

## Chapter Three: Aspects of Contemporary Aboriginal Australia

---

3.1 Aboriginal Demography .....	3:1
3.1.1 Migration to Urban Areas .....	3:1
3.1.2 Overview of Aboriginal Population: 1996 Census .....	3:1
3.1.3 Projection of Aboriginal Population 1996-2006 .....	3:2
3.1.4 Aboriginal People in Remote and Rural Areas .....	3:2
3.1.5 Aboriginal People in Urban Areas .....	3:3
3.2 Some Features of Contemporary Aboriginal Culture .....	3:4
3.2.1 Cultural Survival, Change and Diversity .....	3:4
3.2.2 Use of Names .....	3:5
3.2.3 References to Deceased Persons .....	3:5
3.3 Aboriginal Languages and Dialects .....	3:6
3.3.1 Survival of Aboriginal Languages .....	3:6
3.3.2 Aboriginal Language Speakers: 1996 Census .....	3:6
3.3.3 Kriol .....	3:7
3.3.4 Torres Strait Creole .....	3:7
3.3.5 Aboriginal (Non-Standard) English .....	3:7
3.4 Identifying Possible Differences Between Cultural Values .....	3:8
3.4.1 Identity .....	3:8
3.4.2 Life Orientation .....	3:9
3.4.3 Concept of "Family" .....	3:9
3.4.4 Responsibility for Children .....	3:9
3.4.5 Social Obligation .....	3:9
3.4.6 Connection to Land .....	3:10
3.4.7 Styles of Interaction .....	3:10
3.4.8 Material Possessions .....	3:10
3.4.9 Education .....	3:10
3.4.10 Public Behaviour .....	3:11
References/Further Reading .....	3:12



## CHAPTER THREE

---

# Aspects of Contemporary Aboriginal Australia

### 3.1

---

#### ABORIGINAL DEMOGRAPHY

##### 3.1.1 Migration to Urban Areas

Aboriginal migration to major Australian population centres commenced with the post-colonial dispossession of Aboriginal peoples from traditional lands. That migration increased dramatically in the period immediately following World War II<sup>1</sup>. The trend was both voluntary and involuntary, being stimulated by factors such as employment, sport and educational opportunities; health matters; and involvement in the criminal justice system<sup>2</sup>.

Aboriginal migration to urban areas raised public awareness about many Aboriginal issues: in particular, health, education, housing, land rights, and employment. These issues came to a head in the 1960s, culminating in the vesting of legislative responsibility for Aboriginal people in the Commonwealth Parliament in 1967. In the early 1970s historians such as Henry Reynolds<sup>3</sup> took a revisionist approach to the writing of Aboriginal history in the post-colonial era, raising public consciousness of Aboriginal dispossession and cultural dislocation to new heights.

Legislation such as the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth) and the *Native Title Act 1993* (Cth) have brought about dramatic changes in the Australian legal and social landscape. In recent decades significant improvements have occurred in Aboriginal health, education, employment and social justice matters. However, it is widely accepted that many Aboriginal people, in urban and non-urban areas, remain subject to unique socio-economic stresses and marginalisation<sup>4</sup>.

##### 3.1.2 Overview of Aboriginal Population: 1996 Census

The estimated resident Aboriginal population of Australia at 30 June 1996 was 386,049 people<sup>5</sup>. That number represented 2.1% of Australia's total population and a 2.3% average annual growth rate of the Aboriginal population during the period 1991-1996. The greatest number of Aboriginal people resided in New South Wales (109,925) and in Queensland (104,817). The Northern Territory recorded the highest proportion of Aboriginal people in the total population (28.5%).

---

<sup>1</sup> F Gale *Urban Aborigines* Australian National University, Canberra, 1972, p 10.

<sup>2</sup> Gale, n 1, p 79.

<sup>3</sup> H Reynolds *Aborigines and Settlers: The Australian Experience 1788-1939*, Cassell, Melbourne, Australia, 1972; H Reynolds *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*, Ringwood, Victoria, 1981.

<sup>4</sup> C Bourke and B Edwards 'Family and Kinship' in C Bourke et al (eds) *Aboriginal Australia* Second Edition, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1998, 100, p 114.

<sup>5</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics *Census of Population and Housing: Population Growth and Distribution, Australia, 1996*, 2035.0.

In 1996 the median age of the Aboriginal population was 20 years (compared with 34 years in the total population), and Aboriginal families were larger than average (3.7 people per family compared with 3.1 people per family in the total population). Most Aboriginal people (42%) lived in towns and other urban areas; 31% lived in cities and 27% lived in rural and remote areas<sup>6</sup>.

Western Australia had the third highest number of people identifying as Aboriginal (56,205 people): that figure represents 3% of the State's total population and 15% of the national Aboriginal population. In Western Australia approximately 70% of Aboriginal people lived outside major urban centres, compared with 36% of Western Australia's non-Aboriginal population<sup>7</sup>.

### 3.1.3 Projections of Aboriginal Population 1996-2006

Experimental projections forecast by the Australian Bureau of Statistics indicate that Australia's Aboriginal population is growing at a faster rate than that of the general population. Based on current trends in fertility and mortality, it is anticipated that Australia's Aboriginal population will increase from 386,049 people in 1996 to 469,000 in 2006: an average rate of 2% per annum, compared with the overall rate of 1.2%.

However, the growth in the Aboriginal population cannot be explained by natural increase alone. Much of the growth is attributed to an increasing number of persons identifying as Aboriginal on data-collection surveys. This trend became evident between 1991 and 1996 and, if it continues, the Aboriginal population is projected to increase at 5.3% per annum. Calculated at this higher rate, the projected Aboriginal population in 2006 is 649,000 people<sup>8</sup>.

### 3.1.4 Aboriginal People in Remote and Rural Areas

Historical factors, such as the establishment of missions or Aboriginal reserves, have resulted in diversity in the Aboriginal population of remote communities. Where a community has members of different Aboriginal language groups, social problems of varying degrees of severity may develop. Further, Aboriginal people residing in remote areas are likely to have reduced access to health services and to housing, education and employment opportunities. Despite improvements in recent decades, institutional or systemic racism may continue as a major issue in some remote areas.

Amenities in country towns are often good, and many Aboriginal people, particularly those who secure steady employment, enjoy a lifestyle of their own choice in such towns. However, even in larger country towns racism often remains a major problem, and Aboriginal people who do not obtain employment or adapt well to town life may be at a greater disadvantage than others who reside in predominantly Aboriginal communities<sup>9</sup>.

---

<sup>6</sup> In the 1996 Census "city" was defined as greater than 100,000 people; "towns and other urban areas" as 1,000-99,000 people and "rural and remote areas" as being from 1-999 people.

<sup>7</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics *Census of Population and Housing: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People, Western Australia*, 1996, 2035.5.

<sup>8</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics *Experimental Projections of the Indigenous Population, 1996-2006*, 3231.0.

<sup>9</sup> C Bourke 'Economics: Independence or Welfare' in C Bourke et al (eds) *Aboriginal Australia* Second Edition, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1998, p 23.

### 3.1.5 Aboriginal People in Urban Areas

For some Aboriginal people, urbanisation takes the form of “fringe-dwelling”, almost-wholly Aboriginal communities. For others, it may mean actual or apparent absorption into non-Aboriginal society. Some Aboriginal people are highly mobile within urban areas, often moving residences in order to be near family members. Fifty-two per cent of Aboriginal persons changed their usual place of residence in the period 1991-1996, compared with 43% of non-Aboriginal persons<sup>10</sup>.

The urban acculturation process is a massive one. City life is characterised by emphasis upon materialism, socio-economic status and education. Greater social fluidity exists, and therefore social “classes” are less static. Some fair-skinned Aboriginal people may not publicly acknowledge their ancestry: such people may be considered to have “passed over” into the non-Aboriginal community<sup>11</sup>.

The Hon Justice Toohey has emphasised that a person’s Aboriginality is not lost upon that person moving to an urban environment:

“People do not lose their Aboriginality just because they live in a town or even a city. ‘But association with white people does not necessarily erase deep-rooted customary beliefs or fears, nor does it eradicate the sense of what is, or what is not, acceptable or appropriate.’ (Muirhead J in The Queen v Davey, unreported, Federal Court of Australia, 13 November 1980.)”<sup>12</sup>

Thus, in cultural terms, Aboriginality may be understood as having as much to do with the socio-cultural environment, one’s values and one’s life experiences as much as it does with biological descent<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Population and Housing*, n 5.

<sup>11</sup> Gale, n 1, p 6.

<sup>12</sup> The Hon Justice J Toohey ‘The Sentencing of Aboriginal Offenders’ Paper delivered to the Second International Criminal Law Congress, 19-24 June 1988, Surfers’ Paradise, Queensland.

<sup>13</sup> Australian and Torres Strait Islander Commission *As a Matter of Fact: Answering the Myths and Misconceptions About Indigenous Australians*, 1998, Office of Public Affairs, ATSIC, Canberra, pp 60-6.

## 3.2

---

### SOME FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY ABORIGINAL CULTURE

#### 3.2.1 Cultural Survival, Change and Diversity

The impact upon Aboriginal people of colonisation, dispossession and urbanisation has resulted in the breaking down of many cultural ties, traditional practices and beliefs. Radical change is evident in many areas, marriage being one example: most Aboriginal men and women prefer to marry the person of their choice, and many choose to marry non-Aboriginal partners<sup>14</sup>.

The struggle for land rights, better health, education, and living conditions and for self-determination has stimulated the emergence of spokespersons and leaders. Such leaders exist in politics, the public service and other local and national organisations. This, together with a growing interest in traditional Aboriginal culture and custom, has led to the development of Aboriginal social and political groupings not wholly based upon kin or culture groups:

“A wave of feeling for ‘Aboriginal’ identity, pointing toward pan-Aboriginality, seeks to establish a common socio-cultural heritage.”<sup>15</sup>

It is self-evident that no culture is static. Notwithstanding the ruptures of the past, and massive and irrevocable changes, Aboriginal culture survives and thrives today in many diverse forms.

It has been emphasised that the loss of traditional languages and practices do not reduce the authenticity of a person’s Aboriginality. Nor do they make an urban Aboriginal person’s Aboriginality qualitatively inferior to that of a person living in a remote or rural area:

“The cultures of Indigenous people in Blacktown, Redfern, Fitzroy and Musgrave Park are no less ‘Aboriginal’ than the cultures of their counterparts in Cape York, Arnhem Land or the Kimberley.”<sup>16</sup>

Cultural survival is manifest in cultural trends, such as the “snowballing” effect of Aboriginal urban migration (when one family member moves to the city, others tend to follow in a “chain migration” pattern<sup>17</sup>); and the continued strength of the extended family, which may include many non-linear family members<sup>18</sup>.

Aboriginal people may choose to form separate social groups within the broader community. The use of kinship terms and courtesy titles (such as aunty, uncle, brother and sister) may be common in such groups. It has been observed that such

---

<sup>14</sup> See Gale, n 1, pp 167- 170.

<sup>15</sup> RM Berndt and CH Berndt *The World of the First Australians* Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1988, p 528.

<sup>16</sup> Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, n 13, p 61.

<sup>17</sup> Gale, n 1, p 74.

<sup>18</sup> Gale, n 1, p 165.

practices provide important psychological and emotional support to many Aboriginal people, and reflect the centrality of family and community in modern Aboriginal society<sup>19</sup>.

### 3.2.2 Use of Names

Even today, the rules relating to the names by which an Aboriginal person may be called are complex. This applies particularly (but not exclusively) in traditional Aboriginal communities and in non-urban areas of Australia.

Where a more traditional culture is practised, an Aboriginal person may be known by several names which include the relevant kinship term, a moiety name and a totem. An Aboriginal person may be referred to as “X’s son/daughter”, which may cause confusion where “X” has a number of sons or daughters, each of whom is referred to in that way<sup>20</sup>. Sometimes a person is given a nickname as he or she grows older, which may derive from a physical characteristic or a particular incident in that person’s life<sup>21</sup>.

For non-Aboriginal people, difficulties may arise where a person is referred to by a combination of names e.g. an English name, a surname and a subsection name.

“For example, [a man] might be called Kumaranyga (his personal name) by some people, or Tjampu (‘left handed’), his nick name. He may be called Tjakamarra (his subsection name) by others. He might be referred to as X’s uncle or Y’s father. These are all appropriate labels...”<sup>22</sup>

Accordingly, it may be difficult for a non-Aboriginal people to be certain that he or she is speaking or referring to an Aboriginal person by the correct or culturally appropriate name. Moreover, many traditional Aboriginal names (as well as other Aboriginal words) are difficult for non-Aboriginal people to spell and to pronounce. These difficulties may be exacerbated by the way in which an Aboriginal name is spoken, in that its sound may be hard to grasp.

### 3.2.3 References to Deceased Persons

As discussed in Chapter Two, in traditional Aboriginal society the name of a deceased person may not be mentioned for a long period after that person’s death. This period may last for as long as twenty years. This taboo still remains in many areas of contemporary Aboriginal society. To mention the name of a deceased person shows a lack of respect for the deceased and for the deceased’s close relatives, who may be very hurt by it. Only indirect references (for example, a reference to “X’s mother”) may be appropriate.

<sup>19</sup> Bourke and Edwards, n 4, pp 113-114.

<sup>20</sup> A Glass *Into Another World: A Glimpse of the Culture of the Ngaanyatjarra People* Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs, Northern Territory, 1990, p 31.

<sup>21</sup> Glass, n 20, p 31.

<sup>22</sup> J de Hoog and J Sherwood *Working With Aborigines in Remote Areas* Mount Lawley College, Mount Lawley, 1979, p 78.

### 3.3

---

## ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

### 3.3.1 Survival of Aboriginal Languages

The results of research published in 1990 indicate that approximately two thirds of the hundreds of original Aboriginal languages are extinct or nearly extinct. Of the surviving 90 languages, only 20 can be classified as “healthy”, in that each such language is spoken by and transmitted to children. The remaining 70 surviving languages are classified as “severely threatened”<sup>23</sup>.

### 3.3.2 Aboriginal Language Speakers: 1996 Census

In the 1996 Census 13% of Aboriginal people (i.e. 48,200 people) stated that they spoke an indigenous or Australian creole language at home. Most of those people lived in the more remote central and northern regions of Australia<sup>24</sup>. In Western Australia, 19% of Aboriginal people stated that they spoke an Aboriginal language.

Separate census counts were taken of 50 common Aboriginal languages, and the numbers of speakers of those languages ranged from 11 to 3,000 people. Approximately 100 other known Aboriginal languages, many with only a few surviving speakers, were grouped into residual categories: these constituted 25% of all speakers of Aboriginal languages. The 1996 Census did not measure proficiency in Aboriginal languages<sup>25</sup>.

The most commonly spoken Aboriginal languages were *Arrernte/Aranda* (3,800 speakers); *Dhuwal-Dhuwala* (3,600 speakers); *Warlpiri* (2,700 speakers); *Pitjantjatjara* (2,100 speakers); *Tiwi* (1,800 speakers); *Alyawarr (Alawarra)* (1,400 speakers); *Murrinh-Patha* (1,400 speakers); *Kunwinjika (Gunwinggu)* (1,400 speakers); *Anindilyakwa* (1,200 speakers) and *Anmatyerr (Anmatyirra)* (1,200 speakers). Of the Australian creoles, 2,200 people identified as Kriol speakers and 1,700 as Torres Strait Creole speakers<sup>26</sup>. (See 3.3.3 and 3.3.4.)

Note: In the 1996 Census, 95% of the Aboriginal people who stated that they spoke an Aboriginal language were English-speaking. The Census did not measure fluency in English, but provided for self-rating: 74% of Aboriginal language-speakers said that they spoke English well or very well<sup>27</sup>.

Many Aboriginal Australians speak a dialect of English, known as Aboriginal or Non-Standard English (Aboriginal English). A brief description of contemporary creole languages and Aboriginal English is given below.

---

<sup>23</sup> A Schmidt *The Loss of Australia's Aboriginal Language Heritage* Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1990, pp 1, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Population and Housing*, n 5.

<sup>25</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics *Australian Social Trends 1999: Population, Population Composition, Indigenous Languages*, 1999.

<sup>26</sup> Language experts believe that these numbers were underestimates: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Social Trends 1999*, n 25.

<sup>27</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Social Trends 1999*, n 25.

### 3.3.3 Kriol

Kriol is a form of pidgen English<sup>28</sup> which is spoken as a first language in northern areas of Western Australia, the Northern Territory and possibly in Queensland<sup>29</sup>. Kriol is recognised as being linguistically different from other creole languages (hence its distinct spelling). Although the majority of Kriol words are English, the structure, grammar, spelling and sound of Kriol are unique. Accordingly, Kriol is not readily understood by most English speakers.

### 3.3.4 Torres Strait Creole

Torres Strait Islander people have developed a related creole language. This language is usually known as “Torres Strait Creole” but may also be referred to as “Broken”, “Biz” “Blaikman” or Creole<sup>30</sup>.

### 3.3.5 Aboriginal (Non-Standard) English

Many Aboriginal people speak dialects of English known as “Aboriginal English” or “non-standard English” (Aboriginal English). Usually such dialects are spoken in a domestic or familiar social environment. Such dialects constitute a continuum, ranging from those close to English (the acrolect or “light” Aboriginal English) to those close to Aboriginal Kriol (the basilect or “heavy” Aboriginal English). The differences between standard and Aboriginal English are found in every area of language: sounds or accent, grammar, vocabulary, meaning, use and style<sup>31</sup>.

The speech of an urban Aboriginal person may range from standard English to one or more varieties of Aboriginal English. Some Aboriginal people are “bi-culturally competent”, adept at switching between standard English and Aboriginal English<sup>32</sup>. However, many are not:

“The number of Aboriginal English speakers who are truly bi-culturally competent is very small.

The extent of bi-cultural competence...depends to a significant extent on the individual's experience in mainstream domains, such as education and employment....[E]xperience with Aboriginal students in tertiary education indicates that even many of them lack significant bicultural competence.”<sup>33</sup>

Problems associated with the grammatical structure, word usage and the meanings of words in Aboriginal English create a significant propensity for ineffective communication with Aboriginal people in the legal system<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Pidgen languages, which facilitate communication between two different language groups, are not recognised as languages in their own right.

<sup>29</sup> R Amery and C Bourke ‘Australian Languages: Our Heritage’ in C Bourke et al (eds) *Aboriginal Australia* Second Edition, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1998, p 138 .

<sup>30</sup> D Eades *Aboriginal English and the Law* Continuing Legal Education Department of The Queensland Law Society Incorporated, 1992, p 23.

<sup>31</sup> Eades, n 30, p 25.

<sup>32</sup> Amery and Bourke, n 29, p 138.

<sup>33</sup> Eades, n 30, p 1.

<sup>34</sup> Eades, n 30, p 25.

### 3.4

---

#### IDENTIFYING POSSIBLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ABORIGINAL AND NON- ABORIGINAL CULTURAL VALUES

Broad differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal (or mainstream) values have been identified by Ms Jill Byrne, a non-Aboriginal community development consultant, who has worked for a number of years in the Kimberley. Ms Bryne's conclusions were based upon the research of others, as well as her own observations<sup>35</sup>. Some of those conclusions are re-produced below.

Ms Bryne suggests that the principle "take only what you need today" is a central and enduring traditional Aboriginal value. In contrast, non-Aboriginal culture often operates under the capitalist value of "accumulate for tomorrow".

Further, traditional Aboriginal society tends to be collectivist (value: "we all look after one another") whereas non-Aboriginal culture is individualist (value: "look after yourself").

Other points of comparison are briefly noted below.

Note: The following points are very broadly stated and are not intended to be prescriptive in any way.

#### 3.4.1 Identity

- Aboriginal society: a person's identity may be influenced by family and social factors. The nurturing of relationships is highly valued, as is the existence of a strong social network.
- Non-Aboriginal society: personal identity tends to be individualistic and is often measured by a person's occupation, level of education and socio-economic status.

---

<sup>35</sup> J Byrnes 'A Comparison of Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Values' *Dissent* (3) Spring 2000 p 6 et seq.

### 3.4.2 Life Orientation

- Aboriginal society: the focus is often group-centred. In traditional groups, the past and the present are of great importance: the future may be less so. Immediate economic matters may take precedence over future ones. Often cooperation, rather than competition, is important.
- Non-Aboriginal society: the emphasis tends to be on individual achievement and individual rights. There is often a strong focus on the future, and perhaps the pursuit of personal happiness. Career, family and accumulation of wealth are priorities. People are often highly competitive. Society is often diverse, stratified and status-conscious.

### 3.4.3 Concept of “Family”

- Aboriginal society: "family" consists of the extended family, often including quite distant family members. Family concerns are of primary importance, and the greater part of a person's life and social activities may be conducted closely within the family group.
- Non-Aboriginal society: the basic family unit consists of (perhaps) one set of parents and children. Frequently, feelings of obligation towards those in lineal family relationships are stronger than those in family relationships. Family and social relationships are not necessarily co-extensive.

### 3.4.4 Responsibility for Children

- Aboriginal society: children may be perceived as the responsibility of the extended family, or even the wider social group. However, children are also expected to make their own decisions from an early age.
- Non-Aboriginal society: parents are held responsible (or hold themselves responsible) for a child's behaviour, advancement and well being into that child's mid-to-late teenage years, and perhaps even beyond that time.

### 3.4.5 Social Obligation

- Aboriginal society: people may conform to others' expectations, particularly those of the immediate and extended family. No-one should be left in need. Family members are often expected to “look out” for one another.
- Non-Aboriginal society: is characterised by more limited relationships. There may be a sharp decline in a sense of responsibility from immediate family to other persons and to the wider community. However, charitable traits may be apparent.

### 3.4.6 Connection to Land

- Aboriginal society: often a strong sense of relationship to ancestral land exists, even where people have not lived in that place. Spiritual strength is gained from being in one's own country. Traditional people wish to live in their own country if possible, or at least to visit it, and even to die there.
- Non-Aboriginal society: usually "land" has a secular and economic connotation. Although a person's birthplace may have sentimental value, it is not necessarily of great importance otherwise. Travelling widely is valued, and living far from your birthplace is common.

### 3.4.7 Styles of Interaction: Direct and Indirect

- Aboriginal society: as the greater part of a person's life may be lived within the family group, respect is accorded to "inner" privacy, such as personal thoughts and feelings. Only particular people may be entitled to ask or to know certain matters of a personal nature. Hints and invitations to volunteer information are preferred to direct questioning.
- Non-Aboriginal society: directness and forthrightness in conversations is valued, as is the free exchange of ideas and public discussion of issues. The asking of direct questions is quite acceptable, except in relation to personal matters.

### 3.4.8 Material Possessions

- Aboriginal society: in traditional society material goods are not highly prized, because family and spiritual matters are of the most importance. In a more contemporary context, material possessions of all kinds may be highly valued.
- Non-Aboriginal society: material possessions are highly prized: the acquisition and accumulation of material goods is socially sanctioned.

### 3.4.9 Education

- Aboriginal society: education may refer to learning cultural and possibly spiritual ways, as well as to formal education in mainstream institutions.
- Non-Aboriginal society: highly values institutional, multidisciplinary education. Often the focus of education is to maximise career and employment prospects.

### 3.4.10 Public Behaviour

- Aboriginal society: social behaviour is often public. In some traditional communities, drinking in public with friends and family is accepted. In such groups, public displays of affection between men and women may not be disapproved.
- Non-Aboriginal society: generally speaking, there is disapproval of public drinking. However, public displays of affection between men and women are usually acceptable<sup>36</sup>.

Although extremely generalist, the above analysis may serve to foster a greater understanding and acceptance of cultural differences between Aboriginal Australians and Anglo-Australians.

---

---

<sup>36</sup> Byrnes, n 35, pp 6-1.

---

## REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- R Amery and C Bourke 'Australian Languages: Our Heritage' in C Bourke et al (eds) *Aboriginal Australia* Second Edition, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1998.
- Australian and Torres Strait Islander Commission *As a Matter of Fact: Answering the Myths and Misconceptions About Indigenous Australians*, 1998, Office of Public Affairs, ATSIC, Canberra.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics *Australian Social Trends 1999: Population, Population Composition, Indigenous Languages*, 1999.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics *Census of Population and Housing: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People, Western Australia*, 1996.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics *Census of Population and Housing: Population Growth and Distribution, Australia*, 1996.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics *Experimental Projections of the Indigenous Population, 1996-2006*.
- RM Berndt and CH Berndt *The World of the First Australians* Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1988.
- C Bourke 'Economics: Independence or Welfare' in C Bourke et al (eds) *Aboriginal Australia* Second Edition, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1998.
- C Bourke and B Edwards 'Family and Kinship' in C Bourke et al (eds) *Aboriginal Australia* Second Edition, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1998.
- J Byrnes 'A Comparison of Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Values' *Dissent* (3) Spring 2000.
- *Daiwal Gidja Cross Cultural Awareness Program Course Notes*, Daiwal Gidja Culture Group, February 1999.
- J de Hoog and J Sherwood *Working With Aborigines in Remote Areas* Mount Lawley College, Mount Lawley, 1979.
- D Eades *Aboriginal English and the Law* Continuing Legal Education Department of The Queensland Law Society Incorporated, 1992.
- F Gale *Urban Aborigines* Australian National University, Canberra, 1972.
- *A Glimpse Into Another World: A Glimpse of the Culture of the Ngaanyatjarra People* Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs, Northern Territory, 1990.
- SG Harris 'Yolgnu Rules of Interpersonal Communication' in WH Edwards, ed, *Traditional Aboriginal Society*, MacMillan Education Australia Pty Ltd, South Melbourne, 1987.
- Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission *Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People From Their Families* Commonwealth of Australia, April 1997.
- H Reynolds *Aborigines and Settlers: The Australian Experience 1788-1939*, Cassell, Melbourne, Australia, 1972.
- H Reynolds *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*, Ringwood Victoria, 1981.
- A Schmidt *The Loss of Australia's Aboriginal Language Heritage* Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1990.

