5. 'Always Anangu—always enterprising'

Alan O'Connor

As a result of primary research in Arnhem Land, Altman developed a hybrid economy model for Indigenous Australians living in remote areas in which people move between the state, market and customary sectors (Altman 2005). He asserts that development policies for remote areas based on the state and the market have failed because of the existence of a customary sector and very different intercultural value systems. In addition, he suggests the commercial marginality of Aboriginal-owned land is the reason it was alienated, and as a result the potential to increase the market sector is very limited (Altman 2005).

In this chapter, I examine Anangu involvement in economic life until the mid-1970s with a particular focus on Ernabella and its homelands, and explore elements of the hybrid economy on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands. This work is part of my thesis, developed from a larger study of enterprise development on the lands resulting from an Australian Research Council grant in 2007 obtained by Banerjee and Tedmanson. The research was conducted through the University of South Australia. The research partners in this work were from the communities of Ernabella, Turkey Bore and the Anilalya Homelands as well as UnitingCare Wesley Adelaide.

Geography, Climate and Traditional Food Sources

The APY Lands are located in the far north-west of South Australia and make up 102 500 sq km or 10.4 per cent of the area of South Australia. Ernabella is the largest community on the lands (with a population that has varied about 450 for many years) and is approximately 440 km by road from both Alice Springs and Coober Pedy. The lands have a very hot, dry climate with short, cool to cold winters and a low and unreliable rainfall. As a result of the very hot summers (and the fact that this period also coincides with important ceremonies), travel to the lands by outsiders is minimal between December and February.

Map 5.1 The APY Lands

Source: Lea et al. (2008:5).

Evidence suggests that in the past small groups of Anangu regularly moved around the desert on large food-gathering and ceremonial circuits (Cocks 1978).

Anangu were expert in finding *kuka* (food) in their harsh environment. Men were trained from their youth to become skilled hunters of *malu* (red kangaroo) and *kalaya* (emu). Women knew how to find smaller game, such as *watu* (wombat), *tjirilya* (echidna), goanna, lizard and snake. Women and children were adept foragers and gatherers of fruits, berries and seeds, often walking long distances to locate them. (Mattingley 2009)

There was a well-defined kinship system and rules for sharing food. Anangu were highly mobile and moved with the seasons to make the most of the available food sources. Any spare time was spent expanding social networks. In contrast with the mainly commercial and residential land use by mainstream society, Anangu worked the land for economic return by the controlled use of fire in different areas (Cocks 1978).

Finlayson (1935) observed that Anangu formed no permanent camps, and, except on ceremonial occasions and during droughts, they travelled in small groups of families of rarely more than 30 people. The movement of groups was based on a deep knowledge of the country and its resources. Movement was also determined by the totemic link that each group claimed to specific areas (Edwards 1992).

Trade and Exchange Systems

In the past there was an extensive network of trade routes along which valuable items were passed. Native tobacco 'finds its way down the desert route to the southern tribes and is exchanged for wombat's fur and red, white, or yellow ochre used for ceremonial purposes' (Berndt 1941:3). Stone spearheads, red ochre, pearl shell, manganese dioxide pigment and human-hair belts were other items traded:

Women distributed items mainly within the camp and amongst certain close kin... Women also provided food to their unmarried male relatives in the bachelor's camp... Receiving meat in return... The unmarried men gave meat to their families in return for damper of wangunu seeds and for other vegetable foods, including fruits collected and prepared by women. (Keen 2004:341)

Redmond (Chapter Three, this volume) highlights that the ceremonial exchanges and trade in the Kimberley region have always involved pragmatic, ephemeral economic objects such as meat and hunting implements as well as ritual sacred/

secret objects (Redmond 2009:7). Redmond has mapped the *wurnan*¹ channels over which these exchanges occur to more clearly identify the direction of the trade.

Hunters supported themselves while on the move, but their main responsibility was to look after the rest of the group. Keen describes the nature of gift exchange that occurred 'as part of obligations between kin...when small residence groups met; and at large scale meetings for rituals. In addition people with special skills such as healers were also paid with food, tobacco or artefacts' (Keen 2004:357–8).

Last (1976) highlighted the crucial role played by a well-defined kinship system in a harsh environment. By the mid-1930s, Anangu were trading dingo scalps to doggers for flour, tea and sugar. These doggers were in turn receiving a government bounty of 7s 6d for each scalp (Mattingley and Hampton 1987).

First Contact

The earliest European entries into the region were the exploring expeditions of Ernest Giles and William Gosse (1873) and John Forrest (1874), searching for good pasture, stock routes and gold. As well as being a strategic watering point, the country around Ernabella, as Ernest Giles described it, was the most delightful that he had seen. Adventurers, prospectors and traders followed the early explorers; however, hopes for mineral wealth and fertile grazing areas for cattle soon faded. The water supply was too low and unreliable and neither gold nor other precious metals could be found in appreciable quantities (Gee 2003; Hilliard 1968).

In December 1920 the WA Government gazetted 56 600 sq km as Aboriginal Reserve and in 1921 the Commonwealth Government created the NT section. The public had lobbied the SA Government for several years to establish a similar reserve that excluded Europeans. These efforts were strengthened by the continuing news about living conditions in the north and reports of killings (Summers 2004). As a way of providing some protection for Anangu from the frequent intrusions by Europeans, an area was proclaimed as the North-West Aboriginal Reserve in 1921, and subsequently expanded in 1938 and 1949 (Summers 2004).

Reverend Downing, who worked in Alice Springs with the John Flynn Uniting Church with a special role for Aboriginal people in the 1960s, considered that it was probably the severe drought of 1928 that forced people to go to Ernabella prior to the establishment of the mission (Downing 1988). By 1929 the rail

1 *Wurnan* is similar to *wurnorr*, meaning 'the bone of'—in this case, the social world (Redmond 2009:15).

line had been extended to Alice Springs and proved an attraction to Anangu living to the west. 'The Yangkuntjatjara, who were the original occupiers of the Musgrave Ranges, moved towards the east and their territory was occupied by the Pitjantjatjara of the Mann Ranges' (W. D. Scott Proprietary Limited 1971:2.3–4). Ernabella Station lease was granted to Stanley Ferguson in 1933 under a scheme that rewarded whoever found good water.

Other factors considered to have caused people to leave their land were competition with pastoralists for water, early settlers wanting Aboriginal women, pressure applied to keep people away from Ayers Rock (as it was then; now Uluru) and the violence of some early settlers. The use and control of Aboriginal labour by pastoralists, the attraction of white man's food and hence the need to work and the establishment of missions such as Hermannsburg and Ernabella as safe havens were also significant (Downing 1988).

Mission Life, 1937 to 1973

As a result of the poor treatment of Anangu particularly by doggers, Dr Duguid from Adelaide visited their lands in the far north-west of South Australia in 1935 and played a key role in purchasing the Ernabella pastoral lease in 1937 to establish a mission and enable Anangu to have a buffer area to adapt to this new situation (Last 2002).

Anangu were encouraged to trade dingo scalps for food and other commodities, and the setting up of permanent waterholes enabled them to live near their homelands. This continued 'until the early 1970s when the sheep industry was discontinued, due to the lack of viability' (Last 2002:2–3).

Many Anangu were drawn to Ernabella from the Musgrave, Tomkinson and Everard ranges country and, less commonly, from the Petermann Range in the Northern Territory. Some of the destructive elements of missions and government settlements were missing, as the Ernabella Mission refused to gather or round up people and children were never taken from their parents (Hope 1983).

Ernabella's policies of minimal interference included teaching children in their own language, encouraging parents to hunt in the traditional manner rather than become dependent on the mission for food, not confining children in dormitories and not making children (or their parents) wear clothes (Kerin 2006). This does not mean that all elements of mission life were benign for the community. In common with other missions, here, Anangu were never paid award wages for the work they performed, they lived in very basic accommodation and were in effect 'colonised' by their increasing dependence on mission food and other services.

Young makes a compelling case for the significance of the dingo trade in developing a 'frontier economy' when 'it was far from a marginal activity but one that lasted for forty years' (Young 2008:17). The mission was able to see that '[g]oing out for dingo skins, west into the Reserve, stopped Anangu going to settled areas, justifying the Reserve's existence, and at the same time fulfilled the desire of Anangu to acquire European things' (Young 2008).

In terms of the Altman model, in the early years of the mission, Anangu were moving between the customary and market economies with the mission authorities gradually assuming the roles of the state in areas such as education, health services and rations.

The commercial craft industry began in 1948 following the visit of Mrs Bennett of Kalgoorlie who taught women to adapt their own spinning techniques to use wool and weave the yarn. The yarn was also used to make floor rugs in designs developed from the pastel drawings of schoolchildren (W. D. Scott Proprietary Limited 1971). Winifred Hilliard arrived in 1954 and spent many years working with community members to refine and expand their craftwork (Hilliard 1968).

Figure 5.1 Anangu display their craft work, Ara Irititja, 1960

Photo: J. Fletcher Collection.

The film *Men of the Mulga*, made by the Reverend Aitkin, while clearly designed to display the work of the mission in a favourable light, shows Anangu involved in a wide range of occupations including rug making, rounding up sheep,

milking goats, collecting firewood by truck, growing vegetables, helping to build the Ernabella Church and transporting wool to the Finke railway siding. The film also depicts several examples of Anangu being trained by the European education and health professionals as to how best to deliver these services to their own community (Aitkin 1952).

The stories of shearing in the 1950s are recorded by authors such as Palypatja Tiger:

We sheared every single day and sometimes until very late. In those days long ago, we worked hard and were excellent shearers, just as good as the white men. We sent the sheep away wiped clean and naked...As we sheared the sheep we taught the younger men saying 'Don't cut too hard or you might hurt the sheep'. (Tiger 2008:19, 25)

Figure 5.2 Shearing at Ernabella, Ara Irititja, circa 1960

Photo: Shirley Gudgeon (Hill) Collection.

Drought in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s encouraged people to remain at Ernabella as food and water were easier to obtain. Edwards (1992) indicated that a number of groups of people living together away from their own land caused tension. This also placed pressure on resources such as firewood and water and created a demand for more work.

As time passed, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people were using more resources from the world of their non-Anangu neighbours to maintain their traditional lifestyle:

Rifles made it easier to hunt kangaroos and rabbits and windmill rod, when fashioned into crow bars, made it easier to dig for honey ants, maku grubs and rabbits. In exchange for these items people traded dingo scalps and worked for short periods on various projects around Ernabella. Tarpaulins were very popular and were used as a waterproof covering over the top of the wiltja (shelter). As more goods were required, people worked for longer periods and became more involved in community projects. During the 1950s, people committed themselves to a twelve week work period after which they would return to traditional living. (Last 2002:3)

Money became part of the process only in the 1950s, and, by 1960, most people, except shepherds, received full pay for their work (Last 2002).

In 1999 Eickelkamp recorded the views of a number of Anangu women about their life at the mission in the 1950s:

I used to live in a bush hut with my parents, and my father was making spears and spearthrowers while mother was spinning wool. She would then take the spun wool (to the craftroom or the mission) and get money for it to pay for food.

The young girls washed wool by hand. It came from sheep that were shepherded by two couples at Young's Well, Kunma Piti, Balfour Well, Womikata and other places while their children were at school. Most of these old sheep camps are homelands now. The women made jam from a white fruit like a melon, and Topsy made quandong jam. Other women were cooking and making bread in the bakery. The mission had goats which were milked by Nura Rupert's parents every morning. Rations were taken out on the only car the mission had, the green 'Lucy truck'. (Curley, Brumby and Ward cited in Eickelkamp 1999:26–8)

At Ernabella, Anangu were encouraged to keep contact with their country. Edwards described the mission practice of helping people to go back to their homelands twice a year, at dingo pupping season and again at Christmas when mission activity came to a standstill. Trucks would take supplies to a number of important areas such as Kanpi, Pipalyatjara and the site of the later settlement of Fregon (Downing 1988:34).

Working with sheep at Ernabella played a major part in the transitional process between two cultures. Some Anangu living out at sheep camps would 'maintain cultural links with the land, while others would hunt or collect bush food which was supplemented with the rations they received each week in return

for looking after the sheep' (Last 2002:3). Palypatja Tiger indicated that he still participated in hunting expeditions when not shearing. 'On Saturdays we would each go our separate ways hunting, returning in the evening with meat to share with our parents' (Tiger 2008:17).

These practices can all be seen as conducive to the development of a hybrid economy at Ernabella, with Anangu able to move freely between their customary roles, the market and the state. Employment for men existed but was frequently inadequate to meet the demand for work. 'The isolation of the Mission while helping in Pitjantjatjara transition was also a severe handicap as far as employment options go' (Hilliard 1968:147).

Gardening, especially vegetable gardening, was regarded as significant for the whole community and was a perennial source of employment for men. To assist with this work, every cottage had sufficient water for both household and garden needs. Men also participated in a range of work in the community (most of which has since disappeared):

Men have been left to work on their own in fields such as well-sinking, erection of windmills, fencing and brickmaking. All of the cement bricks for the church and hospital were made by a team of native men and since then the men have made stabilised earth bricks both for use on mission buildings and for sale to neighbouring stations. The Industrial Training School has proved its value in the knowledge shown by the men both theoretically and practically. (Hilliard 1968:147)

Figure 5.3 Building the first house for Anangu, Ernabella, Ara Irititja, 1963

Photo: Fred Turvey.

By the early 1950s men received remuneration of shirts, trousers, soap, blankets and a small amount of money. Men not working would spend their time hunting and were also skilled at making artefacts for tourists (Hilliard 1968). Initially, there was work only for about 20 women—for example, domestic work in houses, schoolteaching, work in the hospital, a few cooks and shepherds. Early on, the women were taught knitting, to make raffia hats, spinning wool and weaving. The making of floor rugs on a hessian base was the main occupation, with designs chosen from schoolchildren's pastel drawings. The manufacture of kangaroo-skin moccasins, decorated with Ernabella designs on the insteps, proved successful. The skins used were purchased from the south because of tribal taboos (Hilliard 1968:177). The cooks were key workers for many years. In the days of community feeding when all workers had meals in a dining hall, a group of Anangu cooks prepared these meals (Hilliard 1968).

After incorporation in the 1970s, Town Management and Public Utilities funding financed the employment of Anangu involved in community-management projects. In addition, 'Housing Associations received finance to fund the building of houses. At Ernabella, the craft industry relied on the income from sales to employ highly skilled local artists and crafts people' (Last 2002:5). As the sheep industry became less viable, it was phased out in the early 1970s. Anangu relied less on living a traditional lifestyle until the homelands movement began later in the decade. As the economy changed, it became difficult to maintain the quality of life achieved in the 1950s and 1960s. 'The lack of finance made it difficult to fund a just and fair wage structure for Anangu' (Last 2002:5).

Busbridge considered that in the north-west of the State, resources were very limited and the land could not support many people. Busbridge indicated that the problem of Aboriginal employment on reserves was a result of a previous history of paternal protection whereby all responsibilities were met by the department—for example, concessions were given for house rent, medical treatment, electricity, fuel and subsidised foodstuffs (Busbridge 1966).

This supports the view of Brock, who argued that 'Aboriginal people were generally treated as a labour reserve which could be drawn on for seasonal and casual work. When not employed Aboriginal workers and their families were expected to return to segregated communities on pastoral stations or reserves' (Brock 1995:102).

Employment off the Mission

Anangu often worked on cattle stations in areas near the APY Lands during the mission period. Aboriginal workers voluntarily left the mission to participate in seasonal work in other areas with two main objectives: to bring additional

finances back to boost the restricted funds available and to experience living conditions applicable to the general community in more settled areas (Busbridge 1966:98).

Chrysoprase mining in Western Australia (Wingelina) and Mount Davies was often assisted by Anangu workers who would live onsite for a week and fill 44-gallon (200 L) drums with the mineral for shipment to Hong Kong (W. Edwards, Personal communication, November 2009). Downing (1988) identifies the main motivation for Anangu as not the mining but to return to their country and care for it. A group of 18 young men, mostly from the mission, was recruited for station work at Snake Bay, Melville Island, in 1964 (Hilliard 1968:154).

Following a shortage of fruit pickers at Barmera, a trial was undertaken in 1965–66 whereby up to 25 Anangu men from Ernabella were engaged as fruit pickers. Edwards felt that the project could be considered a success because of a number of factors. There was a sympathetic liaison person in Barmera who helped the workers adjust, the men did not experience discrimination and they were helped by the fellowship in the church. In addition, the time of seven to eight weeks was not too long for them to miss their families (Edwards 1966). By 1971 this practice was expanded to include men from other communities. The only problem raised by fruit growers was that they wanted the crop picked as soon as possible, whereas the men from the mission were happy with their income and were not keen to work weekends (W. D. Scott Proprietary Limited 1971). Men from Ernabella also worked in Alice Springs as labourers, truck drivers and council employees (W. D. Scott Proprietary Limited 1971).

Employment after Mission Life

The Ernabella community was incorporated on 1 January 1974. Anangu, while still maintaining a considerable amount of their tribal lifestyle, had to adapt to many new situations. Ceremonial life continued strongly. Ginger Wikilyiri was keen to work on a vegetable garden, and, after receiving Commonwealth assistance, the garden began in 1972. Trickle irrigation was used, and poultry were introduced as well. Last considered that it was crucial that future garden projects should not be developed on a European economic model but be sensitive to the needs of local Anangu (Last 1976).

Figure 5.4 The vegetable garden at Ernabella, Ara Irititja, 1973

Photo: Alan Morris Collection.

Many of the fruit and vegetables grown came from the demand by the community. Last was also instrumental in the establishment of a reafforestation program with Anangu starting a nursery to grow trees for dust control, shade and control of erosion (Last 1976:109).

Ernabella bought a percussion water-drilling rig in 1960. It was operated by Anangu man Louis Wirultjukur, who drilled all the town and stock bores on Fregon as it was being established and kept up this work on the APY Lands up to the late 1970s (Last 2002:6).

In a rare plaudit from the mainstream press, the *Adelaide Advertiser* featured an article on enterprise development in Ernabella in 1978:

Outsiders would do well to look at SA's remote Ernabella—its Pitjantjatjara people its community awareness and its fierce pride. The people of Ernabella...are working examples of community development. There are a variety of enterprises at Ernabella for individuals to work in. Many do so while others set up their own businesses. Peter Nyaningu is Ernabella's baker. For five years he has operated his own business in a small bakery behind the Ernabella store. When I visited him early one morning to ask about his work he was busy mixing dough to make 100 loaves—the average daily demand. (Ball 1978)

This business was funded by a \$1600 loan from the Aboriginal Loans Commission.

The use of unemployment benefits on the APY Lands was seen as being in conflict with community employment. As a result, in 1977 the Ernabella community wrote to the Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and raised with him their concerns of inadequate funding being provided for their community employment programs. By the late 1970s Anangu were employed across a wide range of community programs, mainly due to skills they had acquired from training on the job. According to Last, there was a clear policy to employ Anangu, as contractors were not geared to include Anangu in their work programs (Last 2002).

Figure 5.5 Water drilling near Ernabella, Ara Irititja, 1970

Photo: Bill Edwards Collection.

The Homelands Movement in the Ernabella Area

Those who wanted to escape the pressures of the larger communities but still remain within reach of their services moved in small family groups to satellite communities called homelands.² In the Ernabella area, bores once used for the sheep industry had been re-equipped, new bores had been sunk and

² Homeland centres were 'small decentralised communities of close kin, established by the movement of Aboriginal people to land of social, cultural and economic significance to them' (Blanchard 1987:7).

families moved to these sites, which varied in distance from approximately 6 to 50 km from Ernabella. Perhaps the first proposal for a homelands/outstation movement came from Reverend Victor Coombs, then Secretary of the Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions, who suggested establishing outstations based around Ernabella:

He proposed that the church administer this through Ernabella and that the outstations be kept small with small sheep and cattle projects and other employment possibilities. He emphasised the need to find sites with plenty of water and firewood...the South Australian Aboriginal Protection Board was decidedly cool on the idea. (Downing 1988:56)

In 1959 the Protection Board had put down bores in the Musgrave Ranges and decided to start their own station; this became the settlement of Musgrave Park, later known as Amata, about 145 km west of Ernabella. 'Fregon was started in 1961 as an outstation both to secure the land for the people and to help some of them move closer to their lands' (Downing 1988:56).

Another movement to develop homelands began at Ernabella in the late 1970s, with three established by the end of 1980. The first, Katjikatjitjarra, was 15 km north of Ernabella. It was begun by a few older men who took with them about a dozen pensioners and two younger couples with no children. Wamikata was then established with a small family group of about eight people. They planted grapevines early and carted water by hand to keep the plants alive. Ngarutjarra was established next as a place where alcoholic adults and petrol-sniffing children could be reunited with their law and their land. Even in the township itself people were planning separate groups of housing a little away from the main centre (Downing 1988:65).

Cane and Stanley (1985) recorded the sequence as Itjinpiri settled in about 1976, followed soon afterwards by Katjikatjitjara, Wintuwintutjara and Wamikata. Black Hill, David's Well, Tjatja and Ngarutjara were next, then more recently, Eagle Bore, Araluen, Umbaganda and New Well. Downing considered that a range of positive results was to be found in the outstation communities including a return to Aboriginal decision making and control and to a more Aboriginal lifestyle, a strengthening of family and family authority and a recovery both of an individual and a group identity and of useful roles and involvement in the work of the community. He also held the view that there had been 'an observable improvement in social and general health...a desire to control the kind of education which their children receive and to make sure that they are thoroughly educated in their own culture and the easing of pressures in the larger settlements' (Downing 1988:97).

More than 20 years after these observations, with some notable exceptions, most of the homelands around Ernabella (that is, the Anilalya homelands) are clearly struggling as the result of decisions by governments and organisational service-delivery policies and out-migration, with many of them currently unoccupied or used infrequently.

The Hybrid Economy Revisited

During the course of my fieldwork, I met many Anangu who had managed to maintain their connections with their land (via hunting or gathering bush tucker, visiting sacred sites, participating in ceremonies and attending funerals), received assistance from the state (most often in the form of CDEP or unemployment benefits) and participated in the market economy (for example, by selling artwork or artefacts, or pursuing employment either on the APY Lands or in nearby locations).

Austin-Broos (2009) considers that people need a diverse economy and life projects to prosper. She suggests that there is no hunter-gatherer economy in Central Australia (it is certainly difficult to argue about its decline in importance). Employment options are very restricted, with only marginal work left. She does not believe that the hybrid model is as relevant in Central Australia due to the limited number of jobs and the fact that it seems to foreclose on how local people want to live (it does not include education and literacy in English). Indeed, Young noted in her evidence to the House of Representatives Inquiry into the Aboriginal Homelands Movement in Australia that 'while there are estimates of up to 70% of food being derived from the land in Arnhem land, in Central Australia bush tucker may not provide more than 20% of food depending on variations in the kind of country' (Young 1987:133).

This is not the same as arguing that the customary economy has declined in importance in terms of the commitment of time. There are many older Anangu who spend a considerable number of their waking hours working out how they can access bush tucker, who has a vehicle that might be heading towards their country and how they can next visit their extended family members.

The economist Gregory (2004:125) has suggested that in other countries many members of poor, remote communities with few natural resources would leave and send money back home. This has not occurred to a major extent at Ernabella. As Gregory also points out, however, national policies have not created an environment in which unskilled Indigenous Australians can successfully out migrate. I suggest that Anangu are torn between their obligations and attachment to country and how best to ensure that future generations are able to remain on their land and prosper.

A sustainable Indigenous enterprise needs to take into account not only economic issues, such as revenue and profits, but also social and cultural factors such as ceremonial activity, family issues and subsistence activities. Remote Indigenous communities also face social problems of health, nutrition, substance abuse, unemployment, poor education and training, and lack of transport and communication. Whereas enterprises can provide additional sources of revenue, they also have the potential to generate positive social outcomes such as employment, community participation, access to fresh food (through market gardens) and the transfer of cultural knowledge to the next generation (through cultural tourism ventures and art).

Conclusion

Anangu have had significant involvement in the general economy from the beginnings of mission life until the establishment of a range of enterprises in the mid-1970s. They also managed to retain their contacts with their land and the customary economy during this period.

I suggest that Altman's hybrid model still has relevance on the APY Lands, taking into account the reservations of researchers such as Austin-Broos and Gregory. In an economic climate where large corporations are adjusting to the impact of the global financial crisis, small enterprises (and the contribution of entrepreneurs) are becoming even more important contributors to economic development.

The current dominance of the state economy and very limited nature of the market economy could be seen as having the potential to transition to a new phase. The work currently being undertaken in Ernabella and its homelands by community members and researchers in new enterprise development around cultural tourism and retail ventures, along with existing enterprises based on arts and crafts and the work on natural resource management, gives hope for future growth in the market economy and a means for some in the community to move to greater independence from the state than is currently the case.

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