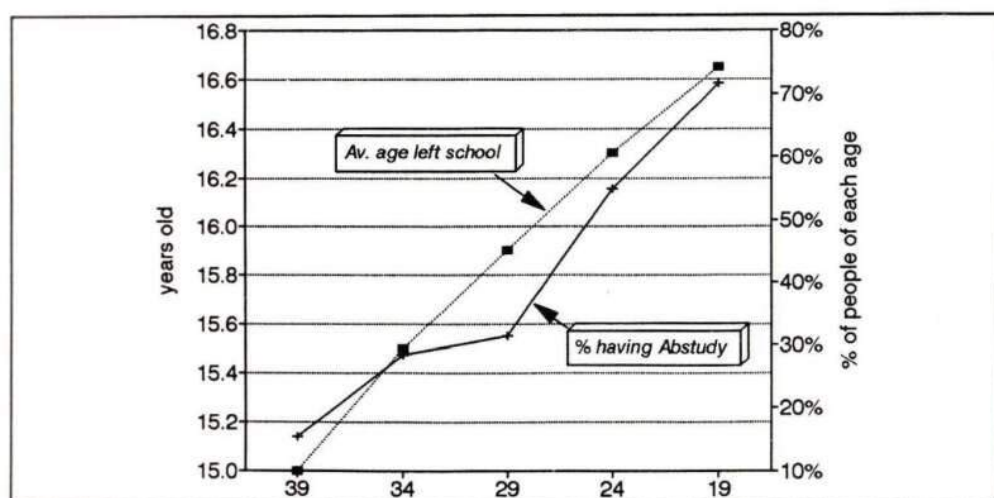


Figure 14 Proportion receiving Abstudy and average school leaving age, for people of different ages

South Sea Islander Phyllis Corowa told a typical story:

The guy from Sydney from the Education Department for Aboriginal Studies used to come to my place because I knew all the people here in the area, and I knew all the children that were going to high school. The majority were Islanders (not Aboriginal people). He just said to me that there's more here in this area than were getting Aboriginal benefits to further their education in University or Technical College. He said, 'Why haven't they come forth?'. I said they didn't want to identify as Aborigines. He said it didn't matter, as long as they were coloured kids they were entitled to further their education.

Similarly with the ASSPA and Tutorial Assistance programs - although theoretically these are only for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, South Sea Islanders consistently told this Inquiry that, to determine the number of eligible students, the school 'just counted the black faces'. In several towns the Inquiry found that South Sea Islanders were the backbone of the parent ASSPA committee. In one town, six South Sea Islanders presented a signed statement on the Home Tutorial Scheme stating:

*We the undersigned state that we work in an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Homework Program and our children attend this program with the teaching staff having the knowledge that our children are South Sea Islanders. In a black community that is predominantly South Sea Islanders, most homework programs have a majority of South Sea Islanders students, sometimes as much as 90% of the children being South Sea Islanders. Also the parent helpers are South Sea Islanders too!*¹⁷

5.5 Employment

5.5.1 The South Sea Islander workforce

The diagram below shows the break-up of the total South Sea Islander population into labour market groups - about 40% are children and students, just over 40% are in the workforce, and the others are adults not in the workforce.

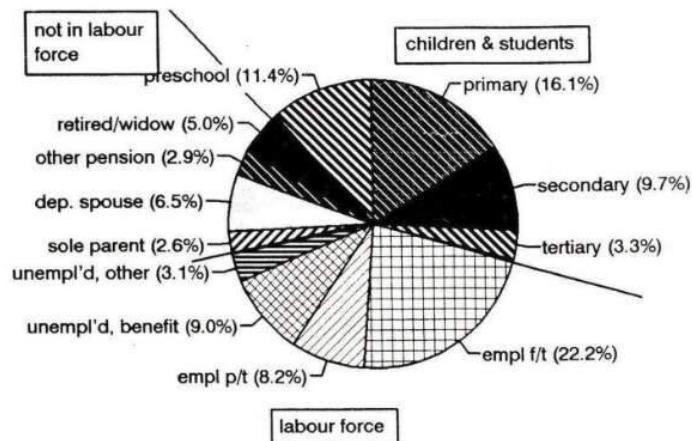


Figure 15 Composition of South Sea Islander population

Of those aged 15 or more, 46.4% of women and 74.8% of men were in the labour force. This *participation rate* is very similar to the Australian average, but higher than the rate for Aboriginal people (36% for women and 66% for men in 1986).

The graph at right shows how the participation rate changes with age. It is low for 15-19 year olds, because they are often studying, and for those over 60, because of retirement. Of those aged 20 to 50 years, about 85% of men and 50% of women are in the workforce.

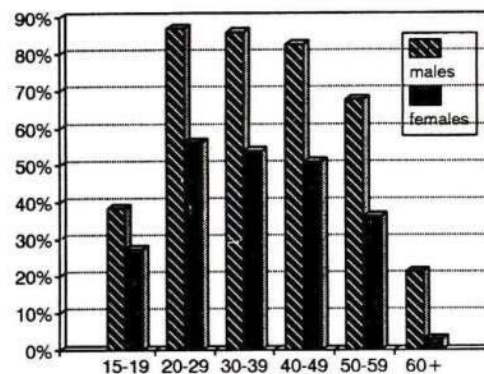


Figure 16 *Workforce participation*

5.5.2 Unemployment

The overall unemployment rate for South Sea Islanders is 28.5%. This is 2.5 times the national average. Unemployment for men and women falls as age increases, with the lowest rate of 19% unemployment for men in their forties. After this age, the male workforce participation rate starts to fall, as those without jobs stop looking for work. For women, the proportion of the workforce in full-time jobs never rises above 50% of the workforce. For men, it reaches 67% at best.

The graphs overleaf show the unemployment rate for men and women of different ages, as well as the proportions of those working employed full time and part time. It is clear there is a major youth unemployment problem, with 50% of young men and women in the labour force aged 15-19 being unemployed. Only 35% of these young men and 31% of the young women have full-time jobs.

Of the 28.5% of the South Sea Islander workforce who are unemployed, 21% receive unemployment benefit, 6% do not get any benefit, and 2% are pensioners or beneficiaries looking for work. Of those who do not get any benefit, most appear to be spouses of unemployment beneficiaries.

In the previous year, 59% of the unemployed had no work, while a further 21% had less than three months work, and 12.5% had three to six months work. Only 7% had more than six months work.

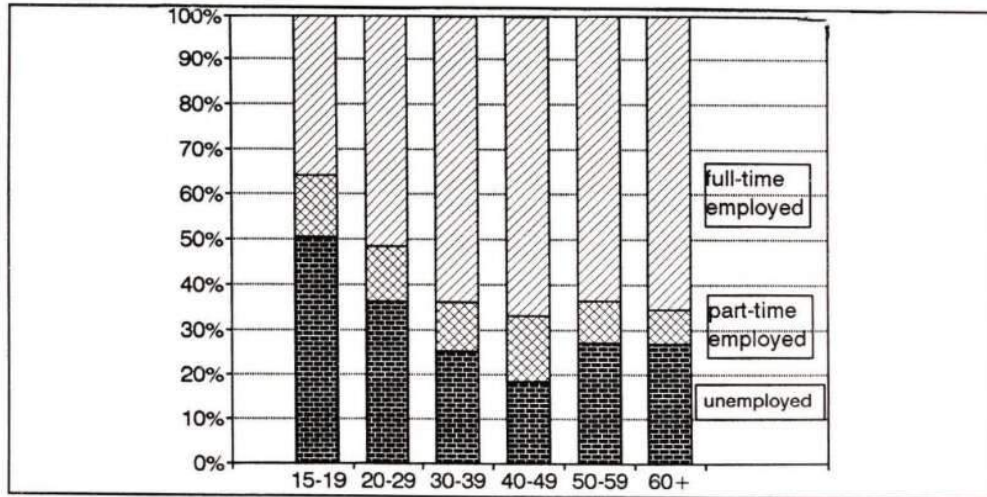


Figure 17 Male employment rate, by age

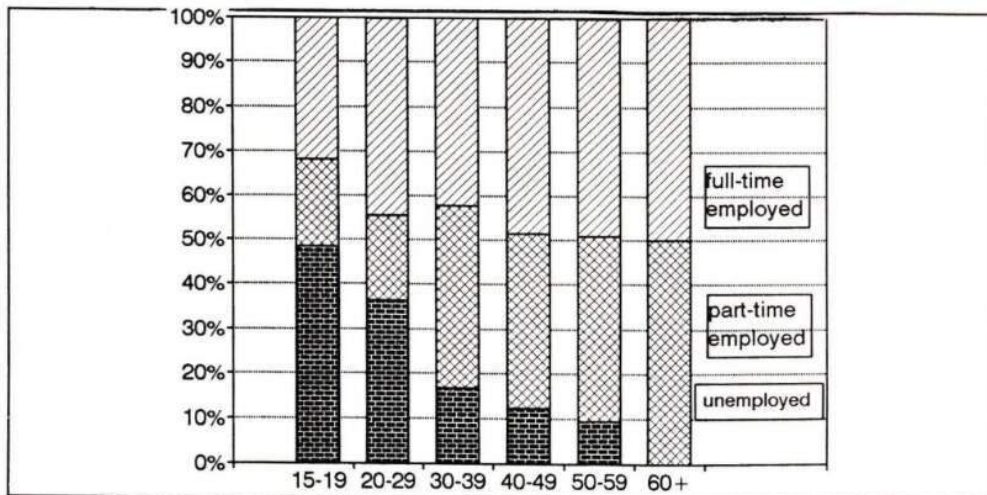


Figure 18 Female employment rates

Most unemployed South Sea Islanders were looking for work: 46% reported looking for any type of work available; another 31% looked for full-time work while 11% looked for part-time work. Only 12% said they were not looking for work, though three-quarters of these were on unemployment benefit.

5.5.3 Occupations

South Sea Islanders are predominantly manual workers. For half the men, their occupation is labouring; another quarter are tradesmen or machine operators. Of the women, about 40% are labourers, cleaners or shop workers, while one-fifth are clerks and one-sixth are teachers or teachers' aides (mainly aides - 43% of teaching women had no tertiary qualifications). Details on the occupations are given below.

| Occupation | % men | % women |
|------------------|-------|---------|
| labourer | 50.4 | 15.7 |
| driver; operator | 14.6 | 3.0 |
| cook; domestic | 1.1 | 15.2 |
| sales; shop; bar | 2.5 | 8.9 |
| tradesperson | 13.2 | 1.2 |
| clerk; office | 5.3 | 20.7 |
| teacher or aide | 1.7 | 14.0 |
| professional | 1.8 | 2.9 |
| technical; nurse | 2.6 | 6.4 |
| manager | 3.8 | 4.5 |
| care worker | 0.7 | 2.9 |

The graph overleaf compares the occupational status of South Sea Islander men and women with the occupations of Aboriginal people in 1986. Broadly, South Sea Islander men today tend to have less skilled occupations than did Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men in 1986. South Sea Islander women today tend to have more skilled occupations than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women did in 1986.

Half of South Sea Islander men were labourers compared with 40% of Aboriginal men. Broadly similar proportions of South Sea Islander and Aboriginal men were machine operators, sales people, clerks or para-professionals (e.g. teachers and nurses). A larger proportion of Aboriginal men were tradesmen or managers/professionals.

A higher proportion of South Sea Islander women were labourers, while lower proportions were sales people or clerks. The noticeable difference is that there are proportionally many more South Sea Islander women who are teachers and nurses. One South Sea Islander teacher advised that South Sea Islanders were encouraged to take Aboriginal teaching scholarships as part of a concerted push to train 1000

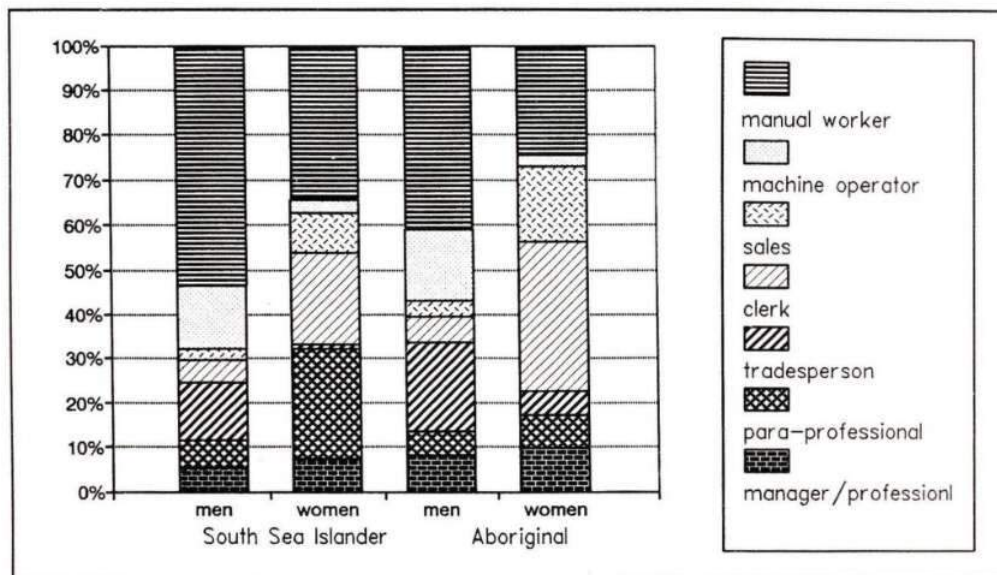


Figure 19 Occupations of those in the workforce

Aboriginal teachers, as allegedly insufficient numbers of Aboriginal people could be found to meet the target.

5.5.4 Industries

About a quarter of South Sea Islander men work in agriculture and mining, one-sixth each for the railways or in government (mainly labourers and gardeners), and significant numbers in building and manufacturing (mainly the meat works). South Sea Islander women worked mainly in schools and community services, in retail services (generally as cooks and cleaners, rather than shop assistants), in government and in agriculture.

By comparison, fewer Aboriginal men worked in agriculture, construction and transport, while more worked in community services and a broader range of industries. Aboriginal women worked mainly for community services. The graph overleaf shows the industries worked in by South Sea Islander and Aboriginal men and women.

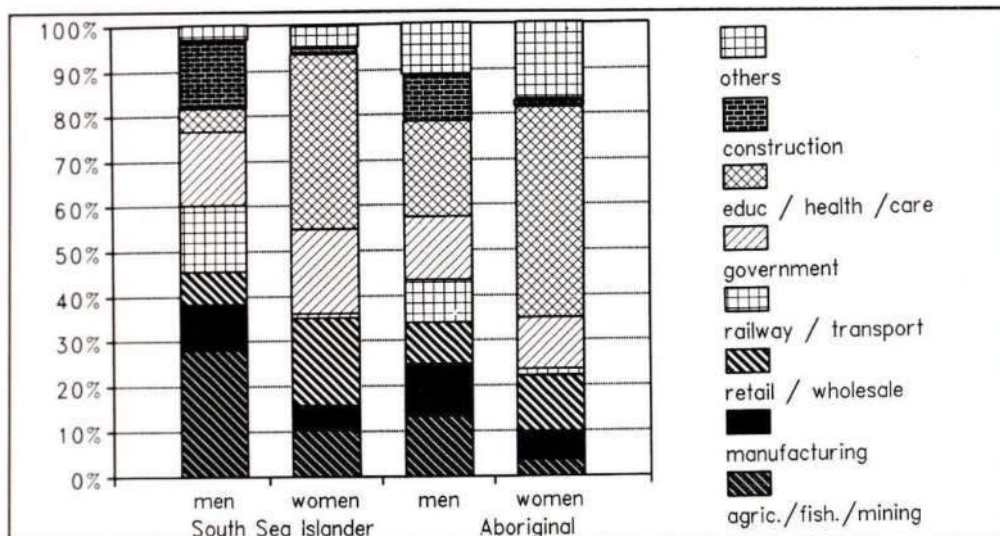


Figure 20 *Industries of those in the workforce*

5.5.5 Seasonal work

South Sea Islander workers tend to be in seasonal industries such as agriculture and the abattoirs. The graph overleaf shows the number of months worked over the past year for full-time, part-time and unemployed workers, and also for men and women.

It can be seen that men and women have an almost identical pattern of seasonal work, with only half having worked the full year, and roughly 10% each working 0-3 months, 4-6 months, 7-9 months, and 10-12 months.

Of those in full-time work at the time of the South Sea Islander Census, only 70% had been in employment for the whole of the previous twelve months. For part-time workers, the pattern of seasonality is even stronger, with only 40% having worked for the past full year, the rest for even periods of time. Of the unemployed, 59% had no work for the past year, a very high rate of long-term unemployment. Only 5% of the unemployed had had more than six months work out of the previous twelve.

The South Sea Islander Census figures show that only 52% of the South Sea Islander workforce were in full-time jobs, and only 69% of these had had continuous employment for the previous year. Taken together, these figures show that only one-third of the South Sea Islander workforce had experienced full-time employment over the past year.

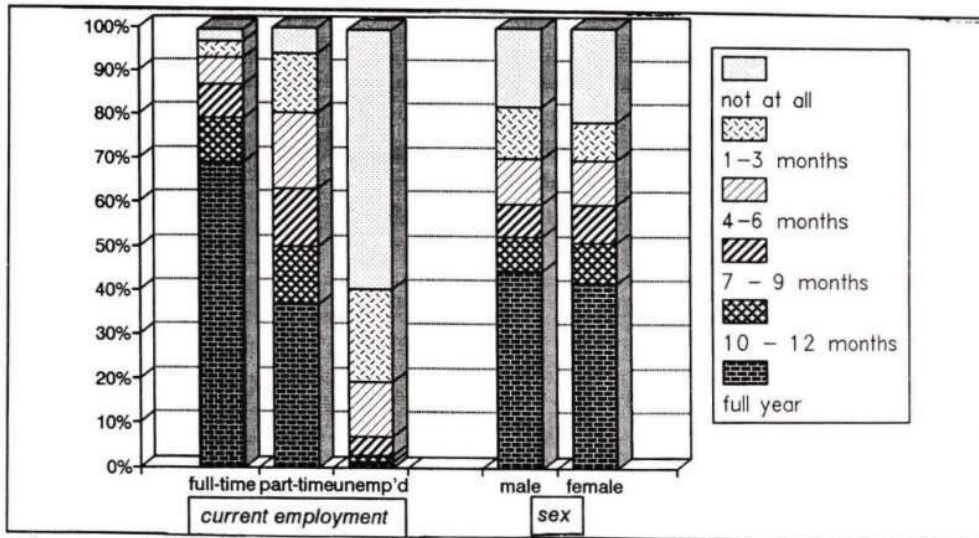


Figure 21 Number of months worked in past year

5.6 Income

The current average income of all South Sea Islanders who have left school is \$270 a week; half receive less than \$230 a week.

The graph below and the table overleaf show the distribution of this income.

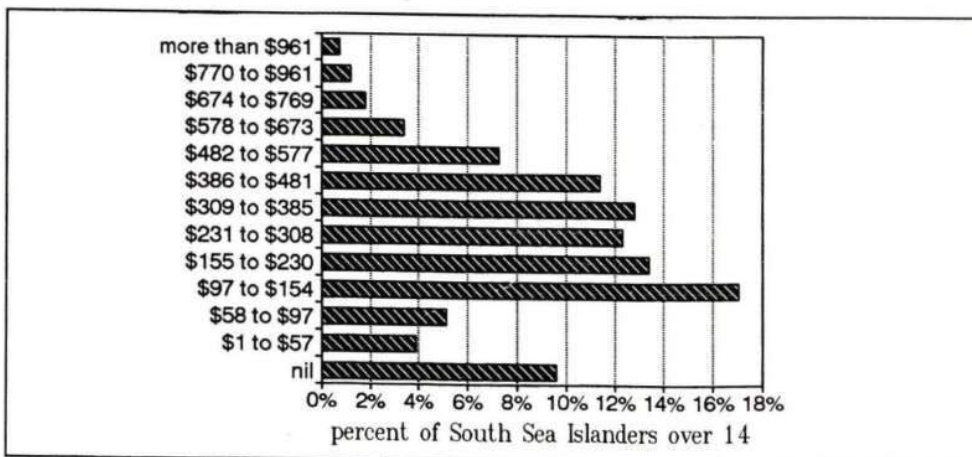


Figure 22 Weekly Income of South Sea Is. over 14

More than 80% of South Sea Islanders who have left school received less than the average weekly earnings for all employees (\$504 a week in August 1992 when the South Sea Islander Census was conducted).

Those with little or no income tend to be mainly dependent spouses or children. Those with incomes less than \$154 a week are mainly people on Social Security or part-time workers.

The two graphs below and overleaf show the distribution of income for male and female employees, including both full-time and part-time work.

| Weekly income | no. | % | adj. % |
|---------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| nil | 230 | 8.2 | 9.6 |
| \$1 - \$57 | 93 | 3.3 | 3.9 |
| \$58-\$96 | 123 | 4.4 | 5.1 |
| \$97-\$154 | 408 | 14.5 | 17.0 |
| \$155-\$230 | 321 | 11.4 | 13.4 |
| \$231-\$308 | 295 | 10.5 | 12.3 |
| \$309-\$385 | 307 | 10.9 | 12.8 |
| \$386-\$481 | 272 | 9.7 | 11.4 |
| \$482-\$577 | 174 | 6.2 | 7.3 |
| \$578-\$673 | 81 | 2.9 | 3.4 |
| \$674-\$769 | 43 | 1.5 | 1.8 |
| \$770-\$961 | 28 | 1.0 | 1.2 |
| more \$962 | 18 | 0.6 | 0.8 |
| not stated | 420 | 14.9 | n.a. |
| Total | 2813 | 100 | 100 |

For female employees, the average weekly earnings for Australia in August 1992 was \$397. About one-third of South Sea Islander women in work received that much. For women in full-time work, the average weekly earnings was \$530 - only 20% of South Sea Islander women in full-time work got that much.

The relative income for men was worse. Only one-sixth of South Sea Islander men got more than average male weekly earnings (\$598 a week); for full-time employees, only one-tenth of South Sea Islander men earned more than the Australian average of \$665 a week.

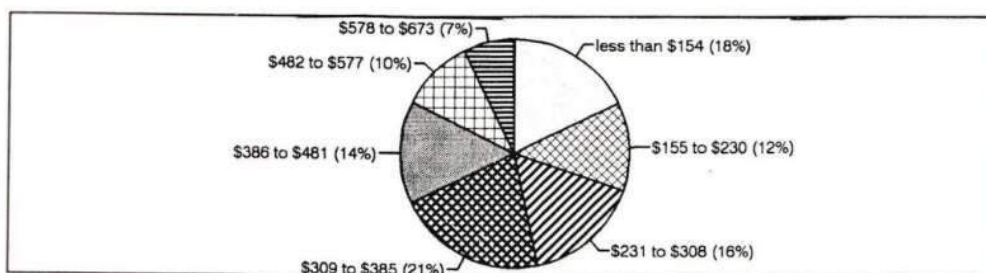


Figure 23 Weekly income, women in full & part-time work

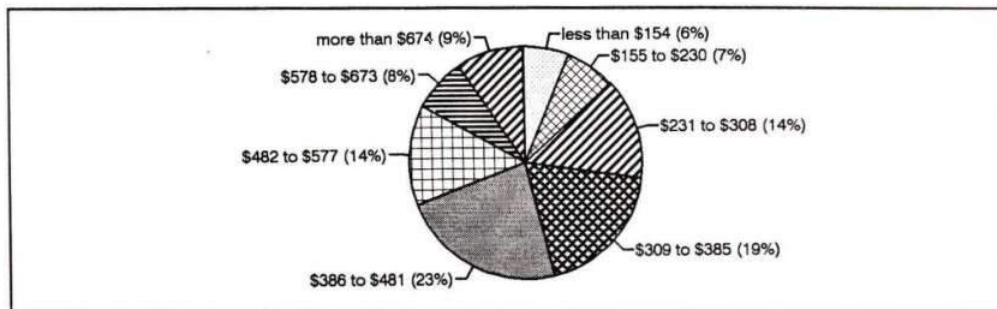


Figure 24 Weekly income, men in full & part-time work

5.6.1 Comparison with other groups

To compare the 1992 South Sea Islander incomes with those of other groups of the community, data from the 1986 Census on the incomes of immigrant and Aboriginal communities was used. This gave the number of people aged 15 or more who earned in various annual income ranges, such as \$0 to \$9000, and \$9001 to \$12000.

The 1986 income ranges are compared with those which are 35% higher in 1992. This is the amount by which average weekly earnings increased between August 1986 and August 1992. For example, the 1986 income range of \$9,000 and \$15,000 is compared with a 1992 range of \$12,000 and \$20,000, or \$231 to \$385 a week.

Because only one-half of South Sea Islanders in work were employed for all the past year, this comparison may exaggerate their incomes. Those earning higher incomes last week might have a low annual income, due to seasonal work.

More accurate comparisons of income will be possible when the 1991 Census data become available.

The graph overleaf compares the annual income of South Sea Islanders with other groups of Australians, showing the proportion of each group whose income is in each of five roughly comparable income ranges.

All Australian-born people and those born in a non-English speaking country⁷⁸ had

bigger proportions of higher-income earners than South Sea Islanders. Aboriginal people had lower proportions of higher-income earners than South Sea Islanders.⁷⁹

Taking account of the effect of seasonal work, which would make annual incomes lower than weekly incomes might suggest, it seems South Sea Islanders are almost as poor on average as Aboriginal people.

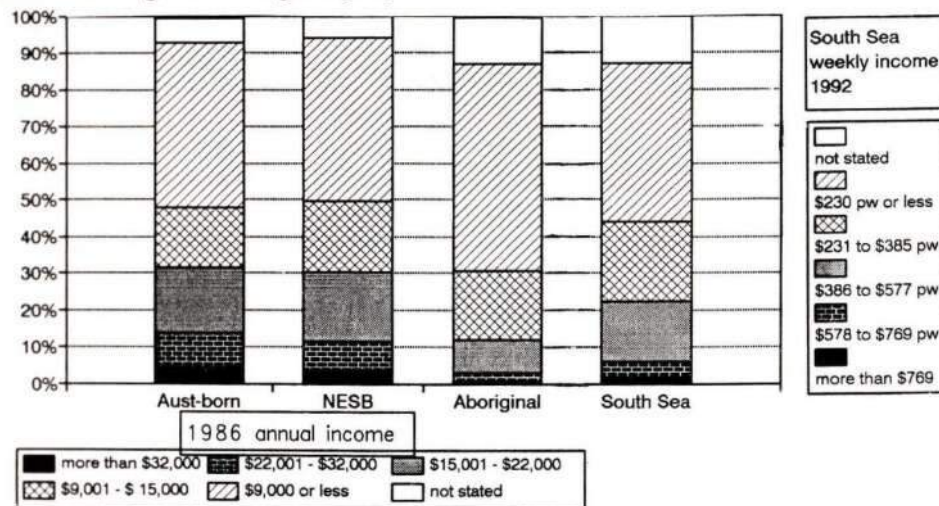


Figure 25 Annual income, various peoples

The graphs overleaf explore the comparison with Aboriginal people more closely. The occupational profile suggests that South Sea Islanders' employment incomes may compare unfavourably with those of Aboriginal people. As fewer Aboriginal people are in the workforce, their average income would be lower.

The top graph compares South Sea Islander and Aboriginal income by age. It indicates that in the 25-54 age group, a greater proportion of South Sea Islanders had higher incomes 'last week' than did Aboriginal people in 1986. However, among young adults aged 20-24, the income profiles are remarkably similar.

The graph at the bottom compares the income of all employees (full and part time, men and women). The differences between Aboriginal people and South Sea Islanders appear small. Allowing for fact that the Aboriginal data is six years old, and a higher proportion might be higher income earners than before if the expenditure on Aboriginal training and employment has had any effect, it is possible that the earnings of South Sea Islanders and Aboriginal people are now very similar.

Further research with more recent Aboriginal data is needed, but it appears very probable that South Sea Islander and Aboriginal male earnings are similar. Which is the poorer group is a moot point.

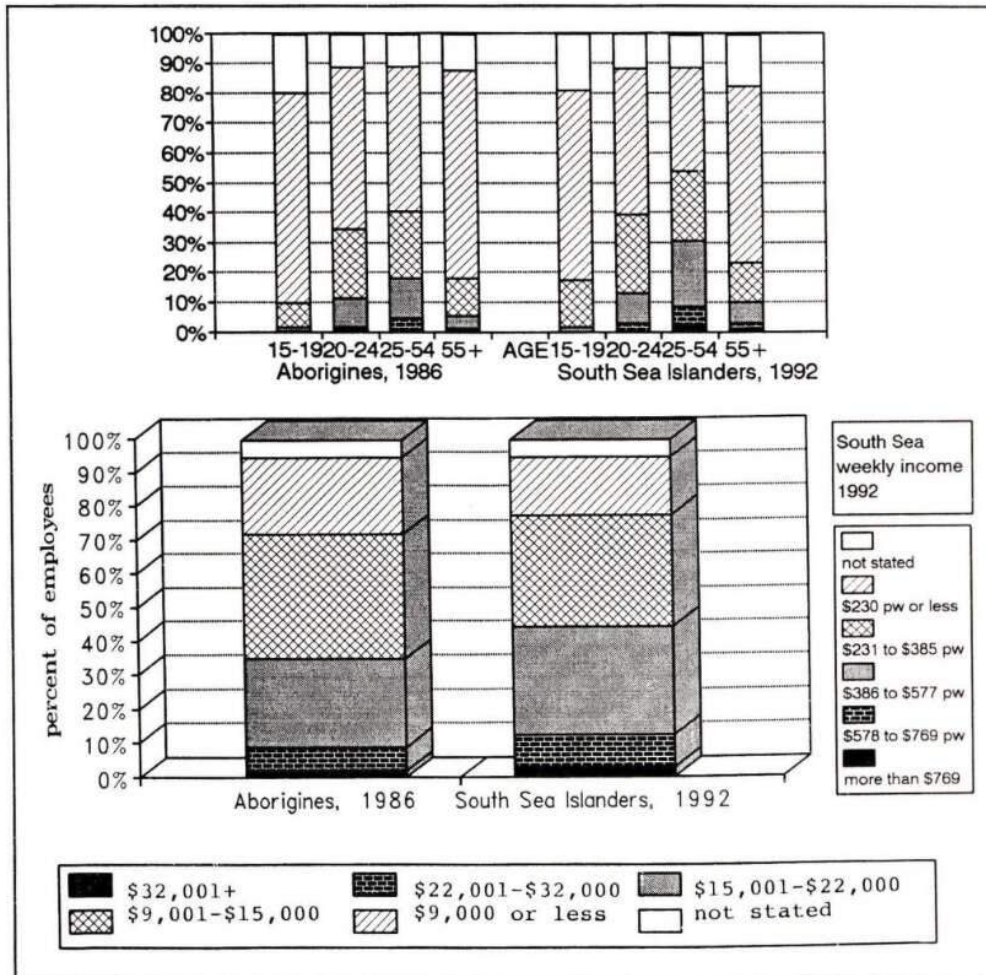


Figure 26 Income distribution - Aborigines and South Sea Islanders - by age (top graph) and for employees (bottom graph)

Another issue requiring further work is the extent of industrial protection given to South Sea Islanders. This Inquiry heard several reports of South Sea Islanders not being paid as much as promised, and one South Sea Islander gave details of an industrial accident involving being soaked in defoliant, for which he had been unable

to find anyone to follow up his occupational health and safety rights.

5.7 Other Indicators of Disadvantage

5.7.1 Business loans

In discussions with South Sea Islanders, the desire to own their own business such as a farm, and the problem of getting business loans, was frequently mentioned. They reported that banks were unwilling to lend them money because of their seasonal work or their colour, while it was now nearly impossible to get loans through ATSIC.

Our census found that only 10% of South Sea Islander adults had sought business loans, with 5% having had a bank loan, and less than 1% a government loan or one funded through an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander program.

Of the 66 people in the census working for income in their own business, just over half had not sought a loan, while one-quarter had received a bank loan. Only one-tenth sought a loan from an Aboriginal agency; half of these were successful.

Those who were in business reported difficulties. One South Sea Islander reported being defrauded or tricked out of his wealth in a business deal, and being unable to find any agency to assist him gain redress. Training in business skills appears to be necessary if South Sea Islanders' ambitions are to be fulfilled.

5.7.2 Telephones

Less than three-quarters (73%) of South Sea Islander households have a telephone connected, compared with an Australian average of more than 94%.⁸⁰ The 1986 ABS survey on telephone usage found that across all demographic groups the telephone connection rate rarely fell below 80%.

Anecdotal evidence from many South Sea Islanders is that telephones are disconnected because they cannot pay for them. Some of the census organisers had their phones disconnected during the period of census organising, others had no phone at all.

Low levels of phone connection create difficulties for a community whose social support is drawn mostly from family contacts, where families are dispersed through towns and indeed through different regions. It was reported to the Inquiry that family crises often necessitate long-distance phone calls, but that people are then unable to meet the cost. Lack of telephones also makes community organisation difficult.

5.7.3 Vehicles

The average number of vehicles per household was 1.1. Almost one-quarter of households had no vehicle, and just under one-half had one vehicle. By way of comparison, a recent traffic study in an area of Sydney found that in households of 2.2 persons, compared with 3.8 for South Sea Islanders, vehicle possession was at a higher rate of 1.3 cars per household.

5.8 Pensions and Benefits

Just over one-third of South Sea Islanders who have left school are receiving the major pensions or benefits, with many being married to a pensioner or beneficiary. The table below shows the proportion who had left school who receive major pensions and benefits.

| Pension or benefit | % persons over 14 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| age pension | 6.0 |
| unemployment benefit | 14.6 |
| sickness benefit / invalid pension | 1.1 |
| sole parents benefit | 5.1 |
| disability pension | 3.6 |
| Abstudy | 3.6 |
| Austudy | 0.8 |
| other pensions / benefits | 1.7 |
| Total for 'adult' pensions/benefits | 36.5 |
| family allowance | 12.4 |
| family allowance supplement | 3.5 |

Comparisons with other groups presents difficulties because of the complicated nature of South Sea Islander families, often having three generations or related adults with children in the one household. It would appear from income data that the take-up rate of the Family Allowance Supplement is lower than perhaps it should be.

Overall reliance on pensions and benefits appears about average for Australia; broadly there are fewer South Sea Islanders on the age pension and more on unemployment benefit. Immigrants from most countries had between 30% and 40% of income units reliant on pensions and benefits, while the average for all Australian-born and overseas-born people was 30% and 33% respectively.⁸¹

6 OTHER MATTERS

As noted earlier, little research other than academic historical studies has been conducted on South Sea Islanders, and no government agency was found to have any data on South Sea Islanders. The intention of this Inquiry was to focus on those indicators which appear most significant for the shaping of government attitudes and actions relating to South Sea Islanders.

In this light, there are three other matters that are of particular importance. The first, alluded to in several places throughout this Report, is the situation regarding the relationship between South Sea Islanders and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, and particularly the use by South Sea Islanders of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander programs. The second is the organisational weakness of the South Sea Islanders, and the implications this has for government action. The third is what South Sea Islanders themselves want.

6.1 Relations with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples

The South Sea Islander community is interwoven with the Aboriginal community, with 50% of the census sample reporting Aboriginal ancestry, and one-fifth of all households living in Aboriginal and Islander housing, either that of the Queensland Division of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, or in Aboriginal housing cooperatives.

South Sea Islanders are more recently interrelated with Torres Strait Islanders, principally because Torres Strait Islander peoples have come to mainland Queensland mostly over the past couple of decades.

6.1.1 The irony of history

South Sea Islanders moved to the Torres Strait in the nineteenth century for pearl and bêche-de-mer harvesting, with 340 being recorded among the crews on 102 vessels operating in the Straits in 1880.⁸² They are recorded there as settlers as early as 1864, and there were savage fights with the Torres Strait Islanders.⁸³

As noted, during the 1904-06 expulsion of South Sea Islanders from Australia, at least 150 went to the Torres Strait Islands.

At this time the population of the Torres Strait Islands was a mere 2000, and it must be remembered that many of those on Erub, Mer, Badu, Masig and Mabuiag were actually South Sea Islanders or their descendants ... it can be seen by what a thin thread Torres Strait Islanders escaped extinction.⁸⁴

It is likely that today, some four generations later, most Torres Strait Islanders have significant South Sea Islander ancestry.

The historical irony lies in the fact that the descendants of South Sea Islanders who settled on the mainland are today not yet officially recognised as a distinct group nor accepted as Aboriginal people, while the descendants of those who settled in the Torres Strait are now accepted as indigenous.

6.1.2 Identifying as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander

At the centre of the difficulties facing South Sea Islanders is the question of identity, particularly when most have mixed racial ancestry. Twenty years ago, many South Sea Islanders were more comfortable receiving assistance from Aboriginal programs because the primary test was Aboriginal ancestry, and many of them had that, or were likely to because the original post-deportation settlers were overwhelmingly men, and many married Aboriginal women.

Over the last decade, identifying as Aboriginal has tended to become a more important criterion in practice for Aboriginality. This has placed South Sea Islanders in a quandary. While acknowledging their Aboriginal ancestry, many identified more as South Sea Islanders. Many said they identified as both Aboriginal and South Sea Islander.

However, there is a third criterion for Aboriginality, and that is acceptance by the Aboriginal community as Aboriginal. Sometimes this took the form of having to get a certificate or letter of identity from an Aboriginal group. In some cases, particularly where Aboriginal people and South Sea Islanders had lived together for a long time, these documents were readily forthcoming. However, in places where either the Aboriginal people or South Sea Islanders or both were relatively recent arrivals, acceptance of South Sea Islanders by the Aboriginal community was more difficult to obtain.

The acceptance criterion poses particular difficulties for South Sea Islanders who may have Aboriginal ancestry and who identify at least in part with that ancestry.

Acceptance as Aboriginal depends on the judgment of another group of black people in the same area. Acceptance may also depend upon the South Sea Islanders' social networks and volunteer service, or on a range of other subjective factors that can influence any group of people.

This is not to argue that there is a better definition of Aboriginality than the one used. As is pointed out in the next section, the definition was deliberately introduced, with the then Minister for Aboriginal Affairs saying:

*By taking this approach we have avoided other more limiting and potentially offensive criteria such as degrees of descent.*⁸⁵

However, developing programs based on race will always involve complex problems about who is and who is not included. The treatment of South Sea Islanders in Aboriginal programs highlights these complexities. Many lie on the blurry boundary between those who are Aboriginal and those who are not.

6.1.3 The treatment of South Sea Islanders compared with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples

South Sea Islanders have endured a history of colonial exploitation and racial discrimination which has many parallels with that of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. All were treated last century as uncivilised persons of lower status than white people; they resisted initial exploitation through fighting and by fleeing; all eventually succumbed to a life as outcasts and exploitable labour. This century, South Sea Islanders with Aboriginal ancestry have been subject to much of the discriminatory legislation targeting Aboriginal people, and South Sea Islanders have been the subject of specific discriminatory legislation. Both races have been dispossessed and now live in relative poverty and suffer continuing racial discrimination.

6.1.4 Tensions within Australia's black communities

Despite the parallels of history and relationships through marriage, there are tensions between the communities. These have been exacerbated by South Sea Islanders sharing in some of the benefits of Aboriginal programs, notably Abstudy and Aboriginal housing. Even though many had Aboriginal ancestry, increasingly these programs have required South Sea Islanders not only to have Aboriginal ancestry, but also to identify as Aboriginal and to be accepted by the Aboriginal community.

Taking Aboriginal benefits and denying their South Sea Islander heritage was a difficult step. Some people felt their Aboriginal identity and were pleased to get ahead; others felt ashamed in denying their South Sea Islander heritage by accepting benefits their children needed; and some were too proud to take them. The use of Aboriginal programs caused friction amongst the South Sea Islanders.

Similarly, it seems that Aboriginal responses to South Sea Islanders are varied. Some communities accepted South Sea Islanders as part of them. Often, South Sea Islanders were in the forefront of Aboriginal organisations such as housing cooperatives, many of which were explicitly for Aboriginal people, Torres Strait Islanders and South Sea Islanders.

In other cases, it was suggested to the Inquiry, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people resent South Sea Islanders sharing their benefits while retaining identification with their South Sea Islander heritage. They feel it is time the South Sea Islanders gained their own services.

Despite this, it must be borne in mind that South Sea Islanders have played a significant role in the development of black consciousness and the growth of Aboriginal organisations. At a national level, South Sea Islanders were active in the formation and activities of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders, FCAATSI, which campaigned for the 1967 Referendum, and subsequently have helped develop Aboriginal organisations such as housing cooperatives, legal services, land councils and so forth. People with significant South Sea Islander ancestry are today in prominent positions throughout Aboriginal organisations. South Sea Islanders feel they have played their part in getting recognition and benefits for Aboriginal people, only to find they are now being turned away.

6.2 South Sea Islanders' Organisational Difficulties

One of the problems that has plagued South Sea Islanders is that, as a poor dispersed community without any government organisational assistance, it was very difficult for them to develop and maintain a national organisation.

In 1975 South Sea Islanders formed the Australian South Sea Islander United Council, ASSIUC.

The organisational impetus subsequently lost momentum but the work of the Evatt Foundation in preparing its report acted as a catalyst to regenerate ASSIUC. Today there are thirteen branches across Australia. As well there are other South Sea Islander organisations, with several in Mackay, and housing cooperatives in other Queensland towns.

However, it would be unwise to pretend that South Sea Islanders form an organisationally united community. There are still differences between people based on their island of origin, and differences generated from family disagreements. Many of the South Sea Islander organisations today are based on a few extended families, since the extended family is the basic unit of their society.

Even at the national level, South Sea Islanders do not have a united organisation and many South Sea Islander organisations are not part of ASSIUC.

The implication arising from these differences is that, in providing any organisational assistance to South Sea Islanders, caution must be exercised in order to avoid perpetuating grievances.

6.3 The Call for Recognition

The call for recognition is the most fundamental and most often expressed demand of South Sea Islanders. They report of many ways in which they are described as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders, and want to be recognised as a distinct racial group. One simple example pointed out by John Clubb of Innisfail is that three Australian servicemen who died in Vietnam and were described in press reports as Torres Strait Islanders were in fact South Sea Islanders - Francis Fewquandie, Norman Womal, and Noel Harold. This confusion with other races continually belittles the South Sea Islanders, who feel that they played their part in developing Australia and are now ignored or forgotten.

The term 'recognition' can have many meanings.

In international law the term recognition implies a concomitant acceptance by States to ensure 'protection of minorities' by guaranteeing non-discrimination and equality before the law. By implication this requires positive action to address structural inequality and the preservation of cultural heritage.⁸⁶

International obligations underlie the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, and Section 8(1) makes provision for special measures exempt from the operation of the Act.

The nature of special measures is set out in Article 1(4) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination which is scheduled to the Act. Article 1(4) reads:

Special measures, taken for the sole purpose of securing adequate advancement of certain racial or ethnic groups or individuals requiring such protection as may be necessary in order to ensure such groups or individuals equal enjoyment or exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms, shall not be deemed racial discrimination, provided, however, that such measures do not, as a consequence, lead to the maintenance of separate rights for different racial groups and that they shall not be continued after the objectives for which they were taken have been achieved.

In defining South Sea Islanders as a race, it would be feasible to apply a similar three-part criterion as is now applied to establishing Aboriginality: South Sea Islander descent; identity as a South Sea Islander; and acceptance by South Sea Islanders. Hearne argues that the unique history of the South Sea Islanders, steeped as it is in racial discrimination, would allow special laws to be passed. Programs could be developed specifically to meet the needs of South Sea Islanders which would fall within the meaning of special measures in the Racial Discrimination Act, and would therefore be exempt from its operation.

7 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusions

First, South Sea Islanders have suffered from a century of racial discrimination and harsh treatment which are the major factors contributing to their being in a state of disadvantage today. In fact, the statistical profile indicates that they are one of the poorest groups in Australia.

Second, South Sea Islanders as a group are in a situation of high need, with particular difficulties observed in school retention, employment skills, home ownership and health.

Third, until recently, it has been relatively easy and common for South Sea Islanders to access a broad range of government programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Both officially and unofficially, governments have developed de facto policies which permit such access.

Fourth, while giving material benefits to South Sea Islanders, governments have denied South Sea Islanders recognition as a distinct black minority group. This lack of recognition has over time contributed to increased tensions amongst the South Sea Islanders themselves, and between them and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Fifth, as South Sea Islanders are now being denied access to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander programs, they are forced into mainstream programs which are seen by them to be culturally inappropriate, with the result that they are not used.

7.2 Recommendations

(1) The Government should formally recognise Australian South Sea Islanders as a unique minority group which is severely disadvantaged as a consequence of racial discrimination.

(2) Government agencies should consider whether their programs or activities have particular relevance to Australian South Sea Islanders, and where the programs are not relevant or are culturally inappropriate, the agencies should consult with the South Sea Islander people and take account of their particular needs and wishes. These agencies must take cognisance of the socio-psychological aspects of disadvantage. In particular, agencies providing employment, education, housing and health services should review the application of those programs or the development of new programs aimed at the specific needs of South Sea Islanders.

(3) Australian South Sea Islanders should be identified as a high-need group in equal opportunity, access and equity programs, and they should be employed in government agencies dealing directly with the South Sea Islander community, most particularly in the Department of Social Security, CES, and Housing Department offices in Queensland and Northern New South Wales.

(4) The Government should, as soon as possible, make available to Australian South Sea Islanders, schemes comparable to Abstudy and other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander educational support programs currently provided by the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET), with the development and (where appropriate) the implementation of such schemes to be the responsibility of DEET.

(5) The Government should make a specific allocation in the 1993-94 Budget for the provision of culturally appropriate programs for Australian South Sea Islanders and organisations (such as programs to include housing, legal, child care and financial services). Community development workers could be employed through Grant-In-Aid type programs to liaise between South Sea Islanders and mainstream services, provide organisational assistance so that South Sea Islanders are better able to continue examination of their past and present situation, and present cogent arguments to governments for action as and where required.

(6) The Government and relevant government agencies should take steps to increase public awareness of South Sea Islanders and their role in Australia's history, including through inclusion in school curricula, preservation of South Sea Islander historical sites and archival material (including oral histories).

APPENDIX 1: A SHORT HISTORY OF AUSTRALIAN SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS

Arrival

Along the coast of Northern Queensland, there stretches a belt of country adapted for the cultivation of tropical products, chief among them being sugarcane. To develop these resources it was necessary to find a class of labourers better able to endure the climate than Europeans, as well as to work at a cheaper rate. Thus arose the demand for labourers brought from the various island groups of the Western Pacific - Papuans [Melanesians] and Polynesians, loosely termed 'Kanakas'.⁸⁷

Between 1863 and 1904, some 62,500 (this figure is of labour contracts, thus double-counting Islanders who re-enlisted) South Sea Islanders were recruited to work as indentured labourers in Queensland.⁸⁸ They were recruited from more than eighty islands,⁸⁹ mainly Vanuatu (New Hebrides) and the Solomon Islands, but also from New Caledonia (Loyalty Islands), Papua New Guinea, Kiribati and Tuvalu.⁹⁰

The South Sea Islanders did most of the back-breaking work to establish the Queensland sugar industry, but were never really wanted in the Colony of Queensland. During the 1800s there was continuing tension between the sugar growers, represented by the Conservative Party, who wanted cheap labour and others, represented by the city-based Liberal Party, who did not want the colony corrupted by an allegedly 'inferior black race.'

Stories of the hardships endured by the South Sea Islanders, both in recruitment and in their working lives, provided fuel to those wanting to remove them from the colony but did not generate much assistance for them as people.

Since before the arrival of the first South Sea Islanders in Queensland, debate has continued over the extent to which South Sea Islanders were kidnapped, and on the morality of the South Sea Islander labour trade.⁹¹ However, neither those who wanted their labour, nor those who deplored such labour, were willing to develop or promote the rights of the South Sea Islanders.

Indentured labour

South Sea Islanders were recruited under a system known as indentured labour, in which they supposedly signed a three-year contract and which bound them to an employer for a wage fixed at £6 a year, plus rations.⁹²

When South Sea Islanders completed their three-year contracts, the employer was supposed to return them to their islands. However, many stayed and negotiated a second contract, generally for a wage higher than £6 a year. These people were called 'time-expired' labourers and were restricted to working in the same types of occupations as 'first contract' labourers.

In 1884 a special category of time-expired labourers was recognised: those who had been continually resident in the colony since 1 September 1879, were granted an 'exemption ticket'. This highly prized document allowed the holders freedom from many of the restraints imposed on other South Sea Islander labourers.⁹³ There were 835 ticket-holders,⁹⁴ 691 of whom were alive in 1906.⁹⁵

Recruiting

The process of recruiting South Sea Islander labour was commonly called *blackbirding*, regardless of whether the people volunteered, were tricked, or were kidnapped.⁹⁶ Over the fifty years from 1860 to 1910, the South Pacific Islands provided some 200,000 labourers, half going to British colonies, mainly Queensland.⁹⁷

Recruitment to Australia started in 1847 when Ben Boyd brought South Sea Islanders from Tanna Island in the New Hebrides to work as shepherds in the Riverina.

Queensland recruitment started in 1863 when sixty-seven South Sea Islanders were brought to work on Robert Towns' cotton plantation on the Logan River.⁹⁸ However, as cotton proved not to be viable and sugar became established, this latter industry was the cause for recruitment of most South Sea Islanders.

Over the coming forty years to 1904, 62,561 recruits were landed in Queensland from 807 recruiting voyages, with the greatest number in any one year being 5,276 in 1883.⁹⁹ During the 1860s recruitment was mainly from the New Hebrides (Vanuatu); in the 1870s it spread north to the Solomons, then in the 1880s to

Bougainville and Papua New Guinea. The most dramatic effect was probably on the New Hebrides. Writing of his 1875 recruiting voyage to the New Hebrides, recruiter Wawn noted:

*I am of the opinion that fully one half of the men belonging to the tribes residing within three miles of the coasts have fulfilled a term of service in one or another of our colonies.*¹⁰⁰

Recruitment continued for thirty years after this statement.

Kidnapping

Historian Clive Moore writes:

*Kidnapping was common in the Solomons in the 1870s, mirroring the initial phase of the labour trade in the New Hebrides in the 1860s ... The Islanders often thought the men on the big ships wanted to barter ... but when they tried to trade ... their canoes were smashed and they were forced on board ... Others were kidnapped from their canoes while they were fishing.*¹⁰¹

Kidnapping appears to have declined in each island group as the labour trade became more established. Some ships' Masters traded with a particular island for twenty years, returning South Sea Islanders who had finished their three-year contract and collecting more. It was not good business sense for these men to antagonise the South Sea Islanders if they wished to continue a lucrative business.

Kidnapping was recorded until well into the 1880s, with the last recorded incident occurring in the Solomons in 1894.¹⁰²

Saunders concludes that about 25% to 30% of recruitments *were in varying degrees illegal, though probably less than 5% would have been kidnapped.*¹⁰³ Most of this illegal activity occurred before 1885. Moore generally supports this assessment.¹⁰⁴

Regulation

*As recruiting increased so did the notoriety of the labour trade.*¹⁰⁵ In the 1860s, reports of kidnapping of South Sea Islanders were common, leading to legislation

within a few years of the first South Sea Islanders arriving in Queensland.¹⁰⁶ In 1868 the Queensland Government passed the *Polynesian Labourer Act* (the Islanders were overwhelmingly Melanesians from the Western Pacific, but were commonly mistakenly called Polynesians through much of the 1800s) to regulate the introduction of South Sea Islander labour.

Interestingly, Conservative Premier Mackenzie who introduced the Act was, at the time, a silent partner in one of the largest labour importers.¹⁰⁷ From a business viewpoint, legislation which might silence the critics of the labour trade, while at the same time making competition illegal, was not too great an imposition.

The Act required that South Sea Islanders could only be brought in under license with the ship meeting minimum accommodation standards, and the ship's Master having to post a £500 bond against kidnapping. As well, employers had to deposit a £10 bond for each labourer to cover the costs of return at the end of the labour contract. The latter could also be seen as catering to the Liberal concerns that racial purity not be diluted. The Act also set a labour contract period of three years with a minimum annual wage of £6 (unchanged for forty years) and laid down scales of rations and clothing to be provided to labourers.¹⁰⁸

However, the Act was not sufficient for the British Government. It did not, after all, extend beyond Queensland. It did not cover what happened in the Pacific Islands, where the kidnapping and violent acts occurred. In 1869, the British Government's Colonial Office pressured the Queensland Government into issuing regulations requiring Government Agents to accompany all recruiting vessels.¹⁰⁹

However, the labour trade continued to cause trouble for the British Government. In 1871 seventy South Sea Islanders were massacred by the crew of the recruiting vessel *Carl*, and later the same year the first Anglican Bishop of Melanesia was killed by South Sea Islanders in retaliation for recruiters' attacks. Current legislation was deemed inadequate.

In 1872, the British Government passed the *Pacific Islander Protection Act*, making kidnapping an offence, requiring British vessels to be licensed, and making South Sea Islander evidence admissible in courts.¹¹⁰ This legislation did not affect ships under French flag.

The Act was not totally effective in preventing kidnapping because it relied on a single, poorly paid official on each ship. Government agents could not speak the very many different languages of the South Sea Islanders, and had to rely on an interpreter

engaged by the ship's Master or the recruiter. The interpreter in turn often communicated through signs, or forms of 'pidgin' English.

Even if there were communication with the recruits, what would a labour contract meant to the very different Melanesian culture?

Slavery

Today, South Sea Islanders refer to their ancestors as having been brought to Australia as slaves. Legally this was not correct - a slave is the possession of his/her owner, while an indentured labourer has merely sold his/her labour under contract. Indentured labour became popular once slavery was prohibited by the British *Slave Trade Acts*. It provided the employer with most of the benefits of slavery, such as a cheap worker who could not resign, without having to accept responsibility for the person to the same extent as for a slave.¹¹¹ Not surprisingly, many white people of the 1800s saw little distinction between indenturing and slavery.

In 1881 it was argued that Melanesians were temporary slaves for three years, who suffered overwork and deprivation because under a three-year contract, the master *does not have the material interest to take care of them any longer than he has use for them.*¹¹²

In 1876, *The Mackay Mercury* noted:

*The chief advantage of the Polynesian labour appears therefore to be not cheapness, but the independent condition in which it places the employer in respect to sudden fluctuations of the white labour market, so common in the colonies.*¹¹³

The Queensland Legislative Assembly was told in 1884:

*The evil of coloured labour was that it placed the servile labourer too much under the control of the white man. They might not call it slavery, but it was akin to it - cousin to it; and unless they were very careful ... indentured service ... would soon degenerate into slavery.*¹¹⁴

It is likely that South Sea Islander oral histories of slavery arise in part from the practice of selling labour contracts on the wharves. The sale of labour contracts had been one of the most controversial features of the labour trade. It was seen by many as similar to slavery. To a South Sea Islander from another culture and speaking no English, being inspected and transferred for a price would be hard to distinguish from being sold as a slave.¹¹⁵

The 1868 *Polynesian Islander Act* sought to restrict and regulate the transfer of labour contracts. Recruiters were supposed to recruit labour only on request by employers, rather than speculatively. Transfer of a contract was supposed to require the consent of the employer, the labourer and the government.¹¹⁶ However, transfers were a regular feature of the labour trade - one sugar company *used the transfers to direct labour to where it was most needed among its various estates*, and hired out its indentured labourers to farm operators on its estates.¹¹⁷

Why did South Sea Islanders come?

Europeans' attitudes to South Sea Islanders were focused on either getting docile cheap labour, or on removing them from the colony. There was little attempt on either part to understand the South Sea Islanders, or why they would agree to come to Queensland.

Ship's master Wawn, in his book about his recruiting voyages, alludes to some reasons. One is that the labourer's family or village were rewarded - Wawn continually refers to the fact that he made sure he gave those who stayed a gun, two tomahawks, some tobacco and some cloth, even when it appeared the labourer was fleeing the village. Also, as a village rarely had more than twenty-eighty men, the loss of a warrior was significant, and a gun was necessary for that village to maintain its strength.¹¹⁸ On a similar note, the gift of metal tools such as an axe, allowed work in the village to be completed more quickly. In both cases, lost labour was compensated for by improved technology.¹¹⁹

In any case, the Europeans with their better knowledge of the value of the items traded, were able to strike a deal profitable to them. The South Sea Islanders' initial ignorance of the value of their labour was able to be exploited.

Wawn reports that, when visiting villages on recruiting trips, *'you buy boy?'* was often the first question asked of the recruiter.¹²⁰ Payment to the village was expected.

Moore, who spent considerable time in Malaita looking at recruitment from the South Sea Islanders' side, argues that *the decision to enlist was often communal rather than personal ... the reward to the individual was not the initial motivation.*¹²¹ The community exacted some payment in advance, a sensible attitude given the relatively high rates of non-return.

Other reasons Moore puts forward to explain why South Sea Islanders volunteered were:¹²²

- the young men could gain valuable goods and thus raise their status in the community;
- some people were fleeing their community, possibly from fear of retribution for feuds, or out of love for an unapproved partner;
- trading labour prevented deeper incursions by Europeans into island society;
- Islanders had a prior pattern of migration around the islands, and recruitment was an extension of this

*By the 1890s, a high proportion of the Melanesian labourers travelling to Queensland were 'old hands' who had previously worked on plantations.*¹²³ These included the 'ticket-holders', time-expired labourers who had stayed after their first contract, and re-enlistments from the islands.

From 1892, statistics on re-enlisting were kept at the Governor's direction. Of 22,272 South Sea Islanders arriving between 1892 and 1903, 22% (5,000) were re-enlistments. A few South Sea Islanders re-enlisted three or four times.¹²⁴ From 1880 to 1892, some 29,000 South Sea Islanders were recruited, but re-enlistment figures were not kept. If 10% or 3,000 of these were re-enlistments, then the 62,500 recruitments over the whole *blackbirding* era may represent a total of about 55,000 South Sea Islanders who came to Australia. Precise figures will never be known.

Re-enlistment occurred for a number of reasons. From the recruiters' viewpoint, re-enlistments were valuable because the Islands were literally running out of labourers, and the re-enlisters were more experienced. For the South Sea Islanders, re-enlistment gave them an opportunity to earn more money than new recruits (around £12 a year). As well, some found on returning to their village they no longer fitted in.¹²⁵

South Sea Islander Life in Australia in the 1800s

Working conditions

Up until 1877, South Sea Islanders performed three types of work in Australia - domestic services including nursing children (mainly by women), shepherding, and agricultural labour. The 1884 amendment to the *Pacific Island Labourers Act* prohibited domestic work, while the 1877 Act had prevented much pastoral work. Most South Sea Islanders thus worked in tropical agriculture, principally sugar cane.

Whilst many farmers employed a few South Sea Islanders, most were employed by the plantations. For example, of 1,350 South Sea Islanders in the Maryborough - Wide Bay area in 1879, just over half were employed by four plantations, another quarter by another eight plantations, while sixty-six farmers employed the remaining 300 or so, with fifty-four of these farmers employing between one and five South Sea Islanders.¹²⁶ An estate at Goondi, near Innisfail, employed 325 South Sea Islanders in 1888.¹²⁷

The large plantations centred on six locations - Bundaberg, Maryborough, Mackay, Ingham, Ayr and Innisfail.¹²⁸ These remain the six main centres of the Australian South Sea Islander population.

Whilst plantation owners expressed sentiments that the South Sea Islanders were decent, trustworthy, and child-like, their treatment of them as labourers attracted many adverse reports,¹²⁹ including that South Sea Islanders were being worked like 'mere machines' or like prison gangs, feeling 'the sting of the whip' for loitering.

Planters and pastoralists referred to the South Sea Islanders as being easily managed. The manager of one large estate wrote:

*Whilst the Kanaka is under supervision and control of his employer he is a good servant and conducts himself in an exemplary manner, but immediately he is free from restraint he becomes a prey to evil-minded persons and influenced by them degenerates into drunkenness and licentiousness.*¹³⁰

South Sea Islanders were usually required to work at least ten hours a day at exhausting manual work.¹³¹ One Parliamentarian reported:

*It was often necessary to work mills to eleven or twelve o'clock at night. Kanakas would work up to that time without grumbling, but I am sure Europeans would not.*¹³²

Premier Griffin claimed in 1883 that *Islanders are worked to death, especially in the crushing season.*¹³³

Physical punishment was common - the Police Magistrate at Tambo stated in 1876 that a master was entitled to correct his servants with corporal punishment.¹³⁴ Saunders concluded after examining many records of brutality:

*It is undeniable that coercion and cruelty towards Melanesians were very prevalent in the period before 1890.*¹³⁵

Most masters, however, were probably not overly cruel to their South Sea Islander workers. The fact that many enlisted for a second contract, while others volunteered to come after hearing stories of life in Queensland, indicate that in many cases a three-year contract was probably tolerable.

Wage rates

South Sea Islanders under their first contract were invariably paid the minimum wage required under the *Polynesian Labourer Act*, £6 a year with rations.

By way of comparison, in 1882 the plantation owners pressured the Government into allowing them to bring in workers from Ceylon. These Singhalese workers were engaged under the *Master and Servants Act* for a wage of £20 a year, with food, clothing, accommodation, medical care and a return passage.¹³⁶ The rate of £6 a year also compares poorly with £2 a month paid by ships' Masters for South Sea Islander boatmen on the recruiting vessels.¹³⁷

Labourers who re-enlisted in the Islands were able to gain higher wages, commonly £8 or £9 a year, and up to £12 a year towards the turn of the century. The wages of time-expired labourers, who remained after their first three-year contract, averaged £13 to £23 a year between 1884 and 1903.¹³⁸ The ticket-holders were mainly self-employed, *but they certainly earned more than time-expired labourers, and were quite likely to be earning as much as poorer Europeans.*¹³⁹

Social life

Life for the labourers was strongly influenced by the fact they were almost entirely males. Of all South Sea Islander recruits, 75% were men aged between sixteen and thirty, with 19% being boys aged between nine to fifteen years.¹⁴⁰

The others were women - Moore calculates that for 260 recruiting voyages (1871 to 1904) which included the Solomon island of Malaita, only 4% of recruits were females;¹⁴¹ Saunders reckons overall on 6% females.¹⁴² In 1904, when there were over 5,000 South Sea Islander men in Queensland, only 237 had a permanent union with a woman.¹⁴³

Life was also influenced by the mixing on estates of South Sea Islanders from different islands. There was often antagonism between these people, making control by the master easier.¹⁴⁴ On Saturday afternoons and Sundays it was common for South Sea Islanders from one island to gather on one estate in the district for social singing, dancing and drinking.

Because most South Sea Islanders stayed for only three years, traditional animosities between different islands militated against any form of unity, so revolts against working conditions were never likely, though there were incidents of violence against masters or other whites.

Justice

Before the *Polynesian Labourers Act* of 1868, South Sea Islanders were recruited under the *Master and Servants Act* or under no legal arrangement at all, and provided with very little protection from their masters. For example, three South Sea Islanders engaged under the *Master and Servants Act* who deserted in 1868 were forced to return to their master, despite the court accepting their evidence of inadequate rations, improper shelter, and floggings, and despite their being willing to forfeit all wages owed.¹⁴⁵

The *Polynesian Labourers Act* did not provide much more protection. It allowed for inspectors but none were appointed until 1875. Magistrates were allowed to act as inspectors, but this meant they could not preside over those cases, so the case was judged by a panel of JPs who were frequently land or mill owners passing judgment on their peers.

In 1884 the Legislative Assembly was informed that:

*... generally speaking, the Inspectors came and hobnobbed with the proprietor, the overseer or the manager. They drank toddy at night and reported on the state of the Kanakas in the morning.*¹⁴⁶

The courts were often of little assistance. For example, when in 1878 twelve South Sea Islanders from one plantation tried to walk to town to complain of abuses, they were caught by the master, then sentenced to three months jail by the court for absconding.

In another case in 1877, a tradesman whose servant was '*treated in a most cruel and heartless manner*' and who consequently died from exposure and starvation, was punished by a reprimand.¹⁴⁷ Another overseer beat a South Sea Islander to death; the court punished him with dismissal.¹⁴⁸

Parliament was told in 1892 that the masters '*treated the law with utter contempt, and appear to assume such an air of superiority that you sometimes think that we can't be in a free country*'.¹⁴⁹

Health

Despite the fact that the South Sea Islanders were almost all prime-age males,¹⁵⁰ with little infant mortality or death from old age, South Sea Islanders died at an alarming rate throughout the 1800s. Mortality rates averaged 51.5 per 1000 over 1868-1904, peaking at 147.7 in 1884.¹⁵¹ The comparable European death rate was fifteen to seventeen per one thousand.

If the average mortality rate were spread evenly over the South Sea Islander population, a labourer would have an 85% chance of surviving three years. However, given that death rates were higher among new recruits, and the South Sea Islander population in Queensland consisted of many who had completed their first contract, it is likely that the new recruit had about a one in five chance of dying during his contract. Moore concludes that between 4,000 and 5,000 South Sea Islanders died in the Mackay district between 1867 and 1947.¹⁵²

South Sea Islanders suffered particularly from epidemic diseases such as dysentery, measles, influenza, tuberculosis and whooping cough. Over 1883-85 for example, the death rate from tuberculosis for South Sea Islanders was twenty times that of Europeans. These infectious diseases to which South Sea Islanders had never before been exposed were the primary reason for the high mortality rate.

It must be borne in mind that in those times there was little understanding of how diseases spread, and hygiene was poor. Living conditions were often unsafe because sugar plantations bordered rivers where mosquitoes and other insects could spread diseases. Drinking water for labourers could come from irrigation systems, troughs or puddles.¹⁵³ Toilets were infrequently provided so the areas surrounding living quarters were foul.

Huts were often crowded and filthy. However, even decent huts were often culturally unacceptable to South Sea Islanders, who preferred huts more like those on the islands, where they could sleep without strangers from other Islands.

The long hours of hard work exacted a severe toll. Doctors and some parliamentarians wanted legislation to restrict working hours to seven or nine hours, but this was never enacted. Poor diet also contributed to ill health. Legislation prescribed a daily ration of one pound of meat (or two of fish), one pound of flour, five ounces of sugar, and two pounds of vegetables. This diet was inadequate for hard physical labour,¹⁵⁴ and was totally different from the South Sea Islanders' traditional diet of taro, coconuts, pork, fowl and fish. On some plantations and farms, the rations were frequently unfit for human consumption, and were often not given in the required minimum quantities.¹⁵⁵ Scurvy was prevalent because of a lack of vitamin C.

South Sea Islanders were not allowed into most hospitals because of their colour; *plantation 'hospitals' operated as little more than dumping grounds for the useless.*¹⁵⁶

Plantation owners maintained that South Sea Islanders were treated as dependent children, and blamed the death rate on the inferiority of their species - one Dr Harricks concluded their deaths were *simply the law of 'survival of the fittest'*.¹⁵⁷

Why Did South Sea Islanders Remain?

The question arises - why, if conditions had been brutal, did so many South Sea Islanders want to stay in Australia. The primary reason is that many had established their lives here, having survived the hardest initial labour contract. The majority of those who stayed had been in Australia over twenty years; up to 691 were ticket-holders who had been here for at least twenty-seven years. Many were settled with families, their children had been born here, and some owned farms.

In addition, some remained through fear of returning to the Islands. They may have married a person from a different Island, or have broken Island laws before coming to Australia. It may have been because of their conversion to Christianity. Sometimes it may have been because other South Sea Islanders died in Australia: when a South Sea Islander died, his family or descent group may expect a life in return as compensation; sometimes this was the life of another from the village who had journeyed at the same time as the dead man.¹⁵⁸

However, fear of returning home was not a ground for exemption from deportation, so is unlikely to have been the reason for remaining for most of those who stayed. It was probably a strong factor in the decision by some 400 South Sea Islanders to be deported to Fiji to work on sugar plantations.¹⁵⁹

Some exempt South Sea Islanders settled in the Torres Strait, where there had been a history of involvement in pearl and bêche-de-mer gathering. In 1907, the St Pauls Mission was established on Moa island, and by 1908 there were 147 Pacific Islanders living here, 120 of whom were exempt from deportation.¹⁶⁰ South Sea Islanders today often report that some deported South Sea Islanders were 'dumped' in the Torres Strait, but this is generally thought by historians to be unlikely.

This raises another question - why did so few remain? One reason appears to be that, by 1906, unemployment among South Sea Islanders was high - the original *Pacific Islander Labourers Act* prohibited employment of South Sea Islanders after 31 December 1906, and even with the relaxation of exemption criteria, the Act was not amended to allow employment until mid-1907. In addition, a subsidy for white-grown sugar was already in place. As well, some farmers were reluctant to hire South Sea Islanders for fear that, come deportation, they would have to pay the fare to the Islands.¹⁶¹

South Sea Islander Survival to 1940

The first generation - legal aliens

Before the campaign to expel them from the sugar industry, most South Sea Islanders:

*cut cane during the crushing season (usually June-July to November-December) and were working as farm labourers (often for different employers) during the slack. Some had been involved solely in farm labouring, the most lowly paid and menial work in the industry. Considerable numbers had been employed by the mills, but only at outside work such as firewood-cutting, tramway construction and line maintenance, yard and sanitary work - other non-Europeans such as the Japanese took the skilled jobs.*¹⁶²

By 1916, few South Sea Islanders were employed at the mills.¹⁶³ In 1919, South Sea Islanders in Mackay were put off by local farmers at the insistence of the police. South Sea Islanders petitioned the Government but to no avail¹⁶⁴. South Sea Islanders were legally limited to farm labouring:

*the hours were relatively long, the work monotonous, the wages low in comparison with cane-cutting.*¹⁶⁵

Some continued to work illegally in the sugar industry for either friendly farmers or those who recognised an opportunity for exploitation. Several South Sea Islanders told this Inquiry of how their parents or grandparents had done farmwork all day, only to work at cane-cutting all night, when they would not be discovered.

Some South Sea Islanders were independent farmers, mainly on leasehold land owned by white farmers or sugar mills in the Mackay-Proserpine area. One hundred and eleven South Sea Islander farmers were recorded as being granted exemption under the *Sugar Cultivation Act* in 1913, and Mercer estimates there were at least 168 Island-born farmers in those districts between 1908 and 1940.¹⁶⁶

South Sea Islanders tended to get leases on hillside land that was much harder work to cultivate and harvest. Sometimes landowners leased this land to South Sea Islanders so they could clear it at no cost to the owner. Often land was leased and worked by South Sea Islanders in partnership, generally among those from the same

island.¹⁶⁷ They employed other South Sea Islanders seasonally. Generally their farms were smaller than average, with marginal viability. South Sea Islanders lacked capital to improve their farms; banks would not lend them money.

In 1913 it was estimated that a comfortable thirty-five acre farm required £350 a year income; *not even the large Islander growers had met or even come close to reaching this level*; the average annual income of seventeen of twenty-four farmers in Mackay was £53/10/-.¹⁶⁸ By way of contrast, the few Chinese farmers in the area were very successful. The abolition of the sugar bounty in this year was not relevant to their financial position. The cyclone of 1918 appeared to have a detrimental affect on the South Sea Islanders of Mackay, destroying their crops and houses. With no capital or financial assistance, recovery would have been difficult.¹⁶⁹ Many South Sea Islanders became too old to work. It is not surprising that the number of farmers declined, with few left by the mid-1930s.

The result of employment discrimination for those looking for work, and lack of capital for those farming, was severe poverty:

*Ill-equipped to enter other fields of employment, the aging Melanesians lived at bare subsistence levels, assisted by their Australian-born Melanesian friends and relations, squatting in grass huts along river and creek banks or on areas provided by understanding farmers.*¹⁷⁰

Few of the original South Sea Islanders survived past the 1940s: Robert Talonga died in 1959 aged one hundred; Alex Solomon in 1953 aged about ninety-five.¹⁷¹ A flu epidemic in 1919 killed many. In the 1930s, the aging 'alien' Melanesians were provided with an 'indigence allowance' of 5s. a week. Many were childless and had no families to support them. Not until 1942 were they and Aboriginal people made eligible for the age pension¹⁷² which was four times the indigence allowance. Many were buried as paupers.¹⁷³

The next generation

The descendants of the original South Sea Islanders were not 'aliens' and suffered less institutional employment discrimination than their parents. As well, they were part of a family and did not suffer the complete destitution of many of the single old men. By the 1920s many males were of working age, and were able to get work cane-cutting.

They were able to obtain union tickets and work in the industry, despite the prohibition on 'coloured' labour which was retained in the sugar awards until 1964.¹⁷⁴

However, unemployment during the slack season remained a problem, particularly with the AWU urging preference for its white members.¹⁷⁵ Wood-cutting, farm work, seasonal fruit picking and road work were the main areas of employment. Some worked in timber-cutting (e.g. around Atherton), farming (e.g. Bowen area), and in the meatworks and saltworks. Some worked in the pastoral industry as stockmen and labourers, particularly around Rockhampton and even in Western Queensland. The Cassady family of Ingham got their name from ancestors working on the Cassady cattle property. Few men took up independent cane growing or farming: records indicate that few South Sea Islanders owned farms by the 1930s.

Most of the women were 'dependent spouses', raising large families and possibly tending a vegetable plot that supported the family. While in 1910 about 50% of South Sea Islander women worked, generally as labourers or domestics, by the 1930s few worked outside the home.¹⁷⁶ Their daughters, however, frequently worked until they married, generally leaving school at twelve or thirteen to start domestic or cleaning work. Some became live-in housekeepers but most did day-time domestic work, which was generally available locally. Sometimes the women partnered their island-born husbands on the land, working with them in clearing the bush and cultivating.

The Great Depression seemed to affect South Sea Islanders similarly to the rest of the country. Their male unemployment rate of 17% in 1933 was about average for those in primary production at the time, though higher around the Herbert River in far North Queensland. They gained 'relief' and many moved around looking for work.

Life Since the Second World War

On the eve of world war, North Queensland's Pacific Islanders were living an isolated semi-rural existence, clustering mainly in virtually self-contained communities within the sugar growing districts ...

Social and economic exclusion had prompted the communities to draw in on themselves, interacting with the wider society only in a restricted and generally superficial fashion. Within the communities a generalised Melanesian cultural identity had developed.¹⁷⁷

The Second World War opened up opportunities to the South Sea Islanders. Some joined the army (though according to one source they had to identify as Aboriginal to be allowed to join up)¹⁷⁸; others got work in new industries because of the labour shortages, such as providing horses or more commonly in the Civil Construction Corps. Farm labour was in short supply and they got work on farms and in cane-cutting. Women got jobs in offices rather than homes.

Though many were very old by now, South Sea Islanders had to register as 'Aliens', but were not interned as were others.

Before the Second World War, South Sea Islanders lived in small clusters of a few families, such as 'The Gardens' near Halifax, Plantation Creek near Ayr, and Homebush near Mackay. Violet SIRRIS of Townsville recalls growing up in 'The Gardens', a community that developed when her grandparents' seven daughters all married men who joined the family, each had at least five children. Her community was typically poor - the houses were grass huts with dirt floors, the children walked six miles barefoot to school until leaving at twelve.

After the War, there was a greater intermingling of these local communities. Families moved into hamlets on the fringes of towns - Cordelia and Halifax in the Herbert river region, Jarvisfield in the Burdekin, Goondi near Innisfail.¹⁷⁹ Today, all that remains of these South Sea Islander communities is scattered clumps of mango trees and coconut palms, on the fringes of many Queensland towns. However, most South Sea Islanders over fifty today were raised in this environment.

In the 1960s a second relocation phase started with the provision of housing by the Aboriginal and Islander Advancement Corporation. Many of the older houses were cleared by Councils as part of local 'slum clearance'. Today a large proportion of South Sea Islanders still live in this housing in towns, and a few still live in the older dwellings in hamlets.

In parallel with this movement from fringe communities into hamlets and then into towns, there was migration of South Sea Islanders to other centres. In the 1940s and 1950s, some Mackay Islanders moved to the Innisfail, Bowen and Ayr areas; some later returned. In the 1960s, South Sea Islanders moved further north to Atherton and Cairns; some from Herbert River, Ayr, Ingham and Innisfail moved to Townsville. As well, there was migration further south. This started in the 1950s with fruit pickers staying in the Riverina and Barossa Valleys; in the 1960s and onwards South Sea Islanders started moving into the capital cities of Brisbane, Sydney, Canberra and Melbourne. However, most still live in the regions settled a hundred years ago.

The Slow Climb Back

Economically, the lot of South Sea Islanders did not improve until after the Second World War, because wartime labour shortages finally let them get into jobs long denied them. Many were able to buy land after the Second World War, even though they were generally rejected for bank loans.

With steady though low income from agricultural, labouring or domestic work, South Sea Islanders struggled to get their children through school. Until Abstudy came in the 1970s, most could not afford to send their children to the nearest big town for high school. Locally, in the Queensland country of the 1950s, school finished at 'scholarship' - Year Eight.

While the 1950s appeared to have been relatively good times for the South Sea Islanders, the 1960s brought the mechanisation of sugar cane cutting. Throughout this Inquiry, South Sea Islanders would refer to this change - it was as if, just when discrimination began to fade, the very jobs they had sought for so many years were disappearing.

Today, the South Sea Islander community is still poorer than most other sections of Australian society. The statistical profile indicates they are one of the poorest groups in Australia.

APPENDIX 2: CENSUS FORM

Australian South Sea Islander CENSUS Household Form

Human Rights and
Equal Opportunity Commission



To the Householder

I have been asked by the Commonwealth Government to investigate the situation of Australian South Sea Islanders. Because there is no statistical information on this community (not even how many South Sea Islanders there are), my consultant Colin Menzies has been working with South Sea Islanders in many towns across Australia to arrange this special Census of South Sea Islanders.

The South Sea community with whom we are working indicated that your household may be interested in taking part in the Census. If so, I ask you to spend a few minutes to complete this form, and return it to me. The Census is **voluntary**, and there is no penalty for not taking part. Most of the questions in this Census are the same as those in the 1991 national Census. The information will be used to understand the social and economic situation of Australian South Sea Islanders.

Let me assure you that **your privacy is protected**. The census is **anonymous** - you are not asked your name or address. The census is **confidential** - you should seal it in the envelope provided when completed. You can post it directly to me by dropping the envelope in a mailbox (no stamp is needed), or give it to the voluntary Collector who gave it to you, and he/she will return it to me.

Once the information is put into a computer, the form will be destroyed. Information on any individual will **never be released** by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. The lists of people to whom this Census was distributed will not be released to anyone, and will be destroyed once the Census is over.

I ask you to help me understand the needs of the South Sea community by completing and returning this Census. Your participation will help make the results as accurate as possible. When the Census is completed, I will be issuing a **Discussion Paper** containing the results, and copies will be widely distributed.

If you have any questions or concerns about being sent this form, please contact David Norrie here at the Commission, by phoning him on (02) 229 7600.

Yours sincerely,

Irene Moss
Race Discrimination Commissioner

Who fills this in ?

This Census form should be filled in for every household where at least one person is **descended from the original South Pacific Islanders** who were brought to Australia before 1906 to be labourers, mainly for the sugar industry. The people were once nicknamed "*Kanakas*".

Many descendants now call themselves "South Sea Islanders"; others may identify as Aborigines or Torres Strait Islanders.

All households with South Sea descendants are urged to complete the Census, regardless of other ancestry. However, it is not compulsory.

How to fill it in ?

Most questions are multiple-choice - you just **tick** the box beside the answer most accurate for you.

Detailed instructions are on the next page.

Instructions

Answer all questions

Most questions ask you to tick one box to show which suggested answer applies. A few ask you to write in an answer. **Try not leave any questions blank**, unless you do not know the answer.

The first section of the Census form, on the opposite page, is about the whole household and the dwelling you live in. The second section, on the following four double-pages, has questions about the people in the household. Please answer **all questions for all persons** normally living in the household. Questions 26 - 39 are only for those who have left school.

Some people in the household may have no South Sea ancestry at all. Please answer all questions for that person as well. Include **everyone** in the household.

What are "households" ?

The Census Form is about **households**. A "household" is one or more people living in the same dwelling. Generally a household will be one family, but a household may include other family members such as grandparents or other relatives. It may also include some unrelated people.

A group of unrelated people sharing a dwelling also forms a household. A person living alone or in an institution (such as a nursing home or a prison) is regarded as a household, but some questions on the first page may not apply.

What if there are more than 7 people in the house?

The Census Form only has enough room for seven people. If there are more than seven in your house, complete a separate **Individual Form** for each extra person (it does not matter which people are recorded on the Individual Form). Individual Forms are available from the person who gave you this form, or ring the number below. Or you could use another Household Form, ignoring the questions on page 3 on the second form. **Put all forms for the household in the SAME envelope.**

What if one person in the household wants to keep some information private?

Any person in the household may choose to fill out an Individual Form so that others in the household do not see their information. If so, be sure to include this form in the same envelope.

What about absent members and visitors ?

If a member of the household is temporarily away, please complete the Census as if they were in the dwelling unless they are staying somewhere where they can complete their own Census form. If you **don't know** any answers, leave them blank. Temporary visitors of South Sea ancestry should be encouraged to complete a separate form, unless their normal household will be including them.

**If you need help, ask the person who gave you the form,
or ring Colin Menzies on (02) 716 8530 - he will call you back.
Remember - your Census is confidential; no-one is entitled to see your answers**

Please answer the following questions about your household . . .

1. Who owns this dwelling ?
(tick one only)

If you live in a hostel, boarding house, nursing home, institution, shed, caravan, or dwelling other than house or flat, write in for "other". Questions 2 and 3 may not apply in these cases - if so, leave blank.

- a member of this household owns or is buying it
- a relative
- the Housing Commission / Department
- another Government agency (eg Dept of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, or Community Services)
- an Aboriginal Housing Cooperative
- a private landlord
- other, please specify ...

2. How many bedrooms are there in this dwelling? (write the number)

bedrooms

3. How many registered motor vehicles owned or used by members of this household are normally parked at or near this dwelling?
(tick one only)

- none
- 1 motor vehicle
- 2 motor vehicles
- 3 motor vehicles
- 4 motor vehicles or more

4. What is the weekly rent or mortgage repayment? (tick one only)

If one of the members of the household fully owns the dwelling, tick "nil"

- nil
- \$ 1 - \$48 per week (\$ 1 - \$208 per mth)
- \$48 - \$77 per week (\$209 - \$334 per month)
- \$78 - \$107 per week (\$335 - \$465 per month)
- \$108 - \$137 per week (\$466 - \$595 per month)
- \$138 - \$167 per week (\$496 - \$725 per month)
- \$168 - \$197 per week (\$726 - \$856 per month)
- \$198 - \$227 per week (\$857 - \$986 per month)
- more than \$227 per week (more than \$986 per mth)

5. Which State / Territory is the dwelling in?

State:

6. Which Local Council/Shire is the dwelling in?

Council / Shire:

7. Which type of location is the dwelling in?
(tick one only)

- in a city, town or suburb
- in a small village or township
- in a rural dwelling or farmhouse

8. Do you have the telephone connected?

yes no

9. Have people in this household suffered racial discrimination over the past year in seeking private rental housing? (tick one only)

- In private rental housing? not applicable
 no, not in the past year
 yes, occasionally
 yes, often

10. Have people in this household suffered racial discrimination over the past year in seeking employment or at work? (tick one only)

- In employment? not applicable
 no, not in the past year
 yes, occasionally
 yes, often

11. Have people in this household suffered racial discrimination over the past year from staff of government services? (tick one only)

- In government services? not applicable
 no, not in the past year
 yes, occasionally
 yes, often

12. How many people usually live in this dwelling?

Number of persons:

Turn the page and complete one column for each person

Decide who in your place will be Person 1, Person 2, Person 3, etc.

Answer each question for every person.

13. How is each person related to Person 1?

(tick one only, except for Person 1)

14. What is the age of each person?

15. Tick the sex of each person.

16. Tick the marital status of each person.

17. How many children has the person had?

18. Did the person's parents have South Sea Islander ancestry? (tick one)

19. Did the person's parents have Aboriginal ancestry? (tick one)

20. Did the person's parents have Torres Strait Islander ancestry?

21. Did the person's parents have other ancestry? (tick one)

22. How important is South Sea ancestry to each person? (tick one only)

Please complete one column for each person normally living in the household

| | Person 1 | Person 2 | Person 3 |
|--|---|---|---|
| | <p><i>Usually Person 1 is the "head of the house", and Person 2 is his/her spouse. Other Persons are children, parents, and other members of the household.</i></p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> does not apply</p> | <input type="checkbox"/> husband/wife of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> de facto partner of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 & Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 only <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 2 only <input type="checkbox"/> brother/sister of Person 1 or 2 <input type="checkbox"/> parent of Person 1 or Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> not related to Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> other relative - please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> husband/wife of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> de facto partner of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 & Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 only <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 2 only <input type="checkbox"/> brother/sister of Person 1 or 2 <input type="checkbox"/> parent of Person 1 or Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> not related to Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> other relative - please specify: |
| | [] years <small>(If age is less than one year, write "0")</small> | [] years <small>(If age is less than one year, write "0")</small> | [] years <small>(If age is less than one year, write "0")</small> |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female | <input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female | <input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> never married <input type="checkbox"/> married <input type="checkbox"/> separated, not divorced <input type="checkbox"/> divorced <input type="checkbox"/> widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> never married <input type="checkbox"/> married <input type="checkbox"/> separated, not divorced <input type="checkbox"/> divorced <input type="checkbox"/> widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> never married <input type="checkbox"/> married <input type="checkbox"/> separated, not divorced <input type="checkbox"/> divorced <input type="checkbox"/> widowed |
| | [] children <small>(please count only children born alive)</small> | [] children <small>(please count only children born alive)</small> | [] children <small>(please count only children born alive)</small> |
| | South Sea ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | South Sea ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | South Sea ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent |
| | Aboriginal ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Aboriginal ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Aboriginal ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent |
| | Torres Str ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Torres Str ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Torres Str ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent |
| | Other ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Other ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Other ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> very important <input type="checkbox"/> quite important <input type="checkbox"/> not very important <input type="checkbox"/> not important | <input type="checkbox"/> very important <input type="checkbox"/> quite important <input type="checkbox"/> not very important <input type="checkbox"/> not important | <input type="checkbox"/> very important <input type="checkbox"/> quite important <input type="checkbox"/> not very important <input type="checkbox"/> not important |

Please complete one column for each person normally living in the household

| Person 4 | Person 5 | Person 6 | Person 7 |
|---|---|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> husband/wife of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> de facto partner of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 & Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 only <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 2 only <input type="checkbox"/> brother/sister of Person 1 or 2 <input type="checkbox"/> parent of Person 1 or Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> not related to Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> other relative - please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> husband/wife of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> de facto partner of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 & Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 only <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 2 only <input type="checkbox"/> brother/sister of Person 1 or 2 <input type="checkbox"/> parent of Person 1 or Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> not related to Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> other relative - please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> husband/wife of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> de facto partner of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 & Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 only <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 2 only <input type="checkbox"/> brother/sister of Person 1 or 2 <input type="checkbox"/> parent of Person 1 or Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> not related to Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> other relative - please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> husband/wife of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> de facto partner of Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 & Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 1 only <input type="checkbox"/> child of Person 2 only <input type="checkbox"/> brother/sister of Person 1 or 2 <input type="checkbox"/> parent of Person 1 or Person 2 <input type="checkbox"/> not related to Person 1 <input type="checkbox"/> other relative - please specify: |
| [] years <small>(If age is less than one year, write "0")</small> | [] years <small>(If age is less than one year, write "0")</small> | [] years <small>(If age is less than one year, write "0")</small> | [] years <small>(If age is less than one year, write "0")</small> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female | <input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female | <input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female | <input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never married <input type="checkbox"/> married <input type="checkbox"/> separated, not divorced <input type="checkbox"/> divorced <input type="checkbox"/> widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> never married <input type="checkbox"/> married <input type="checkbox"/> separated, not divorced <input type="checkbox"/> divorced <input type="checkbox"/> widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> never married <input type="checkbox"/> married <input type="checkbox"/> separated, not divorced <input type="checkbox"/> divorced <input type="checkbox"/> widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> never married <input type="checkbox"/> married <input type="checkbox"/> separated, not divorced <input type="checkbox"/> divorced <input type="checkbox"/> widowed |
| [] children <small>(please count only children born alive)</small> | [] children <small>(please count only children born alive)</small> | [] children <small>(please count only children born alive)</small> | [] children <small>(please count only children born alive)</small> |
| South Sea ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | South Sea ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | South Sea ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | South Sea ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent |
| Aboriginal ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Aboriginal ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Aboriginal ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Aboriginal ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent |
| Torres Str ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Torres Str ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Torres Str ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Torres Str ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent |
| Other ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Other ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Other ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent | Other ancestry: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, both parents <input type="checkbox"/> yes, one parent <input type="checkbox"/> no, neither parent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> very important <input type="checkbox"/> quite important <input type="checkbox"/> not very important <input type="checkbox"/> not important | <input type="checkbox"/> very important <input type="checkbox"/> quite important <input type="checkbox"/> not very important <input type="checkbox"/> not important | <input type="checkbox"/> very important <input type="checkbox"/> quite important <input type="checkbox"/> not very important <input type="checkbox"/> not important | <input type="checkbox"/> very important <input type="checkbox"/> quite important <input type="checkbox"/> not very important <input type="checkbox"/> not important |

Please complete one column for each person normally living in the household

| | Person 1 | Person 2 | Person 3 |
|--|---|---|---|
| 23. Tick all health problems which the person now has, if any. | <input type="checkbox"/> diabetes <input type="checkbox"/> asthma <input type="checkbox"/> blood pressure <input type="checkbox"/> heart problems <input type="checkbox"/> arthritis <input type="checkbox"/> cancer <input type="checkbox"/> work-related problem <input type="checkbox"/> heavy drinking <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... | <input type="checkbox"/> diabetes <input type="checkbox"/> asthma <input type="checkbox"/> blood pressure <input type="checkbox"/> heart problems <input type="checkbox"/> arthritis <input type="checkbox"/> cancer <input type="checkbox"/> work-related problem <input type="checkbox"/> heavy drinking <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... | <input type="checkbox"/> diabetes <input type="checkbox"/> asthma <input type="checkbox"/> blood pressure <input type="checkbox"/> heart problems <input type="checkbox"/> arthritis <input type="checkbox"/> cancer <input type="checkbox"/> work-related problem <input type="checkbox"/> heavy drinking <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... |
| 24. What type of education is each person NOW receiving? (tick one only) | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> state primary school <input type="checkbox"/> private primary school <input type="checkbox"/> state secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> private secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> SkillShare / community course <input type="checkbox"/> TAFE College <input type="checkbox"/> university <input type="checkbox"/> other tertiary institution <input type="checkbox"/> self-taught or private | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> state primary school <input type="checkbox"/> private primary school <input type="checkbox"/> state secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> private secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> SkillShare / community course <input type="checkbox"/> TAFE College <input type="checkbox"/> university <input type="checkbox"/> other tertiary institution <input type="checkbox"/> self-taught or private | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> state primary school <input type="checkbox"/> private primary school <input type="checkbox"/> state secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> private secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> SkillShare / community course <input type="checkbox"/> TAFE College <input type="checkbox"/> university <input type="checkbox"/> other tertiary institution <input type="checkbox"/> self-taught or private |
| 25. Did the person receive Abstudy at any time? | <input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no | <input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no | <input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| Please answer the remaining questions only for those who have left school | | | |
| 26. How old was each person when he or she left school? | <input type="checkbox"/> did not go to school <input type="checkbox"/> 12 years or younger <input type="checkbox"/> 13 years <input type="checkbox"/> 14 years <input type="checkbox"/> 15 years <input type="checkbox"/> 16 years <input type="checkbox"/> 17 years <input type="checkbox"/> 18 years <input type="checkbox"/> 19 years or older | <input type="checkbox"/> did not go to school <input type="checkbox"/> 12 years or younger <input type="checkbox"/> 13 years <input type="checkbox"/> 14 years <input type="checkbox"/> 15 years <input type="checkbox"/> 16 years <input type="checkbox"/> 17 years <input type="checkbox"/> 18 years <input type="checkbox"/> 19 years or older | <input type="checkbox"/> did not go to school <input type="checkbox"/> 12 years or younger <input type="checkbox"/> 13 years <input type="checkbox"/> 14 years <input type="checkbox"/> 15 years <input type="checkbox"/> 16 years <input type="checkbox"/> 17 years <input type="checkbox"/> 18 years <input type="checkbox"/> 19 years or older |
| 27. What is the highest tertiary qualification received by each person? | <input type="checkbox"/> none - go to Question 29 <input type="checkbox"/> a certificate (eg TAFE) <input type="checkbox"/> a diploma <input type="checkbox"/> a degree | <input type="checkbox"/> none - go to Question 29 <input type="checkbox"/> a certificate (eg TAFE) <input type="checkbox"/> a diploma <input type="checkbox"/> a degree | <input type="checkbox"/> none - go to Question 29 <input type="checkbox"/> a certificate (eg TAFE) <input type="checkbox"/> a diploma <input type="checkbox"/> a degree |
| 28. What year was that tertiary qualification completed in? | completed in: 19 ____ | completed in: 19 ____ | completed in: 19 ____ |
| 29. Tick all reasons why each person stopped formal education | <input type="checkbox"/> has not stopped <input type="checkbox"/> finished doing course <input type="checkbox"/> wanted to get a job <input type="checkbox"/> was expelled <input type="checkbox"/> had to earn an income <input type="checkbox"/> did not want more <input type="checkbox"/> pregnant / had a baby <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> has not stopped <input type="checkbox"/> finished doing course <input type="checkbox"/> wanted to get a job <input type="checkbox"/> was expelled <input type="checkbox"/> had to earn an income <input type="checkbox"/> did not want more <input type="checkbox"/> pregnant / had a baby <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> has not stopped <input type="checkbox"/> finished doing course <input type="checkbox"/> wanted to get a job <input type="checkbox"/> was expelled <input type="checkbox"/> had to earn an income <input type="checkbox"/> did not want more <input type="checkbox"/> pregnant / had a baby <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: |

Please complete one column for each person in the household who has left school

| Person 4 | Person 5 | Person 6 | Person 7 |
|---|---|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> diabetes <input type="checkbox"/> asthma <input type="checkbox"/> blood pressure <input type="checkbox"/> heart problems <input type="checkbox"/> arthritis <input type="checkbox"/> cancer <input type="checkbox"/> work-related problem <input type="checkbox"/> heavy drinking <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... | <input type="checkbox"/> diabetes <input type="checkbox"/> asthma <input type="checkbox"/> blood pressure <input type="checkbox"/> heart problems <input type="checkbox"/> arthritis <input type="checkbox"/> cancer <input type="checkbox"/> work-related problem <input type="checkbox"/> heavy drinking <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... | <input type="checkbox"/> diabetes <input type="checkbox"/> asthma <input type="checkbox"/> blood pressure <input type="checkbox"/> heart problems <input type="checkbox"/> arthritis <input type="checkbox"/> cancer <input type="checkbox"/> work-related problem <input type="checkbox"/> heavy drinking <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... | <input type="checkbox"/> diabetes <input type="checkbox"/> asthma <input type="checkbox"/> blood pressure <input type="checkbox"/> heart problems <input type="checkbox"/> arthritis <input type="checkbox"/> cancer <input type="checkbox"/> work-related problem <input type="checkbox"/> heavy drinking <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... |
| <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> state primary school <input type="checkbox"/> private primary school <input type="checkbox"/> state secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> private secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> SkillShare / community course <input type="checkbox"/> TAFE College <input type="checkbox"/> university <input type="checkbox"/> other tertiary institution <input type="checkbox"/> self-taught or private | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> state primary school <input type="checkbox"/> private primary school <input type="checkbox"/> state secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> private secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> SkillShare / community course <input type="checkbox"/> TAFE College <input type="checkbox"/> university <input type="checkbox"/> other tertiary institution <input type="checkbox"/> self-taught or private | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> state primary school <input type="checkbox"/> private primary school <input type="checkbox"/> state secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> private secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> SkillShare / community course <input type="checkbox"/> TAFE College <input type="checkbox"/> university <input type="checkbox"/> other tertiary institution <input type="checkbox"/> self-taught or private | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> state primary school <input type="checkbox"/> private primary school <input type="checkbox"/> state secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> private secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> SkillShare / community course <input type="checkbox"/> TAFE College <input type="checkbox"/> university <input type="checkbox"/> other tertiary institution <input type="checkbox"/> self-taught or private |
| <input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no | <input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no | <input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no | <input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| Please answer the remaining questions only for those who have left school | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> did not go to school <input type="checkbox"/> 12 years or younger <input type="checkbox"/> 13 years <input type="checkbox"/> 14 years <input type="checkbox"/> 15 years <input type="checkbox"/> 16 years <input type="checkbox"/> 17 years <input type="checkbox"/> 18 years <input type="checkbox"/> 19 years or older | <input type="checkbox"/> did not go to school <input type="checkbox"/> 12 years or younger <input type="checkbox"/> 13 years <input type="checkbox"/> 14 years <input type="checkbox"/> 15 years <input type="checkbox"/> 16 years <input type="checkbox"/> 17 years <input type="checkbox"/> 18 years <input type="checkbox"/> 19 years or older | <input type="checkbox"/> did not go to school <input type="checkbox"/> 12 years or younger <input type="checkbox"/> 13 years <input type="checkbox"/> 14 years <input type="checkbox"/> 15 years <input type="checkbox"/> 16 years <input type="checkbox"/> 17 years <input type="checkbox"/> 18 years <input type="checkbox"/> 19 years or older | <input type="checkbox"/> did not go to school <input type="checkbox"/> 12 years or younger <input type="checkbox"/> 13 years <input type="checkbox"/> 14 years <input type="checkbox"/> 15 years <input type="checkbox"/> 16 years <input type="checkbox"/> 17 years <input type="checkbox"/> 18 years <input type="checkbox"/> 19 years or older |
| <input type="checkbox"/> none - go to Question 29 <input type="checkbox"/> a certificate (eg TAFE) <input type="checkbox"/> a diploma <input type="checkbox"/> a degree | <input type="checkbox"/> none - go to Question 29 <input type="checkbox"/> a certificate (eg TAFE) <input type="checkbox"/> a diploma <input type="checkbox"/> a degree | <input type="checkbox"/> none - go to Question 29 <input type="checkbox"/> a certificate (eg TAFE) <input type="checkbox"/> a diploma <input type="checkbox"/> a degree | <input type="checkbox"/> none - go to Question 29 <input type="checkbox"/> a certificate (eg TAFE) <input type="checkbox"/> a diploma <input type="checkbox"/> a degree |
| completed in: 19 ____ | completed in: 19 ____ | completed in: 19 ____ | completed in: 19 ____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> has not stopped <input type="checkbox"/> finished doing course <input type="checkbox"/> wanted to get a job <input type="checkbox"/> was expelled <input type="checkbox"/> had to earn an income <input type="checkbox"/> did not want more <input type="checkbox"/> pregnant / had a baby <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> has not stopped <input type="checkbox"/> finished doing course <input type="checkbox"/> wanted to get a job <input type="checkbox"/> was expelled <input type="checkbox"/> had to earn an income <input type="checkbox"/> did not want more <input type="checkbox"/> pregnant / had a baby <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> has not stopped <input type="checkbox"/> finished doing course <input type="checkbox"/> wanted to get a job <input type="checkbox"/> was expelled <input type="checkbox"/> had to earn an income <input type="checkbox"/> did not want more <input type="checkbox"/> pregnant / had a baby <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> has not stopped <input type="checkbox"/> finished doing course <input type="checkbox"/> wanted to get a job <input type="checkbox"/> was expelled <input type="checkbox"/> had to earn an income <input type="checkbox"/> did not want more <input type="checkbox"/> pregnant / had a baby <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: |

Please complete one column for each person in the household who has left school

| | Person 1 | Person 2 | Person 3 |
|--|---|---|---|
| <p>30. Last week, did each person have a full-time or part-time job of any kind? (tick one only)</p> | <input type="checkbox"/> yes, a job for wages <input type="checkbox"/> yes, but on strike, sick, holidays, or stood down <input type="checkbox"/> yes, in own business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, unpaid job in a family business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, other unpaid job <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not have a job <i>If "No", go to Question 32 If "Yes", continue</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> yes, a job for wages <input type="checkbox"/> yes, but on strike, sick, holidays, or stood down <input type="checkbox"/> yes, in own business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, unpaid job in a family business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, other unpaid job <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not have a job <i>If "No", go to Question 32 If "Yes", continue</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> yes, a job for wages <input type="checkbox"/> yes, but on strike, sick, holidays, or stood down <input type="checkbox"/> yes, in own business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, unpaid job in a family business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, other unpaid job <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not have a job <i>If "No", go to Question 32 If "Yes", continue</i> |
| <p>31. How many hours did the person work in the main job worked last week? (tick one) <i>The main job is the one where the most hours are usually worked</i></p> | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> 1-15 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 16-24 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 25-34 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 35-40 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 41-48 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 49 hours or more | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> 1-15 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 16-24 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 25-34 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 35-40 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 41-48 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 49 hours or more | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> 1-15 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 16-24 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 25-34 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 35-40 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 41-48 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 49 hours or more |
| <p>32. Over the past 12 months, how many weeks did the person have a job of any kind for?</p> | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> 1-13 weeks (1-3 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 14-26 weeks (4-6 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 27-39 weeks (7-9 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 40-51 weeks (10-12 mths) <input type="checkbox"/> 52 weeks (for full year) | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> 1-13 weeks (1-3 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 14-26 weeks (4-6 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 27-39 weeks (7-9 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 40-51 weeks (10-12 mths) <input type="checkbox"/> 52 weeks (for full year) | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> 1-13 weeks (1-3 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 14-26 weeks (4-6 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 27-39 weeks (7-9 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 40-51 weeks (10-12 mths) <input type="checkbox"/> 52 weeks (for full year) |
| <p>33. In the main job now held or last worked, what was the person's occupation? <i>(If retired, give last occupation)</i></p> | <input type="checkbox"/> labourer, manual worker <input type="checkbox"/> machine operator / driver <input type="checkbox"/> cook / domestic <input type="checkbox"/> salesperson, shopkeeper <input type="checkbox"/> tradesperson <input type="checkbox"/> clerk, office worker <input type="checkbox"/> teacher, teacher aid <input type="checkbox"/> professional <input type="checkbox"/> manager / administrator <input type="checkbox"/> technician or nurse <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... | <input type="checkbox"/> labourer, manual worker <input type="checkbox"/> machine operator / driver <input type="checkbox"/> cook / domestic <input type="checkbox"/> salesperson, shopkeeper <input type="checkbox"/> tradesperson <input type="checkbox"/> clerk, office worker <input type="checkbox"/> teacher, teacher aid <input type="checkbox"/> professional <input type="checkbox"/> manager / administrator <input type="checkbox"/> technician or nurse <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... | <input type="checkbox"/> labourer, manual worker <input type="checkbox"/> machine operator / driver <input type="checkbox"/> cook / domestic <input type="checkbox"/> salesperson, shopkeeper <input type="checkbox"/> tradesperson <input type="checkbox"/> clerk, office worker <input type="checkbox"/> teacher, teacher aid <input type="checkbox"/> professional <input type="checkbox"/> manager / administrator <input type="checkbox"/> technician or nurse <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... |
| <p>34. In the main job now held or last worked, what industry did the person work in? <i>(If retired, give last industry)</i></p> | <input type="checkbox"/> agriculture or rural <input type="checkbox"/> manufacturing <input type="checkbox"/> tourism / hospitality <input type="checkbox"/> transport / railways <input type="checkbox"/> electricity, gas, water <input type="checkbox"/> education / schools <input type="checkbox"/> community health / care <input type="checkbox"/> retail / wholesale <input type="checkbox"/> Government; Council <input type="checkbox"/> building / construction <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify | <input type="checkbox"/> agriculture or rural <input type="checkbox"/> manufacturing <input type="checkbox"/> tourism / hospitality <input type="checkbox"/> transport / railways <input type="checkbox"/> electricity, gas, water <input type="checkbox"/> education / schools <input type="checkbox"/> community health / care <input type="checkbox"/> retail / wholesale <input type="checkbox"/> Government; Council <input type="checkbox"/> building / construction <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify | <input type="checkbox"/> agriculture or rural <input type="checkbox"/> manufacturing <input type="checkbox"/> tourism / hospitality <input type="checkbox"/> transport / railways <input type="checkbox"/> electricity, gas, water <input type="checkbox"/> education / schools <input type="checkbox"/> community health / care <input type="checkbox"/> retail / wholesale <input type="checkbox"/> Government; Council <input type="checkbox"/> building / construction <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify |
| <p>35. Did the person actively look for work at any time in the last 4 wks?</p> | <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not look for work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for full-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for part-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for any work | <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not look for work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for full-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for part-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for any work | <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not look for work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for full-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for part-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for any work |

Please complete one column for each person in the household who has left school

| Person 4 | Person 5 | Person 6 | Person 7 |
|---|---|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> yes, a job for wages <input type="checkbox"/> yes, but on strike, sick leave, or stood down <input type="checkbox"/> yes, in own business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, unpaid job in a family business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, other unpaid job <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not have a job <i>If "No", go to Question 32</i> <i>If "Yes", continue</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> yes, a job for wages <input type="checkbox"/> yes, but on strike, sick leave, or stood down <input type="checkbox"/> yes, in own business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, unpaid job in a family business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, other unpaid job <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not have a job <i>If "No", go to Question 32</i> <i>If "Yes", continue</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> yes, a job for wages <input type="checkbox"/> yes, but on strike, sick leave, or stood down <input type="checkbox"/> yes, in own business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, unpaid job in a family business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, other unpaid job <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not have a job <i>If "No", go to Question 32</i> <i>If "Yes", continue</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> yes, a job for wages <input type="checkbox"/> yes, but on strike, sick leave, or stood down <input type="checkbox"/> yes, in own business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, unpaid job in a family business <input type="checkbox"/> yes, other unpaid job <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not have a job <i>If "No", go to Question 32</i> <i>If "Yes", continue</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> 1-15 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 16-24 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 25-34 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 35-40 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 41-48 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 49 hours or more | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> 1-15 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 16-24 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 25-34 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 35-40 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 41-48 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 49 hours or more | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> 1-15 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 16-24 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 25-34 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 35-40 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 41-48 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 49 hours or more | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> 1-15 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 16-24 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 25-34 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 35-40 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 41-48 hours <input type="checkbox"/> 49 hours or more |
| <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> 1-13 weeks (1-3 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 14-26 weeks (4-6 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 27-39 weeks (7-9 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 40-51 weeks (10-12 mths) <input type="checkbox"/> 52 weeks (for full year) | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> 1-13 weeks (1-3 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 14-26 weeks (4-6 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 27-39 weeks (7-9 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 40-51 weeks (10-12 mths) <input type="checkbox"/> 52 weeks (for full year) | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> 1-13 weeks (1-3 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 14-26 weeks (4-6 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 27-39 weeks (7-9 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 40-51 weeks (10-12 mths) <input type="checkbox"/> 52 weeks (for full year) | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> 1-13 weeks (1-3 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 14-26 weeks (4-6 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 27-39 weeks (7-9 months) <input type="checkbox"/> 40-51 weeks (10-12 mths) <input type="checkbox"/> 52 weeks (for full year) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> labourer, manual worker <input type="checkbox"/> machine operator / driver <input type="checkbox"/> cook / domestic <input type="checkbox"/> salesperson, shopkeeper <input type="checkbox"/> tradesperson <input type="checkbox"/> clerk, office worker <input type="checkbox"/> teacher, teacher aid <input type="checkbox"/> professional <input type="checkbox"/> manager / administrator <input type="checkbox"/> technician or nurse <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... | <input type="checkbox"/> labourer, manual worker <input type="checkbox"/> machine operator / driver <input type="checkbox"/> cook / domestic <input type="checkbox"/> salesperson, shopkeeper <input type="checkbox"/> tradesperson <input type="checkbox"/> clerk, office worker <input type="checkbox"/> teacher, teacher aid <input type="checkbox"/> professional <input type="checkbox"/> manager / administrator <input type="checkbox"/> technician or nurse <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... | <input type="checkbox"/> labourer, manual worker <input type="checkbox"/> machine operator / driver <input type="checkbox"/> cook / domestic <input type="checkbox"/> salesperson, shopkeeper <input type="checkbox"/> tradesperson <input type="checkbox"/> clerk, office worker <input type="checkbox"/> teacher, teacher aid <input type="checkbox"/> professional <input type="checkbox"/> manager / administrator <input type="checkbox"/> technician or nurse <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... | <input type="checkbox"/> labourer, manual worker <input type="checkbox"/> machine operator / driver <input type="checkbox"/> cook / domestic <input type="checkbox"/> salesperson, shopkeeper <input type="checkbox"/> tradesperson <input type="checkbox"/> clerk, office worker <input type="checkbox"/> teacher, teacher aid <input type="checkbox"/> professional <input type="checkbox"/> manager / administrator <input type="checkbox"/> technician or nurse <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify ... |
| <input type="checkbox"/> agriculture or rural <input type="checkbox"/> manufacturing <input type="checkbox"/> tourism / hospitality <input type="checkbox"/> transport / railways <input type="checkbox"/> electricity, gas, water <input type="checkbox"/> education / schools <input type="checkbox"/> community health / care <input type="checkbox"/> retail / wholesale <input type="checkbox"/> Government; Council <input type="checkbox"/> building / construction <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify | <input type="checkbox"/> agriculture or rural <input type="checkbox"/> manufacturing <input type="checkbox"/> tourism / hospitality <input type="checkbox"/> transport / railways <input type="checkbox"/> electricity, gas, water <input type="checkbox"/> education / schools <input type="checkbox"/> community health / care <input type="checkbox"/> retail / wholesale <input type="checkbox"/> Government; Council <input type="checkbox"/> building / construction <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify | <input type="checkbox"/> agriculture or rural <input type="checkbox"/> manufacturing <input type="checkbox"/> tourism / hospitality <input type="checkbox"/> transport / railways <input type="checkbox"/> electricity, gas, water <input type="checkbox"/> education / schools <input type="checkbox"/> community health / care <input type="checkbox"/> retail / wholesale <input type="checkbox"/> Government; Council <input type="checkbox"/> building / construction <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify | <input type="checkbox"/> agriculture or rural <input type="checkbox"/> manufacturing <input type="checkbox"/> tourism / hospitality <input type="checkbox"/> transport / railways <input type="checkbox"/> electricity, gas, water <input type="checkbox"/> education / schools <input type="checkbox"/> community health / care <input type="checkbox"/> retail / wholesale <input type="checkbox"/> Government; Council <input type="checkbox"/> building / construction <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify |
| <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not look for work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for full-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for part-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for any work | <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not look for work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for full-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for part-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for any work | <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not look for work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for full-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for part-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for any work | <input type="checkbox"/> No, did not look for work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for full-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for part-time work <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, for any work |

Please complete one column for each person in the household who has left school

| | Person 1 | Person 2 | Person 3 |
|---|--|--|--|
| <p>36. What is the gross (total) income that the person usually receives each week from all sources?</p> <p><i>Include wages, benefits, family allowance, maintenance, overtime, interest etc</i></p> <p><i>Do not deduct tax, superannuation payments, or health insurance</i></p> | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> \$ 1 to \$57 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$ 1 to \$3,001 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$58 to \$96 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$3,001 - \$5,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$97 to \$154 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,001 - \$8,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$155 to \$230 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$8,001 - \$12,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$231 to \$308 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$12,001 - \$16,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$309 to \$385 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$16,001 - \$20,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$386 to \$481 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,001 - \$25,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$482 to \$577 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,001 - \$30,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$578 to \$673 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,001 - \$35,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$674 to \$769 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$35,001 - \$40,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$770 to \$961 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,001 - \$50,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> more than \$962 per wk <input type="checkbox"/> more than \$50,000 per yr | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> \$ 1 to \$57 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$ 1 to \$3,001 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$58 to \$96 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$3,001 - \$5,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$97 to \$154 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,001 - \$8,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$155 to \$230 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$8,001 - \$12,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$231 to \$308 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$12,001 - \$16,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$309 to \$385 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$16,001 - \$20,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$386 to \$481 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,001 - \$25,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$482 to \$577 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,001 - \$30,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$578 to \$673 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,001 - \$35,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$674 to \$769 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$35,001 - \$40,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$770 to \$961 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,001 - \$50,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> more than \$962 per wk <input type="checkbox"/> more than \$50,000 per yr | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> \$ 1 to \$57 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$ 1 to \$3,001 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$58 to \$96 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$3,001 - \$5,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$97 to \$154 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,001 - \$8,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$155 to \$230 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$8,001 - \$12,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$231 to \$308 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$12,001 - \$16,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$309 to \$385 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$16,001 - \$20,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$386 to \$481 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,001 - \$25,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$482 to \$577 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,001 - \$30,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$578 to \$673 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,001 - \$35,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$674 to \$769 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$35,001 - \$40,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$770 to \$961 per week <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,001 - \$50,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> more than \$962 per wk <input type="checkbox"/> more than \$50,000 per yr |
| <p>37. Tick all pensions or benefits received by the person now.</p> | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> unemployment benefit <input type="checkbox"/> family allowance <input type="checkbox"/> fam. allow. supplement <input type="checkbox"/> sickness benefit <input type="checkbox"/> sole parent's benefit <input type="checkbox"/> age pension <input type="checkbox"/> Austudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> Abstudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> disability benefit <input type="checkbox"/> workers compensation <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> unemployment benefit <input type="checkbox"/> family allowance <input type="checkbox"/> fam. all. supplement <input type="checkbox"/> sickness benefit <input type="checkbox"/> sole parent's benefit <input type="checkbox"/> age pension <input type="checkbox"/> Austudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> Abstudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> disability benefit <input type="checkbox"/> workers compensation <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> unemployment benefit <input type="checkbox"/> family allowance <input type="checkbox"/> fam. all. supplement <input type="checkbox"/> sickness benefit <input type="checkbox"/> sole parent's benefit <input type="checkbox"/> age pension <input type="checkbox"/> Austudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> Abstudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> disability benefit <input type="checkbox"/> workers compensation <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: |
| <p>38. Has the person tried to borrow money for his/her business in the last five years?</p> <p>Tick ALL relevant boxes for each person</p> | <input type="checkbox"/> no From a commercial lender/ bank: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From a government agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From an Aboriginal agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected | <input type="checkbox"/> no From a commercial lender/ bank: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From a government agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From an Aboriginal agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected | <input type="checkbox"/> no From a commercial lender/ bank: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From a government agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From an Aboriginal agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected |
| <p>39. Where did each person live 5 years ago, compared with now? (tick one only)</p> | <input type="checkbox"/> same dwelling <input type="checkbox"/> different dwelling, same Council / Shire <input type="checkbox"/> different Council, same region <input type="checkbox"/> different region, same state <input type="checkbox"/> different state <input type="checkbox"/> different country | <input type="checkbox"/> same dwelling <input type="checkbox"/> different dwelling, same Council / Shire <input type="checkbox"/> different Council, same region <input type="checkbox"/> different region, same state <input type="checkbox"/> different state <input type="checkbox"/> different country | <input type="checkbox"/> same dwelling <input type="checkbox"/> different dwelling, same Council / Shire <input type="checkbox"/> different Council, same region <input type="checkbox"/> different region, same state <input type="checkbox"/> different state <input type="checkbox"/> different country |

Please complete one column for each person in the household who has left school

| Person 4 | Person 5 | Person 6 | Person 7 |
|--|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> \$ 1 to \$57 per week \$ 1 to \$3,001 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$58 to \$96 per week \$3,001 - \$5,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$97 to \$154 per week \$5,001 - \$8,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$155 to \$230 per week \$8,001 - \$12,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$231 to \$308 per week \$12,001 - \$16,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$309 to \$385 per week \$16,001 - \$20,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$386 to \$481 per week \$20,001 - \$25,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$482 to \$577 per week \$25,001 - \$30,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$578 to \$673 per week \$30,001 - \$35,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$674 to \$769 per week \$35,001 - \$40,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$770 to \$961 per week \$40,001 - \$50,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> more than \$962 per wk more than \$50,000 per yr | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> \$ 1 to \$57 per week \$ 1 to \$3,001 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$58 to \$96 per week \$3,001 - \$5,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$97 to \$154 per week \$5,001 - \$8,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$155 to \$230 per week \$8,001 - \$12,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$231 to \$308 per week \$12,001 - \$16,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$309 to \$385 per week \$16,001 - \$20,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$386 to \$481 per week \$20,001 - \$25,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$482 to \$577 per week \$25,001 - \$30,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$578 to \$673 per week \$30,001 - \$35,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$674 to \$769 per week \$35,001 - \$40,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$770 to \$961 per week \$40,001 - \$50,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> more than \$962 per wk more than \$50,000 per yr | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> \$ 1 to \$57 per week \$ 1 to \$3,001 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$58 to \$96 per week \$3,001 - \$5,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$97 to \$154 per week \$5,001 - \$8,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$155 to \$230 per week \$8,001 - \$12,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$231 to \$308 per week \$12,001 - \$16,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$309 to \$385 per week \$16,001 - \$20,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$386 to \$481 per week \$20,001 - \$25,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$482 to \$577 per week \$25,001 - \$30,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$578 to \$673 per week \$30,001 - \$35,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$674 to \$769 per week \$35,001 - \$40,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$770 to \$961 per week \$40,001 - \$50,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> more than \$962 per wk more than \$50,000 per yr | <input type="checkbox"/> nil <input type="checkbox"/> \$ 1 to \$57 per week \$ 1 to \$3,001 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$58 to \$96 per week \$3,001 - \$5,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$97 to \$154 per week \$5,001 - \$8,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$155 to \$230 per week \$8,001 - \$12,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$231 to \$308 per week \$12,001 - \$16,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$309 to \$385 per week \$16,001 - \$20,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$386 to \$481 per week \$20,001 - \$25,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$482 to \$577 per week \$25,001 - \$30,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$578 to \$673 per week \$30,001 - \$35,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$674 to \$769 per week \$35,001 - \$40,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> \$770 to \$961 per week \$40,001 - \$50,000 per yr <input type="checkbox"/> more than \$962 per wk more than \$50,000 per yr |
| <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> unemployment benefit <input type="checkbox"/> family allowance <input type="checkbox"/> fam. all. supplement <input type="checkbox"/> sickness benefit <input type="checkbox"/> sole parent's benefit <input type="checkbox"/> age pension <input type="checkbox"/> Austudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> Abstudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> disability benefit <input type="checkbox"/> workers compensation <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> unemployment benefit <input type="checkbox"/> family allowance <input type="checkbox"/> fam. all. supplement <input type="checkbox"/> sickness benefit <input type="checkbox"/> sole parent's benefit <input type="checkbox"/> age pension <input type="checkbox"/> Austudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> Abstudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> disability benefit <input type="checkbox"/> workers compensation <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> unemployment benefit <input type="checkbox"/> family allowance <input type="checkbox"/> fam. all. supplement <input type="checkbox"/> sickness benefit <input type="checkbox"/> sole parent's benefit <input type="checkbox"/> age pension <input type="checkbox"/> Austudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> Abstudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> disability benefit <input type="checkbox"/> workers compensation <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: | <input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> unemployment benefit <input type="checkbox"/> family allowance <input type="checkbox"/> fam. all. supplement <input type="checkbox"/> sickness benefit <input type="checkbox"/> sole parent's benefit <input type="checkbox"/> age pension <input type="checkbox"/> Austudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> Abstudy allowance <input type="checkbox"/> disability benefit <input type="checkbox"/> workers compensation <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> no From a commercial lender/ bank: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From a government agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From an Aboriginal agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected | <input type="checkbox"/> no From a commercial lender/ bank: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From a government agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From an Aboriginal agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected | <input type="checkbox"/> no From a commercial lender/ bank: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From a government agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From an Aboriginal agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected | <input type="checkbox"/> no From a commercial lender/ bank: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From a government agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected From an Aboriginal agency: <input type="checkbox"/> yes, got a loan <input type="checkbox"/> tried but rejected |
| <input type="checkbox"/> same dwelling <input type="checkbox"/> different dwelling, same Council / Shire <input type="checkbox"/> different Council, same region <input type="checkbox"/> different region, same state <input type="checkbox"/> different state <input type="checkbox"/> different country | <input type="checkbox"/> same dwelling <input type="checkbox"/> different dwelling, same Council / Shire <input type="checkbox"/> different Council, same region <input type="checkbox"/> different region, same state <input type="checkbox"/> different state <input type="checkbox"/> different country | <input type="checkbox"/> same dwelling <input type="checkbox"/> different dwelling, same Council / Shire <input type="checkbox"/> different Council, same region <input type="checkbox"/> different region, same state <input type="checkbox"/> different state <input type="checkbox"/> different country | <input type="checkbox"/> same dwelling <input type="checkbox"/> different dwelling, same Council / Shire <input type="checkbox"/> different Council, same region <input type="checkbox"/> different region, same state <input type="checkbox"/> different state <input type="checkbox"/> different country |

*Before returning this form, please check you have correctly answered
all questions for all people in your household.*

Please seal this form in the envelope provided

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or drop into a post box. No stamp is needed.*

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**The Race Discrimination Commissioner
Human Rights & Equal Opportunity Commission
GPO Box 5218
Sydney
NSW 2001**

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NOTES

1. *Moore (1990) estimates more than 20,000*
2. *Royal Commission into Human Relationships pp. 46-47*
3. *Mercer 1992 p 273*
4. *Haralambos and Holborn 1991*
5. *Qld Premier Douglas, quoted in Saunders 1975 p.153*
6. *Saunders 1975 p.163*
7. *Saunders 1975 p.165*
8. *Saunders 1975 p.152*
9. *Saunders 1975 p.154*
10. *Moore 1985 pp.190-196*
11. *Saunders 1975 p.154*
12. *Moore 1985 p.140*
13. *Saunders 1975 p.153*
14. *Moore 1985 p.140-1*
15. *Moore 1985 p.147*
16. *Saunders 1975 pp.208-223*
17. *The Queenslander 25 January 1873*
18. *The Bulletin 13 March 1901*
19. *Saunders 1975 p.215*
20. *Saunders 1975 p.221*
21. *Mercer 1992 p.67*
22. *Saunders 1975 p.156*
23. *Heame 1992 p.10*
24. *Heame 1992 p.11*
25. *Mercer 1992 p.68*
26. *Mercer 1992 p.69*
27. *Royal Commission 1906 p.599*
28. *Mercer 1992 p.70*
29. *Mercer 1992 p.73*
30. *Mercer 1992 p.74*
31. *Mercer 1992 p.74*
32. *Mercer 1992 p.81*
33. *Mercer 1992 p.80*
34. *Mercer 1992 p.80*
35. *Moore and Mercer 1992 p.2*
36. *Mercer 1992 p.84*
37. *Mercer 1992 p.140*
38. *Mercer 1992 p.139*
39. *Mercer 1992 p.140*
40. *Moore 1985 p.132*
41. *Heame 1992 p.14*
42. *Richmond River Historical Society p.5*
43. *Mercer 1992 p.141*
44. *Heame 1992 p.14*

45. *Mercer 1992 p.151*
46. *Moore 1985 p.132*
47. *Mercer 1992 p.144*
48. *Mercer 1992 p.141*
49. *Mercer 1992 p.142*
50. *Mercer 1992 p.145*
51. *Mercer 1992 p.145*
52. *Mercer 1992 p.145*
53. *Fatnowna 1989 pp 36, 46, 47*
54. *Grassby 1979 pp. 7,8*
55. *Grassby 1979 p.12*
56. *Grassby 1979 p.13*
57. *Mercer 1992 p.283*
58. *ABS 1991 Table 6.3*
59. *ABS 1990 Figure 3.2*
60. *ABS 1990 p.31*
61. *ABS 1990 Table 4.1*
62. *ABS 1990 Figure 4.3*
63. *ABS 1991 Tables 6.7, 6.8*
64. *ABS 1985 Table 4.9*
65. *Mercer 1992 p.285*
66. *Mercer 1992 p.285*
67. *Mercer 1992 p.286*
68. *Verbal advice from ABS Brisbane office*
69. *Mercer 1992 p.281*
70. *ABS 1990 Table 7.13*
71. *ABS 1991 Table 6.11*
72. *Sippel*
73. *ABS 1991 p.19*
74. *ABS 1991 p.17*
75. *Bliss 1992 p.21*
76. *Bliss 1992 p.33*
77. *Signed statement by South Sea Islanders, Dec 1992*
78. *ABS 1990 Table 7.1*
79. *ABS 1991 Table 6.28*
80. *ABS survey 1986*
81. *ABS 1990 Table 7.8*
82. *Singe 1989 p.148*
83. *Singe 1989 p.179*
84. *Singe 1989 p.98*
85. *Hearne 1992 p.23*
86. *Hearne 1992 p.19*
87. *From the introduction to Wawn, 1893*
88. *Moore & Mercer 1991 p.1*
89. *Moore 1990 p. 144*
90. *Moore & Mercer 1991 p.2*

91. *Saunders 1975 p.149*
92. *Moore 1990 p.145 (and others)*
93. *Saunders 1975 p.154*
94. *Moore 1985 p.139*
95. *Mercer 1992 p.80*
96. *Moore 1985 p.x*
97. *Moore 1985 p.23*
98. *Moore 1985 p.24*
99. *Moore 1985 p.24*
100. *Wawn 1893 p 41*
101. *Moore 1985 p.39-40*
102. *Moore 1985 p.42*
103. *Moore 1985 p.45*
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105. *Moore 1985 p.26*
106. *Moore 1985 p.129*
107. *Saunders 1975 p.171*
108. *Moore 1985 p.28*
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111. *Saunders 1975 p.171*
112. *Saunders 1975 p.168*
113. *Saunders 1975 p.159*
114. *Saunders 1975 p.155*
115. *Moore 1985 p.337*
116. *Heame 1992 p.5*
117. *Shlomowitz 1981 p.70*
118. *Wawn 1993 p.10*
119. *Moore 1985 p.74*
120. *Wawn 1893 p.10*
121. *Moore 1985 p.51*
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123. *Moore 1985 p.89*
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126. *Saunders 1975 p.179*
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133. *Saunders 1975 p.183*
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135. *Saunders 1975 p.200*
136. *Saunders 1975 p.160*

137. *Wawn 1893 pp.67,80*
138. *Moore 1990 p.145*
139. *Moore 1990 p.145*
140. *Saunders 1975 p.167*
141. *Moore 1985 p.41*
142. *Saunders 1975 p.167*
143. *Royal Commission 1906 p.456*
144. *Saunders 1975 p.203*
145. *Saunders 1975 p.170*
146. *Saunders 1975 p.171*
147. *Saunders 1975 p.195*
148. *Saunders 1975 p.197*
149. *Saunders 1975 p.196*
150. *Saunders 1975 p.189*
151. *Parnaby 1964 p.205*
152. *Moore 1985 p.244*
153. *Saunders 1975 p.186*
154. *Saunders 1975 p.184*
155. *Saunders 1975 p.185*
156. *Saunders 1975 p.190*
157. *Saunders 1975 p.190*
158. *Moore 1985 p.75*
159. *Mercer 1992 p.75*
160. *Mercer 1992 p.75*
161. *Mercer 1992 p.78*
162. *Mercer 1992 p.147*
163. *Mercer 1992 p.148*
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165. *Mercer 1992 p.149*
166. *Mercer 1992 p.152*
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169. *Mercer 1992 p.160*
170. *Moore 1985 p.132*
171. *Moore 1985 p.132*
172. *Moore 1985 p.132*
173. *Mercer 1992 p.168*
174. *Mercer 1992 p.150*
175. *Mercer 1992 p.150*
176. *Mercer 1992 p.164*
177. *Mercer 1992 p.273*
178. *Mercer 1992 p.274*
179. *Mercer 1992 p.277, and interviews in this Inquiry*

