1. Introduction

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This volume arises out of a panel on Indigenous participation in Australian ‘frontier’ economies at the annual conference of the Australian Anthropological Society, held jointly with the British and New Zealand anthropological associations in Auckland in December 2008. The panel arose in turn out of an Australian Research Council (ARC) Linkage Grant project on Indigenous participation in Australian colonial economies involving the National Museum of Australia as the partner organisation and the School of Archaeology and Anthropology at The Australian National University. The researchers engaged in this project (2007–10) were Ian Keen (The Australian National University), Christopher Lloyd (University of New England), Anthony Redmond (Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, The Australian National University), Michael Pickering (National Museum of Australia), John White (The Australian National University) and Fiona Skyring (consultant historian). These researchers were among the contributors to the panel and most are represented in this volume. The organisers of the panel invited other scholars to contribute papers on the general theme, several of whom have contributed to this volume. The resulting chapters bring new theoretical analyses and empirical data to bear on a continuing discussion about the variety of ways in which Indigenous people in Australia have participated in the colonial and post-colonial economy.

Invisibility in economic histories

Indigenous Australians have been more or less invisible in many economic histories of Australia (for example, Abbott 1969; Fitzpatrick 1941; Griffin 1967; Shaw 1965). Where they are mentioned, topics include frontier violence, sheep and cattle stealing and differences in concepts of property (for example, Bain 1975; Shann 1948; Shaw and Nicholson 1966; Sinclair 1983; Wells 1989). Butlin (1993) outlined a pre-colonial, colonial and national economic history of Australia, but neglected the degree of variation in both Indigenous economy and Indigenous participation in the colonial and national economy. He regarded Aborigines as having been largely excluded from the market economy, apart
from in the pastoral industry. An early exception to this trend was the work of Geoffrey Bolton (1969), who proposed a model of the ‘feudal’ position of Aborigines in the pastoral industry and who discussed Aboriginal labour in various other sectors including independent wolfram mining by Aboriginal people.

C. D. Rowley’s work (1970a, 1970b) arising out of the Aborigines Project of the Social Sciences Research Council of Australia brought about a sea change in the recognition of Indigenous involvement in the colonial economy. Rowley records Aboriginal participation in several sectors including the provision of labour on small farms, the pastoral industry and other rural work; and labour in exchange for rations from government agencies, in the cedar industry and in land clearing. Rowley documents attempts to create self-sufficient Aboriginal settlements and to teach farming skills and he outlines policy and legislative contexts including master–servant legislation in Western Australia. He theorises internal Aboriginal economic relations in terms of ‘reciprocity’, which shaped Indigenous expectations in relations with settlers in his view. Reynolds’ *With the White People* (1990) covers a similarly broad scope of relations between Aborigines and settlers including relations with explorers, work as trackers and domestic servants, farm work and the pearling industry.

This volume, and the research project from which it arises, seeks to contribute to the body of anthropological and historical studies of Indigenous participation in the Australian economy. In spite of the relative invisibility of Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders in economic histories, there has been a wealth of studies of Indigenous participation in various sectors of the economy. It will be useful to outline this body of research before turning to theoretical approaches to Indigenous participation in the economy, and the contributions to this volume.

**Previous research on specific sectors**

Unlike the effects of relations between Aboriginal people and Macassan visitors (for example, MacKnight 1976; Thomson 1949; Warner 1937), there has been little systematic research on transformations of Indigenous economic relations and exchange systems brought about by British colonisation. Anthropologists have recorded the entry of introduced goods into Indigenous exchange networks (for example, Berndt and Berndt 1945; Falkenberg 1962), while researchers such as Thomson (1949) sought to reconstruct pre-colonial systems. Redmond and Skyring (this volume) examine transformations in the *Wurnan* exchange network in the Kimberley.
Turning to Indigenous involvement in marine industries, several studies have focused on the appropriation of Aboriginal women by white sealers (Begg 1979; Butlin 1993:197; Gibbs 2000; Murray-Smith 1973; Rowley 1970a; Ryan 1996), and on whaling (Lawrence and Staniforth 1998). There is also a substantial amount of published research on the pearling industry, in which Aborigines were employed (Bain 1982; De La Rue 1979; Ganter 1994; Mullins 2001; see also Rowley 1970a; Searcy 1905). Beckett’s (1987) work covered pearling in the Torres Strait.

A variety of sources and studies has documented and analysed relations in early settlements including Port Jackson (for example, Clendinnen 2003) and King George Sound (for example, Barker 1992). Among early farming settlements, Attwood (1986) has written about Aboriginal itinerant workers in Gippsland working ‘off the missions’. As for early missions themselves, New Norcia is perhaps the most fully researched (for example, Hetherington 2002). A number of studies examine the position of Indigenous female domestic servants (for example, Haskins 2004; Huggins 1995; Walden 1995). In other examples, Hunt (1983) has made a study of women’s labour and sexual relations in north-western Australia from 1860 to 1900, while Watson (1998) has carried out research on the sexual economy in south-western Queensland.

Studies of Aboriginal people in the pastoral industry abound, including employment as shepherds in some districts, but most commonly in the cattle industry (for example, Doohan 1992; Jebb 2002; Kelly 1966; McGrath 1987; Makin 1972; May 1994). Early anthropological studies include Berndt and Berndt (1986). The buffalo industry in the Alligator Rivers region and Coburg Peninsula provides a good example of a ‘hybrid economy’ (Levitus 1982; Robinson 2006), as does Anderson’s (1983) research on relations between Aboriginal people and early tin miners on Cape York Peninsula—important for its modelling of the adaptation of Indigenous social and economic relations to the wider market (see also Kirkman 1978 on goldmining on the Palmer River).

As Anderson (1988:157) points out, following early anthropological studies a second phase of research on Aboriginal involvement in the market economy focused on Aboriginal ‘labour’ and poverty (for example, Rowley 1970b; Sharp and Tatz 1966; Stevens 1974). Recent research has focused on Aboriginal labour history (Castle and Hagan 1998; Curthoys 1995; McGrath et al. 1995; Robinson 2003), the Indigenous labour market and regional industry (Taylor 2005) and exclusion from the labour market (Hunter 2005).

What have been the dominant theoretical approaches to Indigenous participation in the Australian economy? I shall outline these under two headings: those
concerned with ‘internal’ relations within Indigenous domains, and those concerned with the articulation of Indigenous and ‘external’ domains or sectors, including the market and the state.

**Characteristics of the internal Indigenous economy**

An ‘economy’ includes the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of the material means of life, the ways in which they articulate with other valued items, particularly through exchange, and the organisation of these processes. On the assumption that ‘internal’ properties of Indigenous economies or sectors of the wider economy can be distinguished from ‘external’ ones (see Rowse 2005), their properties have been analysed in a number of ways. The economic goals, processes and values within the Aboriginal domain in ‘settled’ Australia have been distinctive (Keen 1988). Writers such as Calley (1956:207) and Bell (1965) described a category of people who pursued target employment and remained in short-term employment for limited economic goals and for whom accumulation was not a value. This category has been distinguished from those who adopted European values of property accumulation, thrift and regular employment and tended to be accused by others of lacking generosity and cutting themselves off from their kin (Keen 1988:15).

Aboriginal economic relations have been depicted as shaped by obligations to kin, as taking the form of reciprocity and as demand sharing. According to the first of these approaches, kinship obligations, social relationships and each category of relationship had its own particular obligations. As Berndt and Berndt (1977:122) express the first view: ‘there is in every community an arrangement of obligations which every growing child has to learn. In this network of duties and debts, rights and credits, all adults have commitments of one kind or another. Mostly, not invariably, these are based on kin relationships.’ The social theory behind this model is the juralistic one of rights and duties entailed by social statuses.

Obligations have a particular shape according to the second approach, in which gifts or services require a return. Berndt and Berndt (1977:122) continue: ‘All gifts and services are viewed as reciprocal. This is basic to [Aboriginal] economy—and not only to theirs, although they are more direct and explicit about it. Everything must be repaid, in kind or equivalent, within a certain period.’ The concept of ‘reciprocity’ owes much to Marcel Mauss’s theory of the gift, which involves the obligation to repay. Along with redistribution and householding, reciprocity appears in Karl Polanyi’s (1944) threefold classification
of kinds of economic relations, linked to three types of social organisation. Sahlins (1972:193–5) developed Polanyi’s concept of reciprocity, relating each form of reciprocity to a general pattern of social relations.

What Peterson (1993) calls ‘inertial generosity’ is the tendency to respond to demands rather than make unsolicited gifts. In a small community, the accumulation of mutual obligations would make it difficult for a person with a surplus to decide with whom to share it and on what grounds; should he or she rank debts, meet the largest or oldest debts or recompense only close kin?

An alternative to this bookkeeping approach is simply to respond to demands as they are made. This has at least four advantages: difficult decisions are avoided; the onus is placed on others; discrepancies in the evaluation of relationships are not laid bare; and an excellent excuse is provided for not meeting some obligations within the context of behaving generously. Further, it fully recognises the inherent difficulty in delayed reciprocity: time alters the value of objects and the perception of relationships, compounding the difficulties of calculating the correct return (Peterson 1993:864). A person could evade a request by hiding items that were the likely targets of requests, by lying or by vesting ownership of an item in a close relative.

Sansom (1980:132–5) applies the concept of ‘service economy’ to the internal economy of a Darwin fringe camp, where life is centred on the consumption of alcohol. The owner of a ceremony, of ‘trouble’ or a problem owned a ‘slice of actions’ and offered service. Each category of ownership had a capacity to generate and regenerate debt in the exchange economy. Sansom (1988) describes orders of service within which he calls a ‘grammar’ of services. The premises on which the economy of the fringe camp were grounded were not those of capitalist economics; rather, a voluntaristic philosophy of action counter-posed the Western philosophy of money. A person with a surplus was subject to continued demands for ‘help’. One who helped others thereby made a long-term investment, with a generalised potential to collect a return rather than a specific one, and without going rates. The amount in a reclaimed debt is a function of the liquidity of the debtor, which depends on circumstances, balanced against the creditor’s powers of extraction, which depends in turn on the relationship. People can resist the claims of others by ‘vectoring’ cash allocated to some morally unchallengeable purpose.

The concept of moral economy has been used in a variety of ways, but generally to focus on beliefs and values underlying economic behaviour and relations. Scott (1976:vii, cited in Peterson and Taylor 2003:105) used the expression to refer to the moral content of the subsistence ethic: ‘The problem of exploitation and rebellion is...not just a problem of calories and income but is a question of peasant conceptions of social justice, of rights and obligations, of reciprocity.’
In Thompson’s (1971) use of the concept, the moral economy involves a set of beliefs and understandings that assign economic roles to classes and that endorse aspects of customary relations and practices across these class relationships. Others have used it to point to the allocation of resources for the reproduction of social relationships, but at the cost of the maximisation of profit and obvious immediate personal benefit (Cheal 1989).

Peterson picks out two aspects of the moral economy model in the context of encapsulated fourth-world peoples (Peterson 2002; Peterson and Taylor 2003). The first relates to the allocation of resources in the reproduction of social relations internal to the Indigenous social order. The second relates to ideas about relations with the encapsulating society. At least initially, relations typical of the domestic moral economy are likely to be the basis for relationships with outsiders. Peterson takes four elements to be important to the place of kinship and sharing in the domestic moral economy

- an ethic of generosity informed by a social pragmatics of demand sharing
- a universal system of kin relations that requires a flow of goods and services to reproduce them
- the constitution of personhood through relatedness, but valuing egalitarian relations and personal autonomy
- an emphasis on politeness and indirectness in interaction, making overt refusal difficult.

For Austin-Broos (2009), a parallel Arrernte concept has been ‘a kin-based and emplaced life that rendered the subject first and foremost as a relative’. The marginalisation of Western Arrernte ‘has left them struggling with different and conflicting regimes of value’ (Austin Broos 2009:268). In an earlier work, Austin-Broos (2003) addresses Western Arrernte attempts to articulate their kinship networks with the welfare economy and the state, and the transitions involved as kin relations are ‘objectified’ in terms of commodities and cash and less in terms of detailed knowledge and experience of country. The contrast Noel Pearson (2000) draws between the ‘artificial’ economy of Aboriginal communities on welfare and the ‘real’ Indigenous and market economies bears some relation to the moral economy concept. In his remarks on ‘passive welfare as an economy’, Pearson writes:

> Our traditional economy was a real economy and demanded responsibility (you don’t work, you starve). The white fella market economy is real (you don’t work, you don’t get paid).

> After we became citizens with equal rights and equal pay, we lost our place in the real economy. What is the exception among white fellas—almost complete dependence on cash handouts from the government—is
the rule for us. There is no responsibility and reciprocity built into our present artificial economy...Passive welfare has undermined Aboriginal Law—our traditional values and relationships. (Pearson 2000:Foreword, cited in Austin-Broos 2009:251)

A second body of theory covers the articulation of Indigenous economies and the wider society.

**Approaches to the articulation of Indigenous economies with colonial and post-colonial economies**

Among the more influential approaches to the articulation of Indigenous and market economies are internal colonialism, welfare colonialism and the concept of hybrid economy. Rowley’s work foreshadowed the concept of internal colonialism. In this model, Indigenous modes of production were partly conserved in their ‘articulation’ with the capitalist mode; the subsistence sector met part of the costs of reproduction of the labour force. Several scholars applied the theory to the pastoral industry in Australia (Hartwig 1978; May 1983) and to marine industries in the Torres Strait (Beckett 1987; see also Buckley and Wheelwright 1988).

In welfare colonialism (Paine 1977; Beckett 1987), the flow of resources from colony to colonising country is reversed, with the net flow of funds going to the colony. Integration of the Indigenous population within the broader economy radically undermines their previous livelihoods and they are placed on transfer payments such as unemployment benefits. Welfare colonialism defines welfare as a vehicle for stable governance through the exercise of a non-demonstrative and dependency-generating form of neo-colonial social control that pre-empts local autonomy. It creates paralysing dependencies on the ‘centre’ on the part of a ‘peripheral’ population, preventing political mobilisation and autonomy (Paine 1977; Reinert 2006). Citizenship and welfare ‘colonialise indigenousness’ with the state’s distinctive norms, rather than actualising Indigenous culture and identity (Bernardi 1997). Beckett (1987:17) sums up:

> Welfare colonialism...is the state’s attempt to manage the political problem posed by the presence of a depressed and disenfranchised indigenous population in an affluent, liberal democratic society. At the practical level it meets the problem by economic expenditure well in excess of what the minority produces. At the ideological level the ‘native’, who once stood in opposition to the ‘settler’ and outside the pale of society, undergoes an apotheosis to emerge as its original citizen.
Bernardi, following Morris (1989), takes welfare colonialism to be a Foucauldian ‘disciplinary technology’.

Austin-Broos (2009:185) has traced the effects of welfare colonialism at the level of Western Arrernte outstation communities:

[O]utstations had begun to proliferate as civil rights increased. In this context, Morony’s reports had a further significance: they marked the emergence of a shadow economy in Arrernte life where welfare became the major source of income for outstation residents. This downside of outstations—caused by their remoteness—was initially masked by other dimensions of the land rights process.

Austin Broos (2009:133) also examines how the market sector impinges on the kinship domain and the dilemmas involved in the transition to a cash economy (p. 101).

The concept of welfare colonialism focuses on ‘top-down’ processes whereas the concept of a hybrid economy models the intersection of sectors, each treated equally analytically. It has been deployed by a number of scholars in several distinct contexts. Muldavin (1997) and Kime (1998), for example, describe the complex amalgam of capitalism and central planning in China as a ‘hybrid economy’, as does Fahey (1997) in relation to Vietnam. Yang (2000) uses the expression to refer to a local economy in rural China that combined indigenous, state-socialist and market components, and in which ritual consumption subverts the logic of capitalism. In the Australian context, hybrid-economy models have been proposed as alternative perspectives to models of economic exclusion, development and marginalisation (Altman 2004). Altman (2001, 2004, 2005) defines the hybrid economy as comprising the intersection of customary, market and state sectors, and applies the concept to the economies of contemporary remote Aboriginal communities. His model of hybrid economy is readily adaptable to capture the variety of local economies that emerged on the frontier (see Lloyd, this volume). One might add a central ‘intercultural’ field (Merlan 1998) at the intersection of the customary sector with the state and/or the market sectors (cf. Altman 2004:515, who applies ‘intercultural’ to regional structures), and include a dynamic dimension in the model to accommodate transformations in each sector and in relations between them—as does Altman in his longitudinal research.
The present volume

The chapters in this volume add to the array of studies of specific sectors or industries and address, directly or indirectly, the theoretical stances outlined above.

Following this introduction, the chapters begin with a broad overview of the relationship of Indigenous people to the settler-colonial economy in Australia by Christopher Lloyd. Australian settler capitalism, Lloyd argues, emerged under the tutelage of the British state in the early nineteenth century. The landmass of Australia was ‘cleared’ of impediments to pastoral and other extractive forms of capitalism and the Aboriginal inhabitants were marginalised and decimated. The greatest barrier to unfettered capitalist accumulation within the settler mode of production was that of labour. Lloyd also addresses the concept of hybrid economy. Recent research, he argues, has rediscovered the hybrid local economic forms that emerged in many places, in which Aboriginal people supplied labour and developed varying economic relations with settlers in Australia. His chapter examines some of this recent research and writing and develops an argument about how these hybrid local economic formations were able to emerge and survive within the expanding world market of the nineteenth century. Economic hybridity, Lloyd argues, became a possibility and in some cases a necessity in the process of incorporating colonies into larger social and geopolitical structures. In Australia, hybrid economies required initial transformations of Indigenous economies, but hybridity also involved Aborigines maintaining essential elements of their traditional ways of life.

Remaining in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ian Keen’s chapter examines the concepts of property that observers and commentators brought to bear on Aboriginal concepts and institutions of possession—both of land and of ‘moveable property’—and how these understandings contrast with Aboriginal concepts and institutions of possession. The usual terms in which this kind of question has been posed have been the doctrine of terra nullius and Lockean justifications of dispossession. The chapter moves away from these particular perspectives to examine the property concepts and assumptions brought to bear by individuals in their day-to-day encounters on the frontier and in their reflections on the nature of Aboriginal society. Discussions about changes in property concepts and property law through the early modern period in England are enlightening as to the background of such interpretations. Against this background, the chapter traces the construal of Aboriginal concepts and institutions of possession—from those of early nineteenth-century observers and commentators, through the amateur anthropologists later in the century to the beginnings of professional anthropology in the twentieth. The somewhat surprising result is that commentators not only interpreted Aboriginal concepts...
and institutions of ‘owning’ in terms of the all-encompassing concept of ‘property’ that emerged in early modern England, but also projected English social structure onto Aboriginal social relations.

Following on from his analyses of internal colonialism and welfare colonialism in the Torres Strait Islands, Jeremy Beckett draws on his long-term research and extensive knowledge of Torres Strait Islander society to provide a succinct overview of Islanders in the labour force. From the mid-nineteenth century, Islanders worked in the commercial marine industry in the strait, but with the collapse of the markets an exodus began after World War II from the strait to the towns and cities of north Queensland and beyond. Currently seven times as many people of Islander descent live on the mainland as in the strait. Developing infrastructure in Queensland provided the ‘pull’—the majority of Islanders worked for the state railway as fettlers, and others as cane cutters. Meanwhile, the strait economy recovered, with a revival of fishing, pearling and bêche-de-mer markets. From the late 1970s, social service benefits increased, and later the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme was introduced in the Torres Strait Islands. Employment conditions in north Queensland have transformed once again with the mechanisation of cane cutting and fettling, so that Islander employment on the mainland has now diversified.

The particular ways in which Indigenous economic relations have been adapted to new conditions and the cultural significance attached to these adaptations have been important to internal colonial relations in Australia. The chapters by Anthony Redmond and Fiona Skyring, and by Diana Young, consider relationships from the early 1920s and 1930s in the Kimberley and the Western Desert, with a focus on the pastoral and sandalwood economies and dogging. Redmond and Skyring examine the adaptation of the Wurnan trading network of the Kimberley to the influx of Western commodities and challenges arising from employment of Aboriginal people in large numbers in the pastoral industry from the 1920s. In particular, they consider relations with ‘Afghan’ cameleers at Moonlight Valley on the Salmond River and with white pastoralists. Relations were mediated through the relationship of Aboriginal women to pastoralists; violence was another pervasive dimension. Aboriginal populations became more sedentary and dependent on rations in return for labour, supplemented by hunting and fishing. Tobacco, tea and sugar—available only from the settlers—were highly prized. The senior men who were most involved in Wurnan exchange had some of the most intimate relations with white and Afghan bosses, but there was an imbalance in the meaning of the relationship. The engagement provided some advantages to Aboriginal people, such as the ability to travel and sustain the Wurnan trading network and ceremonies, so sustaining a ‘parallel economy’.
With the passing of the *Wild Dogs Act* in South Australia in 1912, the dingo was reframed as a commodity, creating specific conditions for encounters between Aboriginal people in the far north-west of South Australia and the ‘doggers’, who pursued the bounty. Diana Young attributes the establishment of the Presbyterian mission at Ernabella to the Act—at least indirectly: ‘Through the medium of the dingo skin, it is possible to discern specific distributions of power’, she writes. Her chapter traces the involvement of Anangu in the seasonal dogging camps and their relations with doggers. In a similar way to labour in the Kimberley, Anangu were paid for skins with rations and clothing; nevertheless, Young shows that Anangu were greatly attracted to the camps and the mission had to compete with the doggers in providing attractions. Young shows, then, that dog skins were ‘wealth’ to Anangu, allowing them access to country and to valued goods. Clothing in turn had its own particular value, becoming essential as both part of the person and an item of trade in ritual. In this way, an ‘economy of surfaces’ developed, linking skins with clothes.

Neither the welfare colonialism nor the internal colonialism model applies strongly to the next case, in which Aboriginal people formed the mainstay of farming on the NSW South Coast, as in Gippsland, Victoria, and the subsistence sector was small. John White’s chapter offers a critique of the concept of ‘dependence’ in earlier analyses of the role of Indigenous workers in the horticultural sector on the South Coast in the mid-twentieth century. These earlier researchers argued that seasonal engagement in bean and pea picking put Aboriginal people in a position of structural dependence, whereas the decline of the industry, increasing political engagement and broadening employment opportunities brought about a transition to greater independence. White argues that this research took little account of non-marketised resources such as fish. Moreover, the notion of dependency as unsuccessful assimilation obfuscates the innovative and socially meaningful ways in which Aboriginal people interacted with the economy. The chapter traces the history of colonisation on the NSW South Coast and Indigenous engagement with the settler economy. Reciprocal relations of exchange for labour for cash or kind began early and, with dispossession, people engaged in seasonal employment on farms—relegated to low-paid work in an increasingly competitive market. With the rise of bean and pea production after World War II, Aboriginal labour was the mainstay of the industry. Fishing also provided an avenue for some degree of autonomy. These activities are best seen as ‘seasonal responses to changing economic circumstances’ rather than indicative of dependency. The relation between farms of the Tuross Valley and Aboriginal pickers was one of ‘interdependence’.

Remaining in New South Wales, in an exploration of Aboriginal attitudes to work and employment in Wilcannia, Lorraine Gibson begins with the basis of identity in terms of interpersonal relations rather than in terms of job or
profession. People ask ‘Who you is?’ rather than ‘What do you do?’ In Wilcannia, non-Aboriginal people hold most of the better-paid jobs and Aboriginal people ask why their own people do not get them. Yet those who do succeed in getting (and keeping) good jobs tend to be seen as ‘coconuts’ (black on the outside, white on the inside). The threat of social ostracism is ever present for those who do not participate in the sharing economy. An increasing number of Aboriginal people choose this position, however, and there are increasing social divisions in relation to employment and the possession of material goods. Nevertheless, Aboriginal subjectivity in Wilcannia is connected to kinship and its associated social obligations rather than mainstream employment. The importance of family tends to override commitment to employment, and paid work imposes less of a moral obligation than for non-Aboriginal people. For many Aboriginal people, hunting, fishing and spending the day with kin and friends are ‘a form of production’ in its fullest sense, Gibson argues. The sense of self is determined not by engagement in the capitalist division of labour, but by birth into a family. Gibson’s chapter thus resonates with the concept of domestic moral economy and its values of demand sharing and kinship obligation, and shows how these impinge on relations with the market economy and its values.

The hybrid-economy model would require some elaboration to cover the subject matter of the final two chapters, which discuss mining and national parks in remote regions in more recent decades (see also Trigger 2005). Both are concerned with the intersection of Indigenous, market and state sectors.

Sarah Holcombe’s chapter examines implications for structures established by the state to govern relations between Indigenous people and corporations. The chapter describes the activities of Gumala Aboriginal Corporation, which was set up to manage the Yandicoogina Land Use Agreement in the context of iron-ore mining in the Pilbara. She examines the regional economy following the agreement and its implications for Gumala. For example, some 50 per cent of the income of Gumala members derives from Centrelink payments, and only one-third from wages. Holcombe discusses the utility of the sustainable livelihoods approach for wider policy—an approach used internationally, but little in remote Australia. Gumala is potentially well placed to address gaps in research and practice in community and regional development, she suggests. The sustainable livelihoods approach focuses on existing capabilities of individuals, families and households, and examines various forms of ‘capital’: human, social, natural, physical and financial. While not directly applicable to Australian conditions, the value of the methodology lies in its flexibility and ‘bottom-up’ approach, and it could assist Gumala to extend community planning and incorporate those who are not employed. Planning for more mine closures—especially landscape rehabilitation, the support of homelands centres and heritage clearances—is a potential area for the application of the approach.
Indigenous, market and state sectors intersect in a different way in the Alligator Rivers region of the Northern Territory. In a critical assessment of the connection between tourism and the Indigenous economy, Chris Haynes considers the impact of the tourism industry in the context of Kakadu National Park. Aboriginal people have had a long-term engagement with mining and Kakadu National Park in the Alligator Rivers region. The park was declared as the result of the report of the Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry, which also heard an Aboriginal land claim over the region under the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* (1976) as a result of which a considerable proportion of the park was granted to a Land Trust on behalf of traditional Aboriginal owners. Agreements between traditional owners, the national park and the mining company govern relations in the park. Haynes examines the effects of tourism engendered by the opening of the park, which he sees as significantly disadvantageous to traditional owners. He points to a mismatch between expectations of an experience of traditional Aboriginal culture on the part of tourists and the degree of willingness of Aboriginal people to comply. A relatively small proportion of tourism revenues accrues to Aboriginal people, Haynes argues, which could explain why traditional owners are unwilling to embrace tourism. Haynes also addresses the commodification of traditional culture; objectified forms promulgated by the tourist operators and the park alike have little to do with the lived culture or ‘webs of significance’ of Aboriginal people and tend to challenge their authenticity. Tourism needs to be more fully controlled by Aboriginal people themselves (see also Levitus 2005 on local economies in Kakadu National Park).

The chapters in this volume thus add to the body of research on the engagement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the economy of the colonial era and through the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, with contributions on Torres Strait Islanders in the mainland economy, the pastoral industry in the Kimberley, doggers in the Western Desert, bean and pea picking on the South Coast of New South Wales, attitudes to employment in general in western New South Wales, relations of Aboriginal people to mining in the Pilbara and relations with the uranium mine and Kakadu National Park in the Top End. They also contribute to discussions about theoretical and analytical frameworks relevant to these kinds of contexts and bring critical perspectives to bear on current issues of development. It is to be hoped that research and writing of a kind represented here will foster a dialogue between the perspective of economic history and anthropological and historical perspectives on Indigenous participation in Australian economies.
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