

**EMPLOYMENT ARRANGEMENTS FOR
ABORIGINALS IN GOVERNMENT
DEPARTMENTS AND ON SETTLEMENTS**

EP MILLIKEN

PL WILSON



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PREFACE TO THE 2008 PUBLICATION

The Bennelong Society is pleased to publish for the first time advice to the Commonwealth government written in 1966, by two of its officers Edwin Milliken and Lloyd Wilson. The paper has a clear objective, to train Aborigines to work in the modern world.

The authors have been kind enough to allow Bennelong to reproduce their advice to government in the height of the period of 'assimilation.' Edwin recalls that within twelve months of Nuggett Coombs (as Prime Minister Whitlam's adviser on Aboriginal affairs) ushering in the era of self-determination the deterioration in the communities of Northern Territory was palpable. The deterioration continues under successive regimes and the misconceived dreams of white romantics.

Slowly, the tide is turning and the clear advice of the Bennelong society to return to the path of 'integration' is being heeded. Finally, governments are beginning to realise that Aboriginal communities are not traditional communities. They must be seen for what they have always been, places where people gathered as supplicants. The work of 1966 has to start again.

The Bennelong Society hopes that students of Aboriginal politics will read the documents that describe the period prior to the fatal experiment in self-determination. They may contemplate, indeed question their lecturers why it took the intellectuals and politicians almost half a century to 'Wake up to Dreamtime', that is to admit that the dream of a separate culture and economy was flawed and dangerous. Perhaps it persisted because the whites did not have to live it.

Hon. Dr Gary Johns
August 2008

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

E P Milliken (now aged 90): An experienced clinical and occupational psychologist, Edwin Milliken joined the Welfare Branch team in 1955 as Assistant Director Policy and Research. In 1959/60 he undertook the training of Welfare Branch Senior Field Officers and Superintendents of Christian Missions to become job analysts in respect of Aborigines employed on Settlements, Missions and associated Outstations. [The then Administrative Officer (Employment), Jack Larcombe and his team picked up the hundreds of job descriptions which came from the job analysts, and carried out a thoroughgoing job evaluation covering jobs performed on all Missions and Settlements in the Territory.]

P L Wilson (now aged 81): Very experienced in personnel and management activities in the Commonwealth Public Service, Lloyd Wilson joined the Welfare Branch in 1964/65 as the Administrative Officer responsible for overseeing the implementation of the provisions of the Wards Employment Ordinance. (Most full-blood Aborigines had been recognized under Northern Territory law as persons needing the care and support of the Government; hence the use of the term "Wards" in legislation relating to them.)

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMATION PAPER NO. 11

PAPER ON EMPLOYMENT ARRANGEMENTS FOR ABORIGINALS IN
GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND ON SETTLEMENTS

- Written by: E P Milliken, Assistant Director Policy and Research
P L Wilson, Administrative Officer (Employment)
- Employed by: The Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration
Commonwealth Department of Territories
- Based in: The Head Office of the Branch in Darwin
- Dated: 6th May 1966
- Initiative: A Government Inter-departmental Working Party's three-pronged survey of the employment situation in the Northern Territory in respect of Aborigines in Government Departments and on Government Settlements.
- Scope: The Welfare Branch Officers were asked to report on employment arrangements for Aborigines in Government departments and on Government settlements—14 communities (but were not asked to report on employment of Aborigines on Christian Missions—13 settlements/communities in all).
- Status of Paper: It is unknown what status was accorded this paper by the Government Inter-departmental Working Party to whom it was sent; nor is it known what if any action on the subject matter of this Paper was taken by the Working Party or by any more senior Government body, agency or person.
- Distribution: Mr. H C Giese, Director of Social Welfare distributed the Paper to Senior Field staff of the Branch only, with the comment "... (it) may stimulate your thinking in respect of the employment situation in respect of Aborigines moving from settlements to employment in town".

ABORIGINALS EMPLOYED BY COMMONWEALTH DEPARTMENTS AND
ON GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENTS

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ABORIGINALS EMPLOYED BY COMMONWEALTH DEPARTMENTS AND ON GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENTS

WORKING PARTY REPORT

WELFARE BRANCH SECTION

1. Purpose and Aims Of Settlements: Settlements have been established as centres for social change for Aboriginals. They provide the facilities for settling in communities instead of following a nomadic existence; they supply opportunities for Aboriginals to perceive, acquire and practise the skills necessary to satisfactory survival in a society operating within "Western" Culture.

The aims of settlements have been summarised in official documents as:

- (a) to bring Aboriginals together into a community and to teach them the habits and skills of living in such a community;
- (b) to provide welfare services fitted to their needs and to their stage of social development;
- (c) to provide the means whereby training may be given, particularly to children and adolescents;
- (d) to introduce the general concept of 'work' as a worthwhile aim in life;
- (e) to develop in the younger and middle-age groups an attitude that the settlements and mission stations are there to provide health and educational services for their children, so that the latter may be prepared for a future life as adults living in a wider community than the tribe; and
- (f) to provide a temporary home—wherever necessary for Aboriginals in transit.

Settlements have been established as one method of advancing the government's policy of Assimilation for Aboriginals. See pamphlet "Further, Steps in Assimilation": Minister for Territories 10th December, 1965. A settlement then, is an institution set up to be in its whole operation, an instrument of Government Policy.

2. The Mechanics of Operation of a Settlement : Settlements are organised on the basic premise that their primary function is a social engineering one. In this context the task of the settlement superintendent is to develop a programme of social training for his group as a whole and for individual family units or persons within that group, his aim is to induce social change in the group unit or person, in the direction of western culture. Pursuant to these objectives the superintendent is, required to develop a balanced programme in the following fields":

Health, hygiene and sanitation;
Child and family care;

Infant welfare;
 Education—oral English reading, writing, number work, social studies, etc. in the juvenile;
 Vocational Training—for women, in domestic skills and in various occupations; for men in habits of work and in various occupations;
 Living together in a community and in home making and care and maintenance of house and surrounds;
 Participating in wider community activities;
 Sport and recreation;
 Moral and spiritual standards, values, beliefs.

To assist him, specialist staff are provided, appropriate to the fields of training. All are intended to be trainers; the duty statement for Senior Carpenter (attached as Appendix A) is one example. Resident missionaries on settlements participate in training activities, such as youth groups, co-operative undertakings, social clubs and civics courses in addition to their work in the moral and spiritual field.

3. Numbers of People on Settlements: An indication of settlement populations is given in the table below. The staffing information relates to 30th April, 1966, numbers of Aboriginal workers/trainees to March, 1966 and total population figures to 30th June, 1965.

	Establishment	By Europeans	By Aboriginals	Vacant	Aboriginal Workers/ Trainees			All Aboriginals		
					M	F	T	M	F	T
Snake Bay	14	12	1	1	88	23	111	181	88	269
Maningrida	29	27	1	1	139	50	189	396	57	792
Delissaville	12	8		4	38	12	50	87	64	151
Bagot	14	12	2		38	29	67	215	158	373
Umbakumba	8	7		1	68	13	81	103	111	214
Beswick/ Bamyili	29	23	1	5	106	44	150	249	109	469
Hooker Creek	21	17	2	2	97	53	150	144	167	311
Borrooloola	4	3		1	12	9	21	38	57	95
Warrabri	24	20	1	3	96	41	137	239	295	534
Yuendumu	28	22		6	108	43	151	356	402	758
Papunya/ Haasts Bluff	31	25	1	5	108	65	173	405	456	861
Areyonga	18	15	1	2	89	48	137	195	205	400
Jay Creek	5	3		2	14	10	24	67	57	124
Amoonguna	20	18		2	85	49	134	266	272	538
Totals	257	212	10	38	1086	489	1575	2941	2498	5889

Appendix B sets out the occupations in which 1,440 Aboriginal employees were employed in September 1965. The various activities which give rise to employment on settlements are detailed in Appendix C. It is not possible to link the numbers in the various, occupations with specific activities. The figures quoted for Aboriginal workers/trainees include workers employed by Forestry and Timber Bureau (48 at Maningrida and 48 at Snake Bay) and by the Fisheries Section (1 at Maningrida) who normally reside at the settlements in question and are otherwise fully serviced by these settlements. No account has been taken of Forestry and Timber Bureau workers at Pikataramor on Melville Island.

4. The Alternative to Settlements: Experience with Maningrida, Numbulwar, Bamyili, and Areyonga has shown that in the absence of one European culture-contact centre in their tribal country, Aboriginals tend to move away to such a centre. If any rapid curtailment of settlement and mission activities occurs, Aboriginals lacking “western” goods and services may be expected to seek such services in the towns. They would be indifferent generally to housing, hygiene, sanitation and proper family care because these elements of community living are of small (if any) importance in their traditional way of life. Some would seek and obtain regular town employment. The majority, at this stage would become at the best intermittent casual workers and “fringe dwellers”.

5. Preparing Settlements to Fulfil their Functions: Basically, it is a matter of establishing the necessary facilities and recruiting and training the necessary staff, to prepare a settlement to fulfil its purposes. Water supplies have to be established, electricity and sanitation services developed, roads and proper drainage systems constructed, houses erected (for Aboriginals and for training staff) schools, workshops, kitchen/dining rooms, hospitals, etc. erected, gardens, livestock projects etc. established; all at a cost of many thousands of dollars per settlement. These facilities have to be maintained; they require transport, equipment, spares, materials etc. to enable them to be operated. All of this is in the main “tooling up” for the task. For it is not the construction of the settlement in itself that constitutes training in social change, but the use that is made of its facilities, and involvement of the people themselves in the programme.

6. Work as an Element of the Social Change Programme: This report, whilst recognising the importance of all sections of the settlement social change programme, will concern itself in the main with one aspect only: Aboriginals in training and at work. Work as a distinct and separable element within a life situation is a concept foreign to traditional Aboriginal culture and society. Its importance in our society as providing access to most of the material benefits of our culture has to be grasped by Aboriginals; more, the habits, attitudes and skills that are part of work in our society have to be acquired by Aboriginals if they are to move in any permanent way into our society. It can be seen then that primarily “work” is one of the social change subjects in which training is provided on a settlement (and one of the most important).

As the social training programme is intensified, diversified and extended on a settlement, as the provision of services and facilities reaches small township proportions, and as early successes in the field of “work” training produce workers capable of contributing strongly towards or operating these services etc., the secondary aspects of work begin to emerge viz., work as a real and effective contribution in the development, operation and maintenance of the settlement as an instrument of Government policy.

To ensure that concepts are not confused in the further discussion, a classification of activities, of types of employment and workers on settlements has been developed. It is set out in Appendix D.

In the development of the site in the establishment, operation and maintenance of the institution and in providing essential services, outside employees could be used. However, as it is basic to the success of the social change programme that the greatest possible volume of opportunities be available to Aborigines for training and practice purposes, maximum use is made in all activities of available Aboriginal labour. As settlements and missions have developed, the satisfactory carrying out of most activities has been found to depend (amongst other things) on European staff supervisors and a core of competent Aboriginal workers.

7. Building Construction and Maintenance Employment: As an example of the way in which employment/training opportunities are provided for Aborigines we might look at the annual Capital Works and Repairs and Maintenance Programme for settlements.

The major capital works programme for settlements is carried out under contracts let by the Department of Works. This generates employment for Aborigines only to the extent that contractors employ Aborigines. This does not provide at present a significant or continuing amount of employment for Aborigines.

However certain minor new works are erected by the Welfare Branch as training end employment projects for Aborigines. Funds are appropriated under division 878/4/05 for the purchase of materials and under division 878/3/01 for wages for this work. Also repairs and maintenance of settlement buildings are carried out in a similar manner. Below as an example, is the programme for *1964/65*:

Snake Bay

- (i) Erection of (12) timber houses (village Block D).
- (ii) One (1) L.A.L. block (laundry, ablution, latrine).

Maningrida

- (i) Erection of twelve (12) timber houses.

Beswick (now called Bamyili)

- Conversion of four (4) houses including kitchen, etc.

Amoonguna

- (i) Conversion of six (6) houses including kitchen, etc.
- (ii) Erection of Nissen hut as store.

Areyonga

- (i) Erection of five aluminium houses.
- (ii) Conversion of two (2) houses including kitchens, etc.
- (iii) Installation of fireplaces in twelve (12) houses.

Yuendumu

- (i) One (1) L.A.L. Block.
- (ii) Erection of (8) aluminium houses.

Haasts Bluff

- (i) Erection of kitchen.
- (ii) Hot water system for residence of head stockman.

Warrabri

- (i) Conversion of ten (10) houses.
- (ii) Provision of ten (10) 5,000 gallon tanks in village area.

General

Provision of junior pedestals.

Repairs and Maintenance

General repairs and maintenance as required over all establishments.

8. Movement of Workers to Outside Employment: One of the tests of the success of settlement social training programmes will be the number of Aboriginals placed in employment off the settlement on a long-term basis, utilized in regular staff positions on settlements or employed in local economic activities (e.g. hairdressing, fishing, forestry work, mining). Obviously it will be the "competent" or "in-training" groups from which these will be drawn; and the corollary is that to the extent that a settlement achieves this aim, the quality of its available Aboriginal labour will fall. This could in some places become so acute that a settlement may find itself dropping in efficiency in respect of its institutional activities because insufficient competent workers remain to provide the solid core of workers. As this point is reached, the settlement superintendent could move progressively along any or all of the following lines:

- (a) Shrink activities to minimum requirements level;
- (b) Shed activities whose main purpose is to absorb labour or to provide training, opportunities in non-specific areas;
- (c) As and if settlement numbers are reduced, proportionately reduce special welfare and regular community services, shifting responsibility as necessary to Aboriginal residents.

9. Employment and the future of Particular Settlements: In considering the implications of employment placement off the settlement as an end result of “work” training, we need to look at the expected future of the fourteen Government settlements. (It should be remembered that technological changes, the occurrence of new markets or the discovery of new resources could overnight change the expectations radically). Settlements might be classified as follows:

- (a) Those which are expected to disappear in time because of lack of local resources. (The people from such centres may be expected to move to other centres; however for many years there will be old people remaining who require care).
- (b) Those with some known future economic possibilities, but insufficient to sustain a population of present size. (To reach its economic self-sustaining size, a settlement of this type will need to experience emigration of workers and their families).
- (c) Those located in areas with some local economic possibilities and adjacent to outside industrial centres. (These communities are likely to remain indefinitely as predominantly Aboriginal communities with some men perhaps working away from the settlement during the week).
- (d) Those close to substantial economic resources which are being developed independently of the activities of the centre. (It is possible that the Aboriginal people could be almost totally absorbed into townships associated with development of these resources).
- (e) Those already developing towards an economically self-sustaining community of predominantly Aboriginal population, capable of using all existing manpower resources.

In the following table, the fourteen settlements are shown as distributed over these five categories:

Settlements	Category				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
Snake Bay					X
Maningrida		X			
Delissaville	X				
Bagot				X	
Umbakumba			X		
Beswick/Bamyili			X		
Hooker Creek		X			
Borrooloola/Robinson River			X		
Warrabri		X			
Yuendumu		X			
Papunya/Haasts Bluff		X			
Areyonga		X			
Jay Creek		X			
Amoonguna				X	

If there is no change in this situation, a substantial number of workers and their families will eventually have to move from some settlements as part of the social change programme, it being implicit in the programme that the achievement of social change in individuals, family units and groups should lead to a tailing off of the need for the existence of settlements as institutions.

10. Problems of movement away from Settlements: To bring an Aboriginal worker to a point of competence in work is only one element of a constellation of changes which are necessary for permanent settlement in outside employment with its concomitant of adequate and satisfying adjustment in the community. The synchronising of advances in several other areas poses a problem which has to be overcome. The main areas are :

Accommodation—adequate “practice” accommodation on the settlement must be available for a substantial period and satisfactory accommodation in the community must be available for families at the time of movement;

Social Equipment of the individual and his family unit—this must be of such an order that the family will have reasonable prospects of acceptance by other residents in the community into which they move;

“Settling-in” assistance and support—to help families to make an effective adjustment in the community, sufficient assistance must be available during perhaps the first two or three years of the “settling-in” period;

Attachment to orientation group—it must be recognised that an Aboriginal movement to “outside” accommodation and employment does not remove it from the pervasive influence of its Aboriginal orientation group; indeed the geographic separation could increase tensions having the effect of inducing the geographical return of the family to the group;

Availability of Employment—relatively few suitable permanent job opportunities exist “outside”, for Aboriginals at present living on settlements and missions.

The special features of these problem areas will be considered in the next five paragraphs.

11. Accommodation on Settlements: Training in maintaining a house and a family is given in the first place on a settlement. A scheme has been devised to provide for this. Details of the scheme follow, in respect of all Aboriginals working on settlements.

- (a) An Aboriginal who is employed in a staff position is entitled to a staff house for which he pays the normal rental which is ten (10) percent of minimum salary. In practice not all such Aboriginals have as yet been allocated a staff house.

These Aboriginal staff members are required to purchase their own food, clothing and personal requirements in the same manner as any other staff member.

- (b) An Aboriginal who is employed on a settlement under wards' Employment Ordinance conditions is entitled to food and accommodation as part of his conditions of employment. This is done in the following manner:
- (i) simple houses without cooking facilities are being provided as quickly as practicable and no charge is made for tenancy of these houses;
 - (ii) at Bagot settlement some community standard transitional houses with full cooking, toilet, bathroom and laundry facilities are provided. These houses are vastly superior to the standard prescribed in the Wards' Employment Ordinance and a rental is charged. Similar conditions will apply when this type of house is provided on other settlements. Most occupants of the present houses have award wage jobs in Darwin.
 - (iii) at Bagot a block of community standard male single quarters has been provided. This accommodation is vastly superior to the standard prescribed in the Wards' Employment Ordinance and a rental is charged. Similar conditions will apply to future single quarters of this type;
 - (iv) three cooked meals seven days a week are provided for infants, school children, aged, infirm and medical repatriates;
 - (v) other Aboriginals are required to pay for their meals in accordance with the following scale of charges:

Weekly Wage	Fortnightly Meal Charge	
	Worker—Male or female	Each dependent unemployed wife
Up to \$1	20c	Nil
\$1.01 to \$2	24c	15c
\$2.01 to \$3	50c	25c
\$3.01 to \$6	\$1	50c
\$6.01 to \$12	\$2	\$1
\$12.01 to \$24	\$4	\$2
\$24.01. to Basic Wage (Not inclusive)	\$8	\$4
Basic Wage and over	\$12	\$6
Single Casual Meals	10c	10c

As the Wards' Employment Ordinance specifies that cooked food is to be provided for the worker, one wife and one child each worker is paid a meal allowance, in addition to wages, sufficient to enable him to purchase the meal tickets that he requires. Thus the conditions of the Ordinance are not broken and the Aboriginal is given social training by requiring him to pay out a sum of money for his food.

- (c) Aboriginals who work for private employers and live on settlements may obtain meals at settlement dining rooms by paying the above meal charges. However they must pay for these out of their own money as they are not paid a meal allowance by the settlement.

The amount of transitional housing available on settlements is insufficient to provide adequate training for more than a few workers and their families each year. This restricts the numbers that can be prepared properly for entry into wider community living.

12. Accommodation within the wider Community: Aboriginals in general find it difficult to finance themselves in normal "town" housing as they receive a modest to low wage and housing costs (including light, water, cleansing etc.) are relatively high. Also the wives of Aboriginal wage-earners are not very skilled at managing the family income in a town situation where the desire to spend money on frills and luxuries as against basic necessities, is high.

A further factor is that the number of houses available is small. In Darwin the Housing Commission has been given the resources to enable it to allocate a number of its dwellings to Aboriginal tenants nominated by the Welfare Branch, other than by way of the regular housing waiting list. (This is by way of compensation to the Aboriginal community for the revocation of portion of the Bagot Reserve for suburban development). In other towns Housing Commission houses become available to Aboriginals by way of normal waiting list and waiting time is approximately twelve months. In Katherine arrangements are being made for three aluminium homes owned by the Housing Commission to be allocated to Aboriginals and there are also two transitional houses with full facilities available in the town for Aboriginal families. In Tennant Creek there are a number of "Kingstrand" aluminium houses without facilities and in Alice Springs there are no houses under the control of the Welfare Branch. Township areas such as Pine Creek, Adelaide River, and Batchelor have no accommodation which Aboriginals may occupy. Those employed in these townships live in makeshift accommodation in most cases.

It would appear that the problems of Aboriginals living within the wider community will be lessened if additional accommodation (both transitional and with full facilities, single and married) can be made available for operation by the Welfare Branch. It is essential that lengthy delays in providing suitable accommodation be eliminated.

13. Social Equipment of Family and “Settlement” Assistance and Support: The ability of men to deal with the institutions of our society and to accommodate themselves to its social situations, appears in general, to exceed that of women. Much still needs to be done, before a family leaves a settlement, to assist the wife and mother to develop a household routine and organisation appropriate to independent community living. Even after reaching a satisfactory standard on a settlement, the family might be expected to lose its motivation to maintain standards if removed from being under someone’s notice to being “lost” in the community. This is the point then at which personnel must be available to settle the family into the community in all ways. Either Welfare Branch staff or reliable and devoted members of Church and community service organisations, in adequate number will need to be martialled for this task.

14. Separation from Orientation Group: The geographical separation of a family from the settlement group can be expected to generate anxieties and tensions in both the family and the remaining group which would not otherwise have developed. There will be pressure from within and without for the family to return and many will go back to settlements. Not all will go certainly, but the return could be expected to be the norm. To this “return”, there are two extreme attitudes which may be adopted by Welfare Branch or mission staff:

- (i) there is no longer a place for the breadwinner on the settlement payroll, the family having been “launched”;
- (ii) having “broken down” in outside placement, the family is to be regarded as permanently resident thereafter on the settlement.

To adopt an in-between position will allow of easy reception of the family back to settlement life and leave room for additional social training and further trial “outside” placements.

15. Lack of Suitable Jobs: A similar situation to 14 above could develop when the cause for return is that suitable permanent employment off the settlement is no longer available. (The remedy for this is, however, beyond the control of the Welfare Branch or for that matter of the Public Service.) Equally great problems of motivation arise when, families having prepared themselves to move off the settlement, jobs cannot be found for breadwinners. (Think of the few unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in Alice Springs for example, with its 6,000 people, vis-à-vis the large number of breadwinners amongst the 3,000 settlement and mission Aboriginals in the district who would be capable of commanding employment only at the semi-skilled or unskilled level.)

16. Employment Arrangements on Settlements: In considering the scheme of classification of settlement activities, types of employment and workers (set out in Appendix D), it should be realised that no single class of worker is limited to employment in any particular type of activity or of employment. For example, trainees will be found in all settlement activities at various times. Also, competent and slow workers can be expected to be found at various

times, in all activities. Occupations in which Aboriginals are employed on settlements are set out in Appendix C.

All settlement activities need some Aboriginal workers of some reasonable degree of competence as well as European supervisors, to allow them to be effectively carried out. Therefore in any field of activity, we may calculate the number of “essential service” positions required to discharge the function successfully. Appendix E provides an estimate of this for each settlement. Summed for all activities, this number will be the requirement for competent Aboriginal labour for a particular settlement and therefore might well be taken as the basic number of industrial positions needed for that settlement’s activities.

In each activity:

- (i) there will also be positions for trainees and;
- (ii) as required, additional work will be found either for slow workers or for competent persons surplus to the industrial establishment for one reason or another.

To be consistent with the purpose of the settlement, viz. the continued social training of the Aboriginal people, work must be found for this second group.

An establishment of industrial positions is both highly desirable and necessary if award conditions are to be paid to competent occupants of essential service positions. An establishment of training positions could have some merit, but the changing situation on most settlements would make the determination of any establishment very much an academic exercise. An establishment of positions needed to obviate unemployment would be inappropriate as the essential quality of employment capacity in this field, is flexibility. Probably the most suitable arrangement would therefore be to have a firm establishment of industrial positions (a specified number existing for each settlement with an easily operable machinery to vary this number as between particular settlements within the limits of an overall settlement ceiling) determined in accordance with usual Public Service practice and to provide machinery for the Director of Social Welfare to offer “training” and “relief” employment under appropriate conditions, to the extent that it is necessary to achieve the purposes of a settlement.

17. Delegations in Respect of Settlement Employment:

Industrial Positions: Industrial positions on settlements will be no different from Industrial Positions in other Branches of the Northern Territory Administration. They will be provided by the Public Service Board and the rates of pay will be in accordance with the Northern Territory Administration wages Staff Determination.

Because of the remoteness of settlements and because only settlement staff know the ability of the Aboriginals living at the settlement it will be necessary however, to introduce new procedures for the engagement and termination of employment of Industrial Employees on

settlements. The only practicable way for that to be done seems to be for the Chief Officer to give a delegation to settlement superintendents to “hire and fire” industrial employees. The exercise of the delegation could be supervised both by more senior officers of the Welfare Branch and by the Personnel Section of the Administration.

Training and Relief Positions

(a) Having recourse to the Wards’ Employment Ordinance:

For the remainder of the time that the Wards’ Employment Ordinance remains in force, these employees could be covered by that Ordinance, the authority to determine minimum wages being with the Administrator. In any case where the minimum wage is paid, no other authority is needed but if trainees are to be advanced in salary as they become more proficient then an officer must be authorised to approve these increases. As the training of Aborigines is a welfare matter the approval should remain within the Welfare Branch, perhaps with an Employment and Training Officer who would be able to assess competence with some consistency from settlement to settlement and who would be guided by the initial assessment of the settlement superintendent.

The authority for the Director of Social Welfare to employ needs to be regularised. This is considered in a later paragraph, but assuming this to be done, this authority in turn must be delegated to settlement superintendents to allow them to engage and dismiss these workers.

Where competent workers are engaged in “relief” positions the authority of the superintendent could perhaps be limited to engagement for a specified period with a specialist employment officer confirming their engagement when it is ascertained that more productive work is not available elsewhere.

With trainees who do not respond satisfactorily to training, a specialist officer who assesses competence for wage increases should also be, authorised to reclassify them as slow workers.

(b) Having no recourse to the Wards’ Employment Ordinance or other Industrial Legislation:

Here again, the authority of the Director of Social Welfare to employ, needs to be placed beyond doubt. With this clarified, and with an administrative arrangement covering terms and conditions of employment, the Director of Social Welfare should delegate the necessary authority to hire and fire to the settlement superintendent, and the authority to vary wages above minimum rates to the specialist employment officer already referred to.

18. Non-Legislative and Legislative Action to Cater for Adult Trainees and Slow Workers:

- (a) Where action is taken under the Wards' Employment Ordinance: Section 38 (2) (b) of the Wards' Employment Ordinance states "the prescribed wage, in relation to the employment of a ward, is the wage specified by the Administrator by notice in the Gazette as the wage payable to a ward employed in a specified industry or calling". Therefore, if as a temporary measure, the provisions of the Wards' Employment Ordinance are invoked to cover adult trainees and slow workers, the Administrator needs merely, by a Gazette notice to specify any wage for any industry or calling. He is not required to do this in any particular manner so the operative Gazette Notice (of 19/12/63 as amended to decimal currency in February 1966) need not be followed in detail. In the schedule of the Gazette notice extra columns could be inserted as follows:

Industry or Calling	Wages					
	Normal employment		Trainees on Settlements		Relief Workers on Settlements	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agricultural						
Building						
Domestic						
Etc.						

and that whatever amounts are specified in the "trainees" and "relief" columns would be legally binding on the crown and still allow nominal wages to be paid to these groups.

- (b) Where action is taken by Administrative arrangement: Section 10 (a) (i) and (v) of the Social Welfare Ordinance require the Director of Social Welfare to provide vocational training for Aborigines and to assist them to obtain suitable employment. This is sufficient statutory authority for the scheme of employment/training that exist and whose continuance is envisaged, on settlements. (It appears, however, that an amendment is needed to the Social Welfare Ordinance to give the Director of Social Welfare specific and clear authority to be an employer of labour on Government settlements and in other welfare units (see (c) below). If this is done, a scheme with coverage of terms and conditions following a regular pattern (including compensation arrangements) will have to be devised by the Director of Social Welfare. Funds provision (and therefore the financial structure of the scheme) will be made in the usual manner and will in this way place the scheme fully under Ministerial scrutiny. It would probably be tactically sound to refer the whole arrangement together with a full statement of its purposes, to the Australian Council of Trade Unions for clearance in principle before it is introduced.

(c) Where Legislative action is necessary:

In considering the need to amend the Social Welfare Ordinance to give the Director of Social Welfare authority to employ, it must be borne in mind that the Government does not command a majority in the Legislative Council. Should it transpire that an amendment to this end cannot be obtained, it might well be necessary to confer the authority by way of some piece of Commonwealth Legislation e.g. an amendment to the Public Service Act.

19. The Continuation of the Welfare Branch Employment Section:

It is convenient here to consider the assistance that might be given to Aborigines on settlements and missions, to obtain employment outside. There is still a strong need for a Specialist Aboriginal Employment Section to continue to function in the Welfare Branch. At present the only officers engaged full-time on employment work are:

Head Office	—	One Administrative Officer (£720 OS) One Clerk (£414 OS)
Divisional Offices	—	Two Clerks (£522 OS), local designation Wards' Employment Officer, located Darwin and Alice Springs.

There is also a position of Supervisor of Home Management Training in the Head Office but this position has never been filled. The Head office positions are also concerned with vocational training which is closely linked with employment.

District Welfare Officers and Patrol Officers provide an employment service for Aborigines in remote areas and settlement superintendents also assist Aborigines to find outside employment. Settlement managers allocate labour on a settlement. All settlement staff have as a component of their duties the on-the-job training of Aborigines.

There is very good co-operation between the Wards' Employment Officers and the Darwin and Alice Springs Offices of the Commonwealth Employment Service. In practice many placements of Aborigines in Award Wage Employment are made by the Commonwealth Employment Service, the Wards' Employment Officers having nominated suitable Aborigines for placement.

It is considered that the Department of Labour and National Service should assume the responsibility for award wage placements of Aborigines and for the inspection and policing of conditions of employment of Aborigines who are employed in award wage jobs. Welfare Branch Employment Officers will have increasing work in selecting Aborigines for nomination to the Commonwealth Employment Service and in the follow-up of placements to assist employers and employees if any problems develop. Also they will continue to complement the vacancy-canvassing activities of the Department of Labour and

National Service in seeking out specific vacancies for Aboriginals and in winning acceptance by employers of Aboriginals as a pool of available labour. The Head Office Employment Section will develop its Vocational Training function and will have a much more active role in directing and supervising vocational training on settlements.

The diagram attached as Appendix F represents the future employment functions of the Welfare Branch. Effective implementation of those functions will require additional staff. A new category of field employment officers will need to be introduced. These will:

- (a) keep in touch with all Aboriginals in outside employment regularly to ensure that any factors that might arise to disturb the worker are referred to an appropriate authority for corrective action.
- (b) carry out canvassing with employers and potential employers.
- (c) select suitable Aboriginals for vacancies advanced by the Department of Labour and National Service.
- (d) accompany parties of seasonal workers and generally supervise the placement, movement and work of workers who engage in this type of work.

APPENDIX A
DEPARTMENT OF TERRITORIES
NORTHERN TERRITORY ADMINISTRATION DIVISION

BRANCH: Welfare POSITION NO:
SECTION: Field Pool Staff OCCUPANT:
SUB SECTION: SALARY: \$2,804
DESIGNATION: Senior Carpenter Gr. II. DIVISION: Fourth
LOCAL DESIGNATION: DATE PREPARED: 25/3/64

DUTY NO.	DESCRIPTION	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
	<u>Responsible to Settlement Manager:</u>		
1.	Train Wards in simple theory and use of tools.		
2.	Instruct and supervise older boys and men on-the-job in building their own homes and in maintenance and care of settlement buildings.		
3.	Train and supervise boys and men in the construction of fittings and simple furniture for their homes.		
4.	Conduct formal manual training classes for school children and young men.		
5.	Perform carpentry work required by Settlement Superintendents including repairs and maintenance of buildings on Settlements.		

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF CLASSIFICATION AND NUMBERS OF TRAINEES ON
SETTLEMENTS

CATEGORY	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Mechanical Work	42		42
Driving	57		57
Painting	7		7
Store Work	9		9
Labouring	319		319
Building	64		64
Settlement Orderly	12		12
Gardening and Farming	100	30	130
Cooking	23	18	41
Kitchen Hand	61	108	169
Dining Room Attendants	8	38	46
Baking	5	6	11
Butchering	18		18
Hygiene Work	119	11	130
Sewing		5	5
Laundry Work	4	50	54
School and Pre-School Assistants	9	11	20
Hospital Work	2	107	109
Domestic Work		75	75
Stockwork	36		36
Sawmilling	28		28
Timber Cutting	7		7
Fencing	16		16
Mining and Prospecting	24		24
Clerical Work	1	2	3
Shepherd	2	1	3
Unspecified		5	5
	973	467	1440

For selected pay period September 1965.

APPENDIX C
SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES 1965

ACTIVITIES	SETTLEMENT													
	Snake Bay	Maningrida	Delissaville	Bagot	Umbakumba	Bamyili/Beswick	Hooker Creek	Borroloola	Warrabri	Yuendumu	Papunya/Haasts Bluff	Areyonga	Jay Creek	Amoonguna
Education	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Child Care	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Home Management Training	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Production Sewing	x	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x
Hygiene and Sanitation	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Construction, Repairs and Maintenance	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Motor Repairs and Maintenance	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x
Market Garden	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Pasture Improvements		x				x								
Cattle Grazing		x				x	x			x	x		x	
Health Services	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Administrative Services (Office, Storekeeping)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Private Enterprise (Co-op Store, Artifacts etc.)	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Communal Feeding	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Parks, Gardens, Roads, etc.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Poultry Keeping		x	x			x			x		x	x	x	x
Pig Raising			x			x			x		x	x	x	
Brickmaking							x		x		x			x
Forestry and Sawmilling	x	x												
Quarrying and Mining										x				
Fishing	x	x	x		x									
Dairying							x							

APPENDIX D

CLASSIFICATION OF SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES, EMPLOYMENT AND WORKERS

ACTIVITIES

Production—these may be broken into two groups according to the situation giving rise to production—

- (i) the local resources are such that their use and/or exploitation is warranted on an economic basis (e.g. mining, forestry)
- (ii) the presence of the institution creates the demand (e.g. market garden, garments, cement bricks).

Development—these fall into two groups—

- (i) that which would be undertaken in any case somewhere for the group of people in question. (e.g. schools, streets and footpaths).
- (ii) that occurring in respect of the institution as such (e.g. airstrip, special buildings).

Services—these are of three types—

- (i) Services normally provided by government to a community comparable in size (e.g. education, sanitation);
- (ii) Services normally provided by private enterprise (e.g. breadbaking, picture show);
- (iii) Special “social change” services arising from the very nature and purpose of the institution (e.g. home management training, school laundry).

TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT

Essential for operating Service—in addition to supervisory/ training staff, some labour is required to carry out all activities referred to above;

Required for Training—scope can be found in all activities to train Aboriginals—

- (i) in “work” as a basic feature of our culture and society;
- (ii) in the acquisition of particular vocational skills.

Used to Obviate Unemployment—most activities can be intensified or expanded to take in workers who are surplus to requirements for effective operation and are not trainees.

WORKERS

Competent—this group covers persons whose proficiency on the job is at a level of 90% or better of an acceptable European's proficiency.

Re-Training—this group consists of persons who though competent in one field need further training or re-training in another to improve their prospects of outside employment.

In-Training—this group covers all persons who have not yet been assessed as competent but who have the potential to achieve that standard.

Slow—these are persons who are prepared to work but whose proficiency and potential are such that they are never likely to enter the category of competent work.

APPENDIX E
FIRST ESTIMATE OF COMPETENT WORKERS
NEEDED TO MAINTAIN SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITIES	SETTLEMENTS													
	Snake Bay	Maningrida	Delissaville	Bagot	Umbakumba	Bamyiii/Beswick	Hooker Creek	Borroloola	Warrabri	Yuendumu	Papunya/Haasts Bluff	Areyonga	Jay Creek	Amoonguna
Education	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
Child Care	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
Home Management Training	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	3	2	1	2
Production Sewing	2	2	1	1	-	2			2		2	2	1	2
Hygiene and Sanitation	4	8	4	4	4	6	6	2	4	8	10	5	2	3
Construction, Repairs and Maintenance	6	6	2	3	2	4	4	1	4	4	4	2	1	3
Motor Repairs, Maintenance, Driving	2	3	2	3	2	3	2		2	3	3	2	1	2
Market Gardening	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	3	2	1	3
Pasture Improvements		2				2								
Cattle Grazing		5				15	10			10	15		2	
Health Services	2	4	1	Health Dept	2	2	2	1	2	4	4	2	1	2
Administrative Services (Office, Storekeeping)	1	2	1	1	1	2	2		2	2	2	1		1
Private Enterprise (Co-op Store, Artifacts etc.)	Not applicable													
Commercial Feeding	9	15	7	9	9	16	10	2	10	15	20	10	6	12
Parks, Gardens, Roads, etc.	4	8	4	2	4	6	6		6	8	8	4	2	4
Poultry Keeping		1	1			1			1		1	1	1	1
Pig Raising			1			2			1		1	1	1	
Brickmaking														
Forestry and Sawmilling	8 mill 8 joinery	8 mill 8 joinery												
Quarrying and Mining										10				
Fishing	2	20	3		6									
Dairying							1							
Laundry	2	4	2	3	2	3	3		3	4	4	3	1	4
Total (691)	57	105	35	32	38	74	53	10	44	76	86	39	23	41

APPENDIX F

EMPLOYMENT SECTION WELFARE BRANCH
FUTURE CONTINUING FUNCTIONS

