

CENTRE FOR ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC
POLICY RESEARCH



The Hybrid Economy Topic Guide

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CONTENTS

The hybrid economy model.....	1
Hybridity	2
Related approaches	3
Topic guide structure	4
1. General and key readings.....	5
2. Cultural and natural resource management	7
2.1 General cultural and natural resource management: benefits, opportunities and challenges.....	7
2.2 Customary and commercial overlap	13
2.3 Customary and conservation relationship	16
3. Art.....	19
4. Mainstreaming and diversity	21
4.1 General	22
4.2 Community Development Employment Program	25
4.3 'Real economy' critique.....	28
5. Hybrid institutions and interculturality	30
6. Critical engagements.....	33
Notes	35
References.....	37

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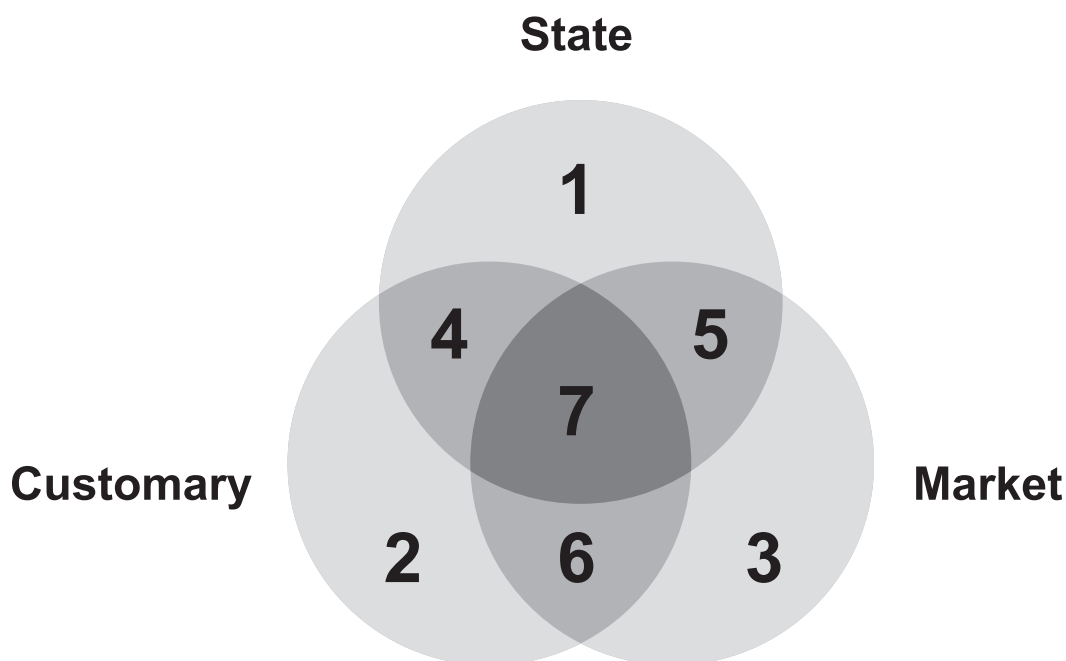
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Fig. 1. The hybrid economy



Source: Altman 2009b¹

THE HYBRID ECONOMY MODEL

Over the past ten years, Jon Altman has theorised a model of economic practice known as the hybrid economy, and has developed its implications in his own writings and in collaboration with others. The hybrid economy model is one means of recognising the existence of and interdependencies between diverse and distinctive kinds of economic activity undertaken by Indigenous people in remote and regional Australia. To the conventional two sector conceptualisation of the economy (market/private and state/public), Altman adds a third: what he terms the 'customary' sector. The customary sector is constituted by non-monetised activities, such as fishing, hunting and gathering, that emerge from and reaffirm dynamic Indigenous connections to country and ways of being. The customary economy is especially salient where the settler-colonial state arrived on Aboriginal lands relatively recently (Altman et al. 2009: 18). For Altman, the customary economy is central to sustainable livelihoods on the Indigenous estate. Altman's hybrid economy model was originally based on observations of productive regimes on Kuninjku outstations/homelands in western Arnhem Land thirty years ago. The model has been developed primarily with reference to change and continuity in the Kuninjku economy. However, the hybrid economy has also been used to examine other regional and remote Aboriginal contexts.

The hybrid economy model is central to Altman's Australian Research Council Professorial Fellowship project 'Hybrid Economic Futures for Remote Indigenous Australia' (2008–13); the related 'People on Country, Healthy Landscapes and Indigenous Economic Futures', a collaborative project between CAEPR researchers and seven community-based ranger groups in north Australia; as well as in projects carried out through the Tropical Rivers and Coastal Knowledge (TRaCK) Research Hub, established under the Commonwealth Environment Research Facilities Programme in 2007. This topic guide was undertaken

TRaCK:
Tropical Rivers and
Coastal Knowledge
Research Hub

with financial support from TRaCK. It aims to contribute to TRaCK theme 6.3, led by Professor Jon Altman, 'Developing an effective conservation and sustainable use economy in Arnhem Land: Options for payments for environmental services'. Some readings herein also relate to TRaCK theme 2.2, led by Dr Sue Jackson, 'Indigenous values and water flows'. Altman's work in the North Australia Hub of the National Environmental Research Program and a project on the domestic moral economy under the United Kingdom's Economic and Social Research Council (both running from 2011–2015) also draws on the hybrid economy framework.

Importantly, the customary, state and market sectors are considered interdependent in the hybrid economy model, as represented by the overlapping circles at Fig. 1. above. Altman argues that these intersections (i.e. at 4, 5, 6 and 7) are where most productive activity occurs in regional and remote Aboriginal communities. In this sense, Altman locates productivity and vibrancy at the 'inter' or the 'Third Space' of enunciation, interpretation, ambiguity and possibility (Bhabha 1994: 53), as will be discussed shortly in relation to the literature on hybridity. Altman often uses the example of Aboriginal art to illustrate that a 'single' economic activity may occur across all three sectors of the hybrid economy (i.e. be placed at 7), in that the state subsidises community art centres, artists harvest resources for art production by customary means and draw inspiration from their cultural milieu, and works are sold commercially. Altman's emphasis on the intersections of the hybrid economy reflects his view that there is little 'pure' customary, market or state productive activity.

Altman conceptualises the hybrid economy as a representation of interculturality (Altman 2011b) and post-colonial adaptation (c.f Altman and May 2011; Altman 2009b). Interculturality, a way of framing 'difference-yet-relatedness' (Hinkson and Smith 2005) refers to Aboriginal people living with a mix of customary and Western norms and webs of meaning and value. These are sometimes referred to as 'kin-based' and 'market-based' respectively. Interculturality is a non-dualistic way of understanding sociality and engagement between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians. Through interculturality, the processual and emergent quality of selves (with their social, cultural and economic dimensions) can be gleaned (see Merlan 2005 for a discussion of interculturality vis-à-vis intersubjectivity). In Altman's hybrid economy writings, this 'difference-yet-relatedness' is expressed in terms of the reproduction of distinctly 'Indigenous' economic practices in relation to and through engagement with 'Western' economic modes. In these cross-cultural socioeconomic encounters, economic genealogies converge and are reformed.

One germane component of Altman's hybrid economy work is the delineation of the extensive (and often intertwined) social, cultural, economic and ecological benefits borne of customary sector engagement. Significant too is what Altman refers to as the conceptual flexibility of the model; the size of each sector will empirically alter to match the particularities of a given regional or remote situation; and the occupational movement of Indigenous people within and between these sectors can be readily represented.

HYBRIDITY

There are some points at which Altman's notion of hybridity intersects with the (mostly postcolonial) literature on hybridity. However, it is difficult to discern how deep these points of contact are, given that Altman's work is not theoretical in the same way as that of Homi Bhabha, Nestor García Canclini and others, in part because of the audience and impact it seeks. Altman uses hybridity largely with reference to public policy discourse, whereas Bhabha and García Canclini engage with discourse in a more literary sense, and their work on hybridity may be categorised as identity or subaltern studies. Nonetheless, there are several notions from these authors that seem to resonate with Altman's work on hybrid economies. These include Bhabha's notion of hybridity as 'double voiced' (Young 1995); the 'multitemporal heterogeneity' of hybridity (Bhabha 1994); a concern to make visible tension between autonomy and dependence in particular realms of cultural production and engagement (García Canclini 1995); and the 'Third Space' or 'inter' (Bhabha 1994).

García Canclini's call for 'nomad social sciences' and positioning of his own work as a 'transdisciplinary look at hybrid circuits' (García Canclini 1995: 3) is echoed by Altman's assertion that 'a proper understanding of the hybrid economy requires a hybrid analytical and intellectual framework that combines science, social sciences and Indigenous knowledge systems' (Altman 2001: v). García Canclini's critique of the modernisation paradigm is relevant too, as Altman (2007: 47) voices opposition to what he sees as present dominant policy discourse in Australia assuming that Indigenous poverty is best addressed with the modernisation paradigm and attending developmentalist programs. García Canclini's question of 'what to do—when modernity has become a polemical or suspect project—with this mixture of heterogeneous memory and truncated innovations' (García Canclini 1995: 3) thus seems relevant to Altman's hybrid economy project.

'Multitemporal heterogeneity' (García Canclini 1995:3) may be a useful concept to apply to hybrid economies, given that Altman highlights diversity and temporal flexibility as two key characteristics of the hybrid economy (Altman 2009c). In this sense, 'multitemporal heterogeneity' could be a useful analytical tool for deepening the notion of certain economic (simultaneously cultural) activities as belonging to a space that is multifaceted and 'double voiced'. The 'Third Space' might also be a means to reiterate the point that Indigenous practices can be many things at once, can occur at the intersections of the different sectors of the hybrid economy.

Altman shares with Bhabha a concern to highlight the agency and resistance of the marginalised (Indigenous Australians)—both seem to agree with the notion that the colonial/state/neocolonial power cannot entirely control or predict circuits of value (cf. Altman and Hinkson 2010).

In a disciplinary sense, the hybrid economy model can be situated as part of alternate or critical development studies, the anthropology of development and political ecology, Altman's current (2011) theoretical focus. Altman presents the hybrid economy, and the livelihoods at its core, as durable and persistent rather than transient. The hybrid economy also represents a means to critique sets of persistent interrelated binaries in public development discourse, including 'real'/'unreal', 'Indigenous'/'non-Indigenous', 'market'/'non-market' and 'public'/'private'. It challenges linear, evolutionary thinking about economic (which are inexorably social and cultural) modes of life. Altman's consistent references to the hybrid economy in submissions and other publicly available policy critiques can be seen as a response to the strong hold that these binaries seem to have on the imaginaries of many key actors in the Indigenous economic development landscape.

Altman himself sees the hybrid economy model as subordinate but influential in some settings (Altman 2009d). Through using the model to critique the 'Closing the Gap' policy framework (presented as the meta-narrative of the Rudd government's Indigenous affairs policy framework in 2008 and endorsed by the Council of Australian Governments later that year) and the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) begun in 2007, Altman seeks to position the hybrid economy as a counter or alternate discourse to what he sees as an overly technical government approach to Indigenous development. Altman argues that the current government approach is intolerant of Indigenous diversity and difference, in large part due its foundation in late modernist and neoliberal paradigms.

NTER:
Northern Territory
Emergency
Response

RELATED APPROACHES

Others approach similar concerns (including the relationship between culture and economy² and the coexistence, transformation and interplay of various economic forms) differently. Related theoretical approaches include internal colonialism and articulation (see Keen 2010), parallel economy (Redmond and Skyring 2010), frontier economy (McDonnell and Martin 2002: 3–5), dual economic engagement (Sercombe 2008) and dual occupancy (see Goodall 1996). Like Altman's hybrid economy model,

contemporary historic and ethnographic accounts of Aboriginal economic participation and engagement in Australia emphasise interdependence (White 2010) and mutual accommodation and adaptation (Lloyd 2010). Altman (2005) acknowledges the influence of Yang's article (2000) on economic hybridity and ritual revival in Southeast China in the initial development of his hybrid economy model, although Yang emphasises consumption over production, whereas Altman's hybrid economy model is focused more on production regimes, and Altman notes that state resources are far more prominent in the Australian Aboriginal context compared with Yang's Chinese case study (Altman 2009d: 319). Elements of Gibson-Graham's community economies approach, including a critique of the notion that capitalism conquers other economic forms and a concern to make previously ignored economic activity visible (see Gibson-Graham 1996 and 2006), dovetail with Altman's hybrid economy approach.

TOPIC GUIDE STRUCTURE

This topic guide is an attempt to situate, summarise and further disseminate Altman's hybrid economy model. It begins with general or key readings on the hybrid economy. Four thematic sections follow: on cultural and natural resource management; on art; on mainstreaming and diversity; and on hybrid institutions and interculturality. A final section briefly sketches some critical engagements with Altman's hybrid economy model. It should be noted that many of the readings in this topic guide touch on more than one of the themes they are listed under; as in the hybrid economy itself, Altman's theses are interdependent and overlapping. For example, there is a specific section on hybrid institutions, however some discussion on this theme may occur within a reading focused on art production in remote Aboriginal communities. Readings marked * include a diagrammatic representation of the hybrid economy (as seen in Figure 1). All readings date from 2001 and each section is ordered chronologically. The topic guide covers major papers, book chapters and conference papers on the hybrid economy to April 2011, and will be updated in the future to cover subsequent publications. Hyperlinks are provided where possible.

1. GENERAL AND KEY READINGS

Many of the readings in this topic guide explain the hybrid economy model, however the ones below do so in depth, using various examples of hybrid economic activity and clearly positioning this activity within an alternate vision of Indigenous economic development in Australia.

Altman, J.C. 2001. 'Sustainable development options on Aboriginal land: The hybrid economy in the 21st century', *Discussion Paper No. 226*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/DP/2001DP226.php>>.

This paper is where Altman first comprehensively articulated his hybrid economy model as a means of understanding the economic situation on Aboriginal³ land in remote and regional Australia, the associated economic development challenges and the creative possibilities available. Here, Altman argues for an expanded and hybrid intellectual framework for understanding the economy as encompassing three, rather than the conventional two, interlinked spheres: the state, the market, and the customary. He describes the non-monetised customary sphere, which is generally overlooked in mainstream economic approaches, as constituted by a diversity of productive activities, including hunting, gathering, fishing, land and habitat management, species management and biodiversity maintenance. The paper attempts to reframe the development debate, suggesting that the question is not how to pursue development solely based on market engagement in remote Aboriginal communities, but rather how to 'grow' the hybrid economy and recognise the significant contribution made by Aboriginal people to regions and the nation (for example in natural resource and land management) while also advocating that state responsibilities be met and support for the environmental services provided by remote-living Aboriginal people be increased. This paper was presented at *The Power of Knowledge and the Resonance of Tradition* AIATSIS Conference in 2001, and was subsequently published in the conference proceedings in 2005.

Altman, J.C. 2006. 'The Indigenous hybrid economy: A realistic sustainable option for remote communities?' *Topical Issue No. 02/2006*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2006TI2.php>>.*

In late 2005 this paper was presented to the Fabian Society in Melbourne. It outlines the hybrid economy in the context of development debates. The examples of Aboriginal art and wildlife harvesting/natural resource management are used to argue that in remote Aboriginal Australia, customary activity is both contemporary and integrated into the modern capitalist economy. The paper concludes by calling for community-based approaches to development that support the inter-sectoral linkages of the hybrid economy, such as the existing community-controlled art production and Caring for Country ranger programs, with a view to 'growing' all sectors of the economy: market, customary and state.

Altman, J.C. 2007. 'Aboriginal economic development', in B. Galligan and W. Roberts (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Australian Politics*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, available at <http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr-dev/sites/default/files/StaffProfiles/stafffiles/jon-altman//2007_Oxford_EcoDev.pdf>.

This chapter provides a historical synopsis of the economic situation of Indigenous Australians and considers various economic development goals, such as statistical equality. Altman observes that in parts of remote and regional Australia, Aboriginal people have maintained elements of their customary economy and participate in the hybrid economy. Customary economic participation associated with natural resource management creates public good, Altman argues. Aboriginal economic development in remote regions is seen to require the expansion of the hybrid economy. Altman proposes that in regional and remote areas of Australia, Aboriginal economic aspirations and realities accord more with the hybrid economy than with the mainstream Australian economy, the latter holding relevance for more settled areas of the country. Restitution in the form of property rights in commercially valuable resources, as well as treaties and reconciliation more broadly and more cooperative Commonwealth-State relationships are all cited as significant avenues for Indigenous economic development.

2. CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Generally the literature refers to cultural and natural resource management (CNRM) as an acknowledgement that separating 'natural' from 'cultural' reflects a Western preoccupation which may marginalise Indigenous views and practices (see Hunt, Altman and May 2009:1–2, summarised at 2.1 below). Similarly, the term 'management' does not encompass Indigenous relationships to country (*ibid*); in some Aboriginal contexts, the use/management distinction, and related separation of biology and spirituality, does not exist (see Buchanan et al. 2009: 7, summarised below at 2.1). Altman draws many of his examples and discussions of economic hybridity from cultural and natural resource management. For example, the case of Indigenous community-based rangers can illustrate economic activity across state, market and customary sectors, when wages might come from the Working on Country program (state sector), rangers use customary knowledge, skills and governance in managing their country (customary sector), and they might provide environmental services in a commercial private sector arrangement (market sector).

This section has three components, the first focusing on general readings on cultural and natural resource management and the hybrid economy, including the public benefits and potential commercial opportunities in the customary sector, the economic and ecological significance of the Indigenous estate and how climate change affects this, and the competitive advantage Indigenous people on country have in CNRM. The second section contains readings on the broad theme of the overlap between customary and commercial activity, including issues of property rights, resource use and land tenure as they relate to Indigenous economic development, followed by the third section on the relationship between customary activity and conservation.

2.1 GENERAL CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: BENEFITS, OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Altman, J.C. and Whitehead, P.J. 2003. 'Caring for country and sustainable Indigenous development: Opportunities, constraints and innovation,' *Working Paper No. 20*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2003WP20.php>>.

The outstation movement from the 1970s is here characterised as a form of community-based natural resource management that arose much earlier than the formalised 'Caring for Country' programs. The authors describes the extent of the challenge to manage remote and environmentally significant tracts of land on the Indigenous estate and what is at stake if this challenge is not met. Indigenous Australians are in diverse situations and have various aspiration for managing their land and natural resources. This paper discusses the constraints or barriers faced by Indigenous land managers, including poor public understanding and support of the role of Indigenous knowledge and practice in generating public benefit; a perception that Indigenous customary use of wildlife is a threat rather than effective environmental management and socio-cultural engagement; finding a balance between 'anti-use' and over-allocation of wildlife and accessing firearms for feral animal management and subsistence hunting. The authors suggests that many of these obstacles, particularly those regarding regulations, have their origins in particular perceptions and values of the dominant society, rather than having developed in light of evidence-based analysis. This paper calls for Landcare and Natural Heritage Trust funding in northern Australia to be reoriented towards combining Indigenous 'on country' natural resource

CNRM:

cultural and
natural resource
management

management practices of various kinds with biodiversity conservation. Aboriginal people in northern Australia are uniquely equipped to work, in concert with others, towards the sustainable and equitable management of resources.

Altman, J.C. 2003. 'Aboriginal access to firearms for wildlife harvesting: A policy proposal', *Topical Issue No. 02/2003*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2003TI2.php>>.

The Topical Issue is based on a research project examining wildlife harvesting by Aboriginal outstation residents in the Maningrida region in 2003, using the comparative base of Altman's 1979–80 research. Findings include that Aboriginal access to firearms has decreased over the past 20 years, and when outstation residents do have access to firearms, they are of poor quality. Altman calls for this issue to be addressed, given that wildlife harvesting is an important element of the customary economy on outstations in Arnhem Land. He proposes, to this end, that the Northern Territory Government creates a position for a person of relevant experience and expertise to assist Aboriginal adults in gaining a gun licence and, purchasing and using guns safely. The Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation is presented as an example of a group going down this path, in broad terms. In this way, the customary economy and the benefits it enables could be enhanced. Altman's proposal was covered in *Land Rights News* in March 2003.

Altman, J.C. and Dillon, M.C. 2005. 'Commercial development and natural resource management on the Indigenous estate: A profit-related investment proposal', *Economic Papers*, 24 (3): 249–62, available at <<http://search.informit.com.au/fullText;dn=200608995;res=APAF>>.

A paper presented at the ASSA Symposium 'Government as Risk Taker' in November 2004 is the basis for this work, which is also published as *CAEPR Discussion Paper 270*. It argues that failure to recognise the contemporary interplay between market-based and kin-based economies in Aboriginal Australia can lead to inappropriate and inadequate policy frameworks. An Indigenous Profit Related Investment Program is put forward to address the under-investment in economic development and cultural and resource management on the Indigenous estate, a Program, the authors suggest, which could reflect the varied aspirations of Indigenous people in the hybrid economy.

Altman, J.C. 2007. 'Alleviating poverty in remote Indigenous Australia: The role of the hybrid economy', *Addressing Poverty: Alternative Economic Approaches*, *Development Bulletin*, No. 72, March: 47–51, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/system/files/Publications/topical/Altman_Poverty.pdf>, also available as *Topical Issue No. 10/2007*, CAEPR, ANU, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2007TI10.php>>.[†]

This paper exemplifies a 'livelihoods approach', with the hybrid economy at its core, in contradistinction to a 'mainstreaming' agenda on Indigenous poverty alleviation. Altman outlines the 'poverty traps', such as extremely high effective marginal tax rates, Indigenous (and non-Indigenous) people in remote and very-remote Australia face. He compares the situation of Indigenous Australians to 'Third World' situations, particularly in the Pacific, finding that whilst there are many similarities, the central role of the state in supporting customary and market activity for remote Indigenous Australians is distinctive. Emphasis is placed on the key role of the customary or non-market sector in addressing Indigenous poverty in Australia, and in particular the opportunities and benefits of Indigenous natural resource management.

Altman, J.C., Buchanan, G. J. and Larsen, L. 2007, 'The environmental significance of the Indigenous estate: Natural resource management as economic development in remote Australia', *Discussion Paper No. 286*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/DP/2007DP286.php>>.

This paper addresses a significant gap in the literature regarding the biodiversity and environmental values of Indigenous land holdings by overlaying a conservatively-sized estimate of the Indigenous estate onto several resource atlas maps, such as those depicting bioregions, environmental threats and degree of land and river disturbance. The false binaries of modern/traditional that are implicated in native title in Australia are described as misleading and obscuring the intercultural reality, or the 'third way', including the hybrid economy, of Aboriginal Australia. Payment for Environmental Services (PES) on the Indigenous estate is cited as an opportunity for activity across all sectors of the hybrid economy, and a means of strengthening the linkages between customary, state and market sectors. The success of Indigenous ranger programs is striking and significant; often these ranger groups provide a base for various economic initiatives in the hybrid economy, such as small-scale wildlife-based enterprises. This success is all the more noteworthy, as it has been achieved without adequate funding; CDEP, the authors note, is key in providing base-level wages for rangers in Indigenous Protected Areas. This paper does not include a diagram of the hybrid economy, however it provides a similar diagram of the relationship between the Indigenous estate and the conservation estate, and this, along with the aforementioned maps, gives a strong visual representation of the extent and significance of the Indigenous estate.

PES
Payment for
Environmental
Services

Altman, J.C. and Jordan, K. 2008. 'Impact of climate change on Indigenous Australians: Submission to the Garnaut Climate Change Review', *Topical Issue No. 03/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI3.php>>.

This submission draws on research from *CAEPR Discussion Paper No. 286* (see above). The authors emphasise that Indigenous Australians could be especially vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, particularly given the reliance on customary activity within hybrid economies of remote Australia. They do note, however, there are also opportunities for Aboriginal people, including in areas where they have comparative advantage such as carbon trading. Australia lags behind other 'developed' countries in exploring the effects of climate change on Indigenous people, with a nascent research agenda in this area. The submission describes the kinds of reliance Aboriginal people in remote areas, and sometimes settled Australia, have on natural resources for cash income, food, wellbeing and cultural and spiritual life.

Altman, J.C., Kerins, S, Fogarty, B. and Webb, K. 2008. Why the Northern Territory Government needs to support outstations/homelands in the Aboriginal, Northern Territory and national interest, *Submission to the Northern Territory Government Outstation Policy Discussion Paper, Topical Issue No. 17/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI17.php>>.

The authors conceive of service delivery at outstations/homelands as a reciprocal process whereby governments provide citizenship entitlements to Indigenous Australians in remote Australia and reap the benefits that Indigenous Australians living on country provide. These benefits are in the critical areas of biodiversity management, ecosystem maintenance, coastal surveillance, border protection and biosecurity. The Topical Issue outlines the social, ecological and economic benefits and particularities of outstations/homelands. It positions people living on country (that is, on outstations/homelands) as a core element of economic sustainability in the Northern Territory and Australia in general. Successful initiatives like the West Arnhem Land Fire Abatement Project, where Indigenous ranger groups offset greenhouse gas emissions through active savanna fire management, depend on people living on

outstations/homelands. The delivery of education to outstations/homelands through Homeland Learning Centres is presented as an example of a lack of equitable funding and evident Territory-Commonwealth tension; this as an area where there are significant opportunities for improvement and building on success. Some Commonwealth Government support such as Indigenous Protected Area and Working on Country programs, acknowledge the importance of Aboriginal people living on and managing country, yet little support is provided for Aboriginal people to do precisely this. Measured, carefully-planned outstations policy developed with adequate input from Indigenous people and organisations is required.

Altman, J.C. 2009. 'Manwurrk (fire drive) at Namilewoho: A land management, hunting and ceremonial event in western Arnhem Land', in J. Russell-Smith, P.J. Whitehead and P. Cooke (eds), *Managing Fire Regimes in North Australia Savannas: Ecology, Culture, Economy*, CSIRO Publishing, Collingwood, 165–80.

Altman revisits a 1980 *Manwurrk*, or fire drive, he participated in at Namilewoho during his fieldwork in western Arnhem Land with Kuninjku people and reframes it in terms of economic hybridity. This event, which Kuninjku describe as the last one of its kind on the west Arnhem Land escarpment, is presented as at once an example of economic cooperation and productivity, environmental management and a ceremonial occasion.

Altman, J.C. 2009. 'Indigenous communities, miners and the state', in J.C. Altman and D. Martin (eds), *Power, Culture, Economy: Indigenous Australians and Mining*, CAEPR Research Monograph No. 30, ANU E Press, Canberra, 17–49, available at <http://epress.anu.edu.au/caepr_series/no_30/pdf/ch02.pdf>.*

CEDA:

Committee
for Economic
Development of
Australia

This is the second of Altman's chapters in the monograph, based on an ARC Linkage Project between CAEPR, Rio Tinto and the Committee for Economic Development of Australia (CEDA) between 2002 and 2007 (for the first chapter, see part 5). Research findings centre around three case studies: the Ranger Uranium Mine in the Northern Territory, the Yandicoogina Mine in Western Australia and the Century Mine in north Queensland. The history of mining on Aboriginal land, the role of mining companies (with a particular focus on Rio Tinto as leaders in social responsibility in agreement making etc.) and the legal landscape are outlined. Altman distinguishes between 'life projects' and 'development projects', with the former being based on the customary sector. He presents the hybrid economy as a development model alternative to economic liberal (mainstream) and post-development models and similar to livelihoods and community economy approaches. Engagement in a diversity of livelihood sources across all sectors of the hybrid economy is evidence of post-colonial adaptation. Altman argues for the applicability of the hybrid economy framework beyond the context of its creation (his fieldwork in Arnhem Land) because of 2002 NATSISS data indicating that Indigenous participation rates in hunting, fishing and the production of art for sale are very high. Moreover, Altman indicates there is a field of opportunities for increased Indigenous environmental management and thus enhanced engagement in the hybrid economy, including in the mining sector.

Altman, J.C., Jordan, K., Kerins, S., Buchanan, G., Biddle, N., Ens, E.J. and May, K. 2009. 'Indigenous interests in land and water', in Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) *Northern Australia Land and Water Science Review 2009: Full Report*, Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Local Government, CSIRO, Canberra, Chapter 7, available at <http://www.nalwt.gov.au/files/Chapter_07Indigenous_interests_in_land_and_water.pdf>.*

Through a review of the literature, the authors find that many Indigenous people in northern Australia achieve their livelihood through a mixture of customary activity (that is, non-monetised and based on cultural continuities) and state-supported market exchange. Water is significant both for customary as well as commercial economic engagement, including the customary harvest of wildlife and floral species, agricultural and pastoral operations, commercial art sales, nature and cultural tourism, safari/conservation hunting, plant propagation, commercial wildlife and bush foods ventures and land and sea management. The hybrid economy depends on natural resources, thus the livelihoods of Indigenous people may be put at risk with the expansion or development of competing water-reliant industries in northern Australia and the ongoing effects of climate change. The authors reason that the hybrid economy reflects the complexity of the Indigenous economy and thus is a useful framework for sustainable economic development.

Hunt, J., Altman, J.C. and May, K. 2009. 'Social benefits of Aboriginal engagement in natural resource management', *Working Paper No. 60*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2009WP60.php>>.

This paper is related to Altman's CAEPR *Topical Issue No. 06* in 2004 (see below). It was originally produced as a report for the New South Wales Natural Resources Advisory Council in July 2009, and draws on research conducted by Janet Hunt with funding from the New South Wales (NSW) Department of Environment and Climate Change. The authors document the wide variety of ways Aboriginal people in NSW are involved in natural resource management—in the public, private and customary sectors. The hybrid economy in NSW is different to that described by Altman in northern Australia, in that in NSW there is increased engagement with the market through private sector employment and small business in this context (relative to the numbers of people involved), and a much smaller customary sector than in the North. However, this paper gauges a strong will on the part of Aboriginal people and to a lesser extent the NSW government to develop the customary or cultural economy in NSW, and provides a number of recommendations as to how this might be achieved.

NSW:
New South Wales

Altman, J.C., Biddle, N. and Jordan, K. 2009. Contributing authors to 'Climate change impacts on livelihoods', in D. Green, S. Jackson and J. Morrison (eds), *Risks from Climate Change to Indigenous Communities in the Tropical North of Australia*, Department of Climate Change, Canberra, 99–106, available at <<http://www.climatechange.gov.au/~media/publications/adaptation/climate-change-risks-to-indigenous-full-report.pdf>>.*

The hybrid economy is highly reliant on natural resources and thus could be dramatically affected by climate change. However, climate change also represents new opportunities for the hybrid economy, particularly in terms of activities and industries targeting a reduction in greenhouse gas emissions. The authors describe the diversity, adaptability and resilience of the hybrid economy as its strengths. They note that customary production can be a critical part of meeting everyday needs. The lack of direct incentives and indeed the presence of disincentives for Indigenous people to manage their lands with a view to carbon sequestration is discussed.

Altman, J.C. and Jordan, K. (with I. Munro, M. Ryan and M. Mirikul) 2009. 'Maningrida region, Arnhem land, Northern Territory', in D. Green, S. Jackson and J. Morrison (eds), *Risks from Climate Change to Indigenous Communities in the Tropical North of Australia*, Department of Climate Change, Canberra, 99–106, available at <<http://www.climatechange.gov.au/~media/publications/adaptation/climate-change-risks-to-indigenous-full-report.pdf>>.

Water-reliant natural resources are central to the Maningrida customary economy. The hybrid economy, the authors note, exists both in the township and at outstations, with most Aboriginal residents in the region making their livelihood through engaging in economic activity across two or more sectors of the hybrid economy. Cyclone Monica in 2006 is an example of the direct and indirect impacts severe weather events can have on Indigenous communities, as well as the remarkable ability of residents to cope and adapt.

Buchanan, G., Altman, J.C., Arthur, B., Oades, D. and the Bardi Jawi Rangers. 2009. "'Always Part of us": The Socioeconomics of Indigenous Customary Use and Management of Dugong and Marine Turtles—a View from Bardi and Jawi sea Country, Western Australia', *NAILSMA Knowledge Series 001/2009*, Research Report, NAILSMA, Darwin, available at <<http://www.nailsma.org.au/nailsma/publications/downloads/Always-part-of-us.pdf>>.*

The Northern Australian Indigenous Land and Sea Management Alliance commissioned this report as part of its Dugong and Marine Turtle Project. The report describes the situation in northern Australia, with a detailed case study resulting from collaborative research by the Bardi Jawi Rangers in the West Kimberley region and CAEPR staff, consisting of a survey of harvest and a survey of management activities over a 12 month period in 2007–2008. Mainstream statistical measures do not take into account the activities, values and benefits in the customary sector, including marine turtle and dugong harvest and management. Dugong and turtle hunting and management occurs within the context of a hybrid economy, where livelihoods are made at the intersections of the customary, market and state sectors. Buchanan et al. suggest that opportunities for hybrid solutions combining Indigenous and Western forms of knowledge and expertise regarding sustainability, economic and social value and viability in wildlife management are apparent in this project.

Altman, J.C. 2011. 'From Kunnanj (Fish Creek) to Mumeka (Mann River): Hunter-gatherer tradition and transformation in Western Arnhem Land, 1948–2009', in M. Thomas and M. Neale (eds) *Barks, Birds and Billabongs: Exploring the Legacy of the 1948 American-Australian Scientific Expedition to Arnhem Land*, ANU E Press, Canberra, forthcoming.

This paper was prepared for the 'Barks, Birds and Billabongs' Conference at the National Museum of Australia in 2009. It recounts the research into consumption of naturally-occurring foods and work effort undertaken by McArthur and McCarthy as part of the 1948 American-Australian Scientific Expedition to Arnhem Land. Altman compares findings of this expedition with his own fieldwork at Mumeka outstation and surrounds in western Arnhem Land in 1979–80, where, over a seasonal cycle, he gathered quantitative data on productive activity in the three sectors of that economy, which he then described as subsistence/non-market, arts and craft, and social security. The hybrid economy model is espoused to sketch the economic continuity and change in western Arnhem Land from 1948 to 1980, and then from 1980 to the present. Research in the same area in 2002–03, where Altman collaborated with biophysical and social scientists, indicated that the customary economy remained significant and environmentally sustainable, but had declined, in part because of increased activity in the market and state sectors and their intersections. Moreover, the nature of customary engagement had changed, and is now more focused on hunting large species, with guns and vehicles facilitating more short-term hunting on country. More formal engagement in natural resource management by community rangers has been another change.

Altman, J.C. 2011. 'Indigenous rights, mining corporations and the Australian state', in S. Sawer and T. Gomez (eds), *The Politics of Resource Extraction: Indigenous Peoples, Corporations and the State*, Palgrave, London (in press).

This chapter draws upon Altman's analysis of the triangulated and unequal relationship between the state, mining companies and Indigenous people in Australia in his 2009 'Indigenous communities, miners and the state' chapter (see above). It forms part of a United Nations Research Institute for Social Development project comparing Indigenous identity, power and rights across a number of countries. It provides a sketch of Indigenous Australia prior to European contact and describes some of the social and economic impacts of the incursion of the settler-colonial state. Case studies of the Ranger and Century mines are used to illustrate the interculturality of hybrid economies and to examine the dynamics of identity and representation which are adaptively employed by Indigenous people in negotiations regarding mines on their land. These are shaped by native title and land rights requirements and the 'repressive authenticity'—a term coined by Patrick Wolfe—they generate. Where major mining agreements have been negotiated, development outcomes for Indigenous Australians have by and large been underwhelming. Altman concludes that the intercultural values and varied development aspirations of Aboriginal Australians need to be recognised if sustainable development is to occur.

Altman, J.C. 2011. 'Wild Rivers and Indigenous economic development in Queensland', *Topical Issue No. 06/2011*, CAEPR, Canberra, ANU, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2011TI6.php>.

This topical issue is a version of a submission to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Economics Inquiry into Indigenous economic development in Queensland and review of the *Wild Rivers (Environmental Management) Bill 2010*. Altman argues for greater clarity and Aboriginal leverage in property rights. He describes how no one sector is privileged over another in the hybrid economy model. The role of CDEP in enabling remote livelihood possibilities in the hybrid economy is mentioned. Altman cites the strength and advantage of activities at varied intersections of the customary, market and state sectors of the hybrid economy.

2.2 CUSTOMARY AND COMMERCIAL OVERLAP

Altman, J.C. and Cochrane, M. 2003. 'Innovative institutional design for sustainable wildlife management in the Indigenous-owned savanna', *Discussion Paper No. 247*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/DP/2003DP247.php>.

The (overlapping) customary and commercial elements of the hybrid economy involving wildlife harvesting are discussed with reference to Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation, an organisation active in wildlife harvesting trials and programs. At the state-level, economic resources are generally governed to the exclusion of Indigenous people, in contrast to the local level, where resources are managed through customary land ownership and Indigenous stipulated property rights. In light of this, the authors advocate for hybrid institutions to marry Indigenous resource management with broader regional governance with an eye to sustainable development. Institutional redesign is needed to devolve commercial and management rights from the state to community-based organisations like Bawinanga (for example, through changes like multi-decade leases, as occurs with property rights in minerals). The authors argue that resources and support for wildlife management beyond those derived from CDEP are also needed. A hybrid approach to wildlife management entails collaboration between Indigenous harvesters, biological scientists and social scientists, all with their own areas of expertise, and this combination, the authors argue, stands the greatest chance of addressing political as well as ecological challenges.

NATSISS:

National
Aboriginal and
Torres Strait
Islander Social
Survey

Altman, J.C. 2004. 'Indigenous interests and water property rights', *Dialogue*, 23 (3): 29–34, available at <http://www.assa.edu.au/publications/dialogue/2004_Vol23_No3.php>.

This article further develops a submission by Jon Altman and Michelle Cochrane to the Chief Executive Officers' Group on Water, who in turn reported to the Council of Australian Governments.⁵ It cautions that ignoring Indigenous interests in water would lead to inefficient and inequitable water management and markets. Using the hybrid economy framework, the authors note possible tensions in the articulation of customary and commercial water interests.

Altman, J. 2006. 'Land tenure, land management and Indigenous economic development', in R. Hill, K. Golson, P. Lowe, M. Mann, S. Hayes and J. Blackwood (eds), *Kimberley Appropriate Economies Roundtable Forum Proceedings*, Australian Conservation Foundation, Cairns, 124–26, available at <http://www.acfonline.org.au/uploads/res/res_kimberleyfinal.pdf>.

Altman calls for appropriate recognition, on the part of the private (market) and public (state) sectors, of the economic and ecological contributions made by Indigenous Australians living on and managing land. He outlines the many causes of Indigenous underdevelopment. The view that land rights and native title have not lead to any positive economic outcomes for Indigenous Australians is challenged with reference to analysis of the 2002 National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS) data that reveals the significant extent of customary activity. Such activity generates positive spin-offs or externalities in the market and state sectors of the hybrid economy. Altman cites the challenge in research and policy to demonstrate the benefits of customary activity founded on land tenure. This challenge increasingly needs to be met given the accountability and outcome-oriented frameworks that projects and organisations operate within. Land tenure and the economic activities this allows (with adequate support and recognition) is key to economic development for Indigenous people in Australia. Altman's paper in this publication is followed by Patrick Sullivan's discussion of employment in Kimberley hybrid economies, where he uses Altman's hybrid economy diagram and analytical framework.

Altman, J.C. and Jackson, S. 2008. 'Indigenous land and sea management', in D. Lindenmayer, S. Dovers, M. Harriss Olsen and S. Morton (eds), *Ten Commitments: Reshaping the Lucky Country's Environment*, CSIRO Publishing, Collingwood, 207–14, available at <http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr-dev/sites/default/files/StaffProfiles/stafffiles/jon-altman//2008_TenCommitments.pdf>.

Indigenous Australians reclaim and manage a significant portion of Australia (approximately 20%), with much of this land of high environmental value and located alongside parts of the conservation estate. Opportunities (commercial, managerial, conservation etc.) exist to promote and expand Indigenous land and sea management, however greater resource investment, knowledge exchange, and access to country is needed to do so. Altman and Jackson present the case for greater recognition of Indigenous interests in new forms of property, including fresh water, carbon, and biodiversity offsets, which would pave the way for greater engagement with Payment for Environmental Services scenarios. This in turn would be compatible with other activities in the hybrid economy such as art and craft production.

Altman, J.C. assisted by Branchut, V. 2008. 'Fresh water in the Maningrida region's hybrid economy: Intercultural contestation over values and property rights', *Working Paper No. 46*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2008WP46.php>>.*

This paper traces the complex political economy of water in Maningrida from a historical perspective, providing an analysis of water in the regional hybrid economy and examines water governance in Maningrida and the hinterland region. It culminates in a review of cross-cultural contestation over water

values and property rights and measures to address such tensions. The Maningrida hybrid economy is unusual for the strength of its customary sector, particularly at outstations, although this is variable within the region and over time. The hybrid economy model was developed predominantly to challenge the conventional notion that economies have public and private sectors only, but the model can also be used to problematise the consumptive/productive and non-consumptive/unproductive dichotomy. The paper looks at the role of the Djelk Rangers in water management at outstations in the region. Two ways to develop the regional economy are canvassed: by expanding each sector of the hybrid economy or by altering the combination of sectoral activity with the expansion of private and public activity driven by policy. The hybrid economy model is used to observe the spatial and sectoral inter-linkages in water management in the region. Access to water free of charge in Maningrida is key to economic ventures, including the myriad activities undertaken by Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation. The paper calls for more clarity and transparency in water governance. A reconceptualisation of water that recognises full property rights to water, as well as land, for Indigenous Australians in Arnhem Land is proposed as a means for regional development.

Altman, J.C. and Jordan, K. 2008. 'Submission to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs Inquiry into Developing Indigenous Enterprises', *Topical Issue 11/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI11.php>.

The authors identify instances of Indigenous commercial advantage and strength, particularly regarding natural resource management. The West Arnhem Land Fire Abatement Project is a pertinent example that could be replicated elsewhere on the Indigenous estate. Indigenous enterprise and joint ventures, the authors argue, should take into account the significance of the customary sector of the hybrid economy and localised visions of the future. Economic independence, a goal often espoused in dominant discourse, is not attainable for many remote Indigenous communities. Instead, economic interdependence may prove suitable. Three interdependent successful business models are cited: Indigenous enterprise through community arts centres, Indigenous enterprise underwritten by CDEP (see 4.1) and Indigenous enterprise development through Outstation Resource Agencies.

Altman, J.C. and Kerins, S. 2008. 'Submission to the Senate Standing Committee on Environment, Communications and the Arts inquiry into the operation of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999', *Topical Issue No. 13/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI13.php>.⁶

Altman and Kerins examine the first ten years of operation of the *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999* (EPBC) as it relates to the nascent formalisation of Indigenous land and sea management programs. CAEPR's 'People on Country, Healthy Landscapes and Indigenous Economic Futures' project is outlined. EPBC acknowledges native title rights, but not in a strong way, which effectively leaves Indigenous wild resource users with 'passive' use rights, and an absence of 'active' management rights. The authors argue the failure to recognise Indigenous Australians' full rights to ecological management leads to declining habitats of threatened species and ecological communities. One measure to counter this trend would be for the Indigenous Protected Areas framework to include sea country. In addition, a more holistic approach to environmental programs could facilitate Indigenous land and sea management organisations developing integrated plans for their regions in concert with one another and informed by their own priorities for the management of critical habitats. The paper also identifies a shortfall in funding for Indigenous land and sea management governance, a situation which often leaves traditional owner groups, who do not generally have access to representative organisations

EPBC:
*Environment
Protection and
Biodiversity
Conservation Act
1999*

and assistance in applying for grants, at a disadvantage. There is a need to link caring for country activities to school curriculum, particularly in Indigenous communities, which, in combination with changing the rhetoric about land and sea management on country not being 'real' work, would affirm this important work and the Indigenous people undertaking it. The threat of unpopulated landscapes on the Indigenous estate is explained using the example of the Waanyi/Garawa Aboriginal Land Trust.

2.3 CUSTOMARY AND CONSERVATION RELATIONSHIP

Altman, J.C. and Cochrane, M. 2002. 'Queensland Government's Wildlife Management Review: Comment on the Queensland Government's Wildlife Management Review Discussion Paper', *Topical Issue No. 04/2002*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2002TI4.php>>.

The Topical Issue is based on a submission to the Queensland Government's Wildlife Management Review Discussion Paper. It provides examples of previous CAEPR research relevant to the wildlife management review. Altman and Cochrane express surprise at the review not making any reference to Indigenous interests in wildlife harvesting for commercial and customary purposes as a means to improve economic standing. They describe the review as narrow and limited, with serious oversights in terms of acknowledging, let alone addressing, Indigenous customary and commercial interests in wildlife harvesting so as to, *inter alia*, improve their economic standing. The review is premised on a notion that wildlife harvesting could potentially threaten biodiversity, whereas the scientific consensus is that habitat loss and degradation are the main causes of poorer biodiversity in Australia. An emergent body of research suggests that Aboriginal land occupation, customary harvesting of wildlife and community-based natural resource management leads to sustainable harvesting and appropriate wildlife populations. Looking further afield to the Northern Territory could prove instructive, as well as examining how joint management of national parks and community ranger programs elsewhere might enhance Queensland's approach to wildlife management.

Altman, J.C. 2003. 'People on country, healthy landscapes and sustainable Indigenous economic futures: The Arnhem land case', *The Drawing Board: An Australian Review of Public Affairs*, 4 (2): 65–82, available at <<http://www.australianreview.net/journal/v4/n2/altman.pdf>>.

Indigenous Australians living on and managing country generate economic, social and ecological benefits locally, regionally and nationally. In previous decades it was assumed that outstation living presented ecological (as well as economic) risks, however recent scientific evidence indicates that unpopulated or unevenly populated landscapes are potentially a far greater environmental risk than populated landscapes. Customary economic participation is presented here as 'caring for country'. Challenges to successful Indigenous land management are outlined, particularly in Arnhem Land, and solutions suggested, such as better institutional arrangements, more steady and reliable funding for key initiatives such as community-based ranger programs, more equitable support (compared with National Parks and World Heritage areas), and appropriate recognition of the benefits Indigenous people living on country produces. Expanding the hybrid economy in Arnhem Land might match local Indigenous desires and national policy goals. The 'People on Country' project develops and investigates many of the themes put forward in this article.

Altman, J.C. 2004. 'Economic development and Indigenous Australia: Contestations over property, institutions and ideology', *The Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 48 (3): 513–34, available at <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8489.2004.00253.x/pdf>>.

This article is adapted from a keynote address at the 48th Australian Agricultural and Resource Economics Society Conference in 2004. Altman insists that in the hybrid economy model, the customary non-market sector should not be conflated with notions of a 'pristine' pre-colonial hunter-gatherer economy, nor work within the domestic domain. This is because the customary sector is modern, and activity is often undertaken beyond the household, using a combination of new and old technology and expertise. Altman distinguishes his hybrid economy approach to that of others previously seeking to make non-market work visible, in that this past work has focused on the household, whereas customary activity often occurs beyond the household and involves individual and group resource, property and sharing norms. The customary sector is presented as the economic sphere where Indigenous people in remote Australia have competitive advantage and can enjoy more social benefit if support and resources are available. Several examples of activity in the intersections of the hybrid economy are provided, including wildlife harvesting, Indigenous fisheries, Indigenous arts, natural resource management and greenhouse gas abatement.

Altman, J.C. 2004. 'Economic development and participation for remote Indigenous communities', *Topical Issue No. 04/2004, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra*, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2004TI4.php>>.

Altman was invited to present a version of this Topical Issue to the Ministerial Council for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs in 2003. It highlights the diversity of circumstances in remote and regional Australia, where hybrid economies dominate. Altman suggests that the narrative, promulgated by official statistics, that remote economies are in crisis, is overstated, given that official conceptualisations of such economies ignore the customary sector. The examples of Indigenous arts and community-based ranger programs are used, among others, to demonstrate the extent to which the customary sector, and the diverse benefits it creates, figures prominently in remote and regional communities. There are barriers to expanding the hybrid economy, including those associated with gun and fishing regulation and property rights, funding and infrastructure shortfalls. Altman recommends that the contribution of Indigenous people in the hybrid economy be acknowledged, as well as the likelihood that many Indigenous aspirations in such remote regions will gravitate towards this livelihood form. An honest discourse about Indigenous development that recognises that the market is generally absent in some settings, and acknowledges the complex factors preventing economic independence, statistical equality and welfare reduction is required. The hybrid economy model could be applied to more settled regions, even in the metropolitan context, with appropriate adjustments.

Altman, J.C. 2004. 'Promoting Aboriginal economic interests in natural resource management in NSW: Perspectives from tropical North Australia and some prospects', *Topical Issue No. 06/2004, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra*, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2004TI6.php>>.

The Topical Issue is adapted from a paper presented at the Symposium 'Relationships between Aboriginal people and land management issues in NSW: Barriers and bridges to successful partnerships', 1–3 October 2003, University of Wollongong. It uses the Kuninjku example to describe the customary economy. The customary economy is situated within the caring for country movement in north Australia. Aboriginal living on country and customary economic engagement is, Altman suggests, highly compatible, and even essential for, general conservation and biodiversity management goals. The customary economy is implicated in global processes and generates local, regional and national benefits that are usually

not fully recognised. The hybrid economy in the north and in NSW is compared, with greater private sector employment and small business opportunities in the latter. The customary sector is smaller and more oriented towards establishing and maintaining cultural connections, particularly through heritage protection and in co-managed national parks in NSW, whereas wildlife harvesting and CNRM are more common in the north.

Feary, S., Kanowski, P., Altman, J. and Baker, R. 2010. 'Managing forest country: Aboriginal Australians and the forestry sector', *Australian Forestry*, 73 (2): 126–134, available at <<http://search.informit.com.au/fullText;dn=201010892;res=APAFT>>.

This article is based on Sue Feary's doctoral work. It examines the relationships and degrees of engagement between sustainable forest management and Aboriginal people. There is a tendency within the forest sector to see conservation and commercial ventures as oppositional, and mainstream conservation and Indigenous land management or 'Caring for Country' as essentially similar. Both notions can be complexified using the hybrid economy framework (for example, the authors observe that Aboriginal 'Caring for Country' entails both resource exploitation and protection, which can be seen within and across the sectors of the hybrid economy). After canvassing three case studies, the paper concludes that 'Aboriginal forestry' encompasses a spectrum of diverse and varied economic and social activities and values; forests remain a landscape where opportunities for reconciliation and redressing disadvantage exist.

3. ART

One area commonly identified with Indigeneity in Australia is art. However the economic significance of regional and remote Aboriginal art practice, beyond market returns (which are themselves sometimes underestimated), might be more readily appreciated from a hybrid economy perspective. As previously mentioned, Altman often refers to art to illustrate the interdependencies and overlap between the three sectors of the hybrid economy and, as with cultural and natural resource management, uses it as a means to explore those instances in which cultural and economic priorities coalesce. Taken collectively, the following readings discuss the links between art practice, on country living and cultural and natural resource management, within the broader context of Indigenous economic development policy and possibilities in Australia.

Altman, J.C. 2004. 'Brokering Kuninjkun art: Artists, institutions and the market', in H. Perkins (ed.), *Crossing Country: The Alchemy of Western Arnhem Land Art*, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 173–187.

Altman presents a socio-political history of Maningrida Arts and Culture (MAC, Maningrida Arts and Craft from 1968–1993), which forms part of the Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation, as it relates to the Kuninjkun, with whom Altman has a long association. He focuses on the shifting and multi-faceted role of (generally non-Indigenous) art advisers at MAC and their relationships with Kuninjkun artists and their work. Kuninjkun art production changed under the reins of various art advisers at MAC, and booms in particular art forms such as wood carvings and *mimihs* (sculptures of spirits) in the mid 1990s demonstrate the ability of Kuninjkun artists and advisers to adapt to market demands. The Kuninjkun, among the last wave of Aboriginal people to encounter colonialism in Australia, are now among Australia's leading artists, with vast quantities of cultural capital on the local and international stage. Altman traces this success to a period of 'cultural revival' from the 1970s, with land rights, the outstations movement and state support for Aboriginal community based corporations, combined with the 'cultural brokering' of Kuninjkun artists, being key processes. Here Altman suggests that the commercial is embedded in the social, and MAC's status as a hybrid institution is key to its success.

MAC:
Maningrida Arts
and Culture

Altman, J.C. 2005. *Brokering Aboriginal Art: A Critical Perspective on Marketing, Institutions, and the State*, Kenneth Meyer Lecture in Arts & Entertainment Management, R. Rentschler (ed.), Centre for Leisure Management Research, Bowater School of Management and Marketing, Deakin University, Melbourne, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2005TI5.php>>.

This was originally presented as the 2005 Kenneth Myer Lecture when Altman was the George Fairfax Visiting Fellow at Deakin University. Altman addresses the paradox that successful Aboriginal arts movements thrive under harsh conditions in remote communities across Australia by highlighting the crucial, brokering role of hybrid, inter-cultural arts institutions. He engages with Aboriginal artist Richard Bell's statement that Aboriginal art is 'a white thing', agreeing in the sense that Aboriginal art relies on state patronage, white arts advisers and white audiences, but disagreeing in the sense that the crucial mediating organisations are inter-cultural and hybrid, created from a combination of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal processes, rather than being 'white' institutions. Aboriginal art in the 1970s is discussed, when modern marketing of Aboriginal art began with the creation of widespread community-based arts centres (some already existed but often with strong missionary influence and basic infrastructure), usually in remote locations, with arts advisers accountable to artists. Altman proposes that the fragility of art centres is due to a reluctance to recognise their hybrid character as institutions

that have both commercial and cultural facets. For example, viewing art centres as commercial leads to a call for them to become independent from public support and pressure to sign Shared Responsibility Agreements, with the attendant expectations for socio-economic outcomes.

Altman, J.C. 2005. 'From Mumeka to Basel: John Mawurndjul's artistic odyssey', in C. Kaufmann (ed.), <<Rark>> *John Mawurndjul: Journey Through Time in Northern Australia*, Schwabe Verlag, Basel, 30–41, available at <http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr-dev/sites/default/files/StaffProfiles/stafffiles/jon-altman//2005_JohnMawurndjul.pdf>.

This contextualising biographical essay charts John's life and career from his birth in Arnhem Land, adolescence in Maningrida and artistic beginnings in Mumeka up to his retrospective exhibition in Basel, Switzerland in 2005. Mawurndjul is a hunter, fisher, commercial harvester of wildlife and ceremonial leader. He is involved in cultural and natural resource management as well as being an artist; his economic engagement is thus in all sectors of the hybrid economy. Altman looks at the complex and competing demands Mawurndjul negotiates to successfully occupy all of these roles.

Altman, J.C. 2007. 'Inquiry into Australia's Indigenous Visual Arts and Craft Sector, Submission to the Senate Environment, Communications, Information Technology and the Arts Committee', *Topical Issue No. 04/2007*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2007TI4.php>>.

This Topical Issue was provided as a submission to the first inquiry conducted under a new Indigenous affairs framework introduced in 2004, based on a whole-of-government approach, mutual obligation, shared responsibility and mainstreaming. Much Indigenous art relies on living 'on country', which itself depends on land rights and native title, outstations and access to income support (especially through CDEP). Altman argues that in spite of a 'whole-of-government' discourse, the interdependency and interconnectivity of the Indigenous visual arts sector with other sectors and conditions (such as those mentioned above) is generally overlooked in the Indigenous affairs policy environment. Such interconnectivity is readily acknowledged and illustrated by the hybrid economy model.

4. MAINSTREAMING AND DIVERSITY

This section has three parts: the first contains readings discussing government mainstreaming of Indigenous economic and social policy in a general sense; the second on the topic of the winding back of the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP); and the third concerns the 'real economy' discourse that has gained considerable traction in Australian public discourse on Indigenous economic development in recent times.

General critiques on mainstreaming and diversity canvassed here including some discussion of the 'Closing the Gap' policy framework introduced by the Rudd government in 2008 and formally adopted by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) in late 2008 and the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) Intervention launched in 2007. This first part concludes with one very recent critique of the Commonwealth government's approach to Indigenous economic development. Here, Altman argues that by advocating a uniformly mainstream vision of the place of Indigenous people in the Australian economy, the Commonwealth government fails to acknowledge and accommodate the diversity of Indigenous economic circumstances and aspirations.

CDEP began in 1977 as a pilot program in the Northern Territory. The aim of the program was to combine job creation, income support and community development, with participants working for a minimum number of hours in return for wages set at approximately award rates. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s it was expanded, and by the late 1990s it became a national Indigenous specific labour market scheme. Many participants have taken up the opportunity to work hours additional to the minimum requirement, receiving 'top up' payments for doing so. Local organisations administering CDEP have received funds to pay participants and meet associated costs. In many cases CDEP underwrites community development and is the basis for establishing commercial enterprise and broader, locally relevant employment opportunities. In some very remote areas, CDEP is effectively the only paid labour employment opportunity available to Aboriginal people. Altman emphasises that the flexibility of CDEP enables people to undertake paid employment and customary activity simultaneously. In 2007 CDEP was abolished in urban areas. It is currently proposed that all remaining CDEP participants will be transferred onto income support payments from April 2012, with the stated aim of facilitating their movement into mainstream (non-CDEP) jobs.⁷

The 'real economy' construct, which rose to prominence in Australian Indigenous economic policy due to the writings of Noel Pearson from the year 2000, is a key counterpoint to the hybrid economy approach. Pearson (2009: 154–158)⁸ employs this term to describe economic forms where what people consume is shaped by what they produce. He contrasts this with the 'gammon economy of passive welfare', which Pearson sees as unreal because there is no requirement to work in return for personal security or sustenance. Pearson describes three kinds of 'real economies', each associated, in the first instance, with a different phase of Indigenous and settler-colonial relations:

- 1) the traditional subsistence economy (hunting, fishing, gathering)
- 2) the institutional modern subsistence economy (traditional hunting and gathering combined with mission-regulated engagement in various industries of the mainstream economy)
- 3) the market economy

Pearson notes that the 'traditional'⁹ subsistence economy, incorporating modern tools, persists and is important in that it facilitates good health and the rejuvenation of responsibility and reciprocity (2009: 155). He argues that "Indigenous communities in remote Australia live in 'hybrid economies'—with some real traditional economic activity and some real modern economic activity— [but] it must be admitted

CDEP:

Community
Development
Employment
Program

COAG:

Council of
Australian
Governments

NTER:

Northern Territory
Emergency
Response

that what I have called 'passive welfare' is today the predominant component of Indigenous economies in Australia" (2009: 328). Although Pearson here acknowledges the existence of hybrid economies, the central core of his work on the 'real economy', as Altman and others acknowledge, is the argument, based on the Cape York region, that Aboriginal economic development requires that the passive welfare economy be replaced with the last of these forms: the market economy.

Several entries in the latter part of this section propose that the 'real' economy in remote Indigenous Australia is the hybrid economy, because it reduces the risk of market dependence, increases existing competitive advantage, and is in many instances a superior match with livelihood aspirations in remote and regional Australia than the oft promoted mainstream path.

4.1 GENERAL

Altman, J.C. 2005. 'Indigenous social policy and the new mainstreaming', *Topical Issue No. 01/2005*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2005TI1.php>>.

This Topical Issue is informed by research conducted for an article in *Dialogue* in 2004.¹⁰ Altman looks at a speech that Senator Vanstone, then Minister for Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, gave to the Bennelong Society, and the Howard Government's 'Opportunity and Responsibility' Election 2004 Indigenous Australians policy. He argues that these two documents epitomise the 'new mainstreaming' approach to Indigenous affairs. The strengths and weaknesses of such an approach is discussed; Altman concludes that Indigenous development, especially for remote and very remote Australia, will not be achieved with market-based visions alone.

Altman, J. 2007. 'In the name of the market?', in J.C. Altman, and M. Hinkson (eds), *Coercive Reconciliation: Stabilise, Normalise, Exit Aboriginal Australia*, Arena Publications Association, Melbourne, 307–21.

In this early critique of the Northern Territory Emergency Response Intervention, Altman explores the dominance of neoliberal principles, arguing that radical changes in land management and use, welfare provision and community governance have been undertaken ostensibly 'in the name of the child', but with a view to changing distinctive economic and social forms 'in the name of the market'. The language of 'viability' and the 'real economy' regarding small, remote Aboriginal communities is challenged, and the argument put forward that institutions like CDEP and the community empowerment they can foster are central to economic engagement. The hybrid economy is presented as an alternative model for economic development in 'prescribed communities' in the Northern Territory.

Altman, J.C. 2007. 'The Howard Government's Northern Territory Intervention: Are neo-paternalism and Indigenous development compatible?', *Topical Issue No. 16/2007*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2007TI16.php>>.

This Topical Issue is based on an invited keynote address delivered at the AIATSIS 'Forty Years On: Political transformation and sustainability since the Referendum and into the future' Conference. Altman sees the NTER as a return to the assimilation era and as an unrealistic and unworkable approach that threatens livelihood-oriented Indigenous development initiatives and institutions (which are valued in the hybrid economy). He outlines former Prime Minister John Howard's ideological approach to Indigenous Affairs and the conditions that facilitated its implementation, first with the bipartisan abolition of ATSIC in 2004, then the Coalition Senate majority from July 1 2005.

Altman, J.C. 2008. 'Submission to the Northern Territory Emergency Response Review', *Topical Issue No. 10/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI10.php>.

Many of the blanket measures imposed on 'prescribed communities' to implement the Northern Territory Emergency Response are critiqued here. Altman departs from mainstream, indicators-based conceptions of economic development by defining it in terms of individuals and social groups improving their wellbeing through engaging in diverse livelihood options. He criticises the promotion of false binaries, such as the notion that Aboriginal Australians can participate either in the kin-based or the market-based economy and society. Instead, Altman proposes that most Aboriginal people live in an intercultural zone between the customary and market economy. In other words, they engage in hybrid economies. Indigenous living on country precludes participating solely in the mainstream or market economy, or indeed any sector, independently of the others. There are advantages and possibilities that could result from reframing economic thinking towards hybridity and diversity. Altman argues that the hybrid economy model reflects the reality of many Indigenous people in the Northern Territory.

Altman, J.C. 2009. 'Beyond closing the gap: Valuing diversity in Indigenous Australia', *Working Paper No. 54*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2009WP54.php>.[†]

Altman critiques the Closing the Gap approach for having too great an emphasis on statistical equality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians and too little import on diversity. Focusing on the employment gap, Altman suggests that technical endeavours to close this gap in remote Australia may actually widen it. He uses the Kuninjkun example to illustrate how Aboriginal livelihoods in remote Australia often occur within the hybrid economy but perhaps do not fit easily into a statistical framework calling for formal economic equality. Altman notes Aboriginal people's unwillingness to rely on any single sector of the hybrid economy in isolation and the wisdom of such an approach, especially given the vagaries of the market. The state, this paper argues, should accept and value the diversity and flexibility evident in Aboriginal participation in hybrid economies. Altman calls for a balanced, broader and more inclusive conceptualisation of Indigenous development than that currently dominant in Australia.

Altman, J. and May, K. 2010. 'Poverty alleviation in remote Indigenous Australia', in G. Minnerup, and P. Solberg (eds), *First World, First Nations: Internal Colonialism and Indigenous Self-Determination in Northern Europe and Australia*, Sussex Academic Press, Eastbourne, UK, 149–167.[†]

The hybrid economy is used as an example of post-colonial adaptation. Unlike in comparable 'Third World' settings, the state is central, both directly and indirectly, in supporting customary and market activity in remote Aboriginal Australia. Analysis of data from the 2002 NATSISS suggesting that the customary sector is robust throughout remote Aboriginal Australia is used to address the concern that the hybrid economy may be limited to certain geographical areas. Altman and May critique the mainstreaming approach evident in current policy towards Aboriginal people, particularly in regards to homelands or outstations, for overlooking the comparative advantage remote-living Aboriginal people have in the customary sector. They suggest that such an approach will not achieve poverty reduction and could actually unintentionally have the opposite effect.

Altman, J. 2010. 'What future for remote Indigenous Australia?: Economic hybridity and the neoliberal turn', in J.C. Altman and M. Hinkson (eds), *Culture Crisis: Anthropology and Politics in Aboriginal Australia*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 259–280.*

Here Altman critiques the National Indigenous Reform Agreement ('Closing the Gap') for being a technical and managerial approach that does not allow for Indigenous difference and diversity, particularly in remote Australia. The hybrid economy is presented as an 'approach that can encompass a wider set of economic forms and intercultural values'. Most productive activity occurs where different sectors meet. Art production and ranger activities in remote Aboriginal Australia are used as examples of intercultural, and inter-sectoral, production in the hybrid economy. Section 7 of the hybrid economy, where customary, state and market meet, is described as a 'bliss point' where people may satisfy individual, family and kinship needs and obligations in both the market and domestic moral economy. Cybertracker use in ranger programs is cited as an example of hybrid use of technology. The hybrid economy might be a useful framework for Aboriginal people in remote Australia to mount political arguments for more equitable access to resources. The hybrid economy is also put forth as an alternative to pervasive centre/periphery thinking.

Altman, J.C. and Fogarty, B. 2010. 'Indigenous Australians as 'No Gaps' Subjects: Education and development in remote Australia', in I. Snyder and J. Nieuwenhuysen (eds), *Closing the Gap in Education: Improving Outcomes in Southern World Societies*, Monash University E Press, Melbourne, 109–128, available at <<http://books.publishing.monash.edu/apps/bookworm/view/Closing+the+Gap+in+Education%3F55/xhtml/part03chapter01.html>>.*

Altman and Fogarty contest the view that closing the gap in education will improve Indigenous socioeconomic outcomes. They suggest that innovative education targeted to the various vocational needs in the hybrid economies of remote Australia is required, rather than a mainstream approach, and that the statistical focus of 'Closing the Gap' is therefore inadequate. The case studies of ranger activities in Warddeken and Djelk Indigenous Protected Areas in western Arnhem Land (both groups are partners in the CAEPR 'People on Country' project) are used. The authors urge that educational policy for remote areas of Australia provide support for Indigenous land and sea management skills transfer and vocational training so that Indigenous engagement in hybrid economies might be recognised and enhanced.

Altman, J. and Hinkson, M. 2010. 'Very Risky Business: The quest to normalize remote-living Aboriginal people', in G. Marston, J. Moss, and J. Quiggin (eds), *Risk, Responsibility and the Welfare State*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne 185–211.

Drawing on Beck and Giddens' notion of a 'risk society', or an industrialised society geared towards specific constructs of the future and safety and concerned to mitigate the perceived risks that modernisation itself generates, Altman and Hinkson argue that the many measures of the Northern Territory Emergency Response embody an attitude of culture as risk. Individualisation, they propose, is one state-sanctioned strategy mobilised to eliminate distinctly Aboriginal practices and modes construed as risky. Alternatively, the hybrid economy is presented here as a creative adaptation on the part of remote-living Aboriginal Australians. Diverse economic activities occur in remote Australia, and engagement in productive activities such as hunting and art reduce risk, in that people do not solely rely on one sector of the economy. Altman and Hinkson draw attention to movement between sectors of the hybrid economy as well as between waged work and other forms of meaningful activity. They argue that the current state approach in Australia of advocating mainstream market engagement and little else for remote-living Aborigines is risky. This chapter suggests that the Australian state recognise and comprehensively support the crucial role Indigenous people can and do play in environmental stewardship.

Altman, J.C. 2011. 'The Draft Indigenous Economic Development Strategy: A critical response', *Topical Issue No. 03/2011*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2011TI3.php>.

Altman adapted this Topical Issue from a submission to the Australian Government's Indigenous Economic Development Strategy Draft for Consultation. He contests the prominent 'narrative of [overwhelming] failure' in Indigenous economic development, noting past success needs to be acknowledged and replicated. The Draft Strategy is here characterized as 'Close the Gap Plus', meaning a model based on statistical deficits. The direct and indirect benefits of Aboriginal customary economic activity, including self-provisioning and the maintenance and reproduction of local knowledge, are detailed. Altman recommends a more nuanced definition of economic development; acknowledgement that an intercultural mix of norms inform economic decision-making; engagement with complex issues of identifying and targeting economic development assistance to Indigenous Australians; engagement with past policy reviews; consideration to strengthening Indigenous property rights in commercially valuable resources; a focus on the state getting institutional settings right; improved engagement with Indigenous communities regarding the development of the Draft Strategy itself and the establishment of a parliamentary enquiry into Indigenous economic development in Australia.

4.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Altman, J.C. and Hunter, B. 2005. 'Economic life', in B. Arthur and F. Morphy (eds), *Macquarie Atlas of Indigenous Australia: Culture and Society Through Space and Time*, The Macquarie Library Pty Ltd., Sydney, 182–93, available at http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr-dev/sites/default/files/StaffProfiles/stafffiles/jon-altman/2005_MacAtlas_Economic.pdf.

In this synoptic chapter, Altman and Hunter argue that the dominant definition of development (in the Western context) as the market value of production means that the customary sector and social dimensions of the economy, such as patterns of consumption and distribution, tend to be overlooked. 'Economic' and 'cultural' values converge (if they are ever indeed separate) in the customary sector. The Djelk Community Ranger Program, based in Maningrida, is an example of work in the customary sector. The authors note that customary economic activity is particularly significant in those areas where the market sector is small or barely existent. The compatibility of CDEP with hunting and gathering and the capacity to meet cultural obligations is raised. The authors conclude that there is locational variation with regard to the size of the market and customary sectors for Aboriginal people, with the market dominating in metropolitan Australia and the state and customary sectors paramount in remote areas.

Altman, J.C. and Morrison, J. 2005. 'Enhancing economic independence' in *National Reconciliation Planning Workshop: Discussion Papers*, Reconciliation Australia, Canberra, 34–37.

Presented at Reconciliation Australia's *National Reconciliation Planning Workshop* in 2005, this paper addresses key questions around economic independence for Indigenous Australians, including how to best target assistance, the role of the States and Commonwealth, the suitability of mainstreaming approaches and appreciating the diversity of Indigenous economic circumstances. Altman and Morrison cite the ongoing significance of the customary economy in parts of remote and regional Australia, in part due to the favourable conditions generated by land rights and the outstations/homelands movement for its continuity, as well as the absence of market opportunities. Given the recognition of property rights to resources used for domestic purposes, they predict that economic development in these regions of Australia will entail the growth of all three sectors of the hybrid economy. Greater

Indigenous economic independence could be achieved with better understanding of the differences within Indigenous Australia, for instance, the specific economic barriers and opportunities in remote Australia compared to more settled areas of the country.

Altman, J.C. 2005. 'CDEP 2005—A new home and new objectives for a very old program?', *Topical Issue No. 07/2005*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2005TI7.php>>.

This Topical Issue was originally presented, with Matthew Gray, as part of the 2005 CAEPR seminar series. The previous year, CDEP was moved from ATSIC to the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations (DEWR). What began as a 'work for welfare' program in 1977 expanded to involve community development, enterprise development, employment creation and income support. Most CDEP participants live in remote or very remote communities, where mainstream employment options are very restricted. Altman argues that CDEP is active welfare, but many have conflated it with passive welfare, which leads to the assumption it is part of the 'unreal' economy rather than the 'real' economy. He summarises *CAEPR Discussion Paper 271* and a DEWR Discussion Paper released shortly after, which supported the continuation of CDEP. The DEWR CDEP Discussion Paper ignores official statistics and research that demonstrate that many activities which create local and national benefits are reliant on CDEP. Altman looks to the challenge of how CDEP development could grow all sectors (market and non-market) of the hybrid economy.

Altman, J.C. and Gray, M.C. 2005. 'The CDEP Scheme: A flexible and innovative employment and community development program for Indigenous Australians', in M. Considine, B. Howe and L. Rosewarne (eds), *Transitions and Risk: New Directions in Social Policy*, International Social Policy Conference, Centre for Public Policy, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1–9, available at <http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr-dev/sites/default/files/StaffProfiles/stafffiles/jon-altman//2005_TransitionsAndRisk.pdf>.

This paper was prepared for the *Transitions and Risk: New Directions in Social Policy* conference in Melbourne in 2005. It situates CDEP within the recent mainstreaming and 'mutual obligation' turn in Indigenous affairs, arguing that CDEP has operated under principles of mutual obligation and reciprocity for nearly 30 years. CDEP is described as the most significant labour market program for Indigenous Australians, especially in remote and very remote parts of the country. CDEP organisations are provided funding which is used for wages for CDEP participants, employment training, activity and enterprise support, administrative and capital support and income support. CDEP is a positive and appropriate scheme for Indigenous people in remote and very remote Australia, who are distant from mainstream labour markets and opportunities and many of whom have different hopes and opportunities to other Australians. Altman and Gray cite studies of CDEP finding that the scheme generates positive wellbeing, community development and social outcomes. Findings from the 2002 NATSISS suggest that CDEP employment allows participants to engage in the customary sector and the market sector. The authors find, in addition, that CDEP generates significant benefits in what they call 'national resource management', through 'Caring for Country' programs and CDEP providing the flexibility for participants to choose to engage with resource management related activities should they wish to.

Altman, J.C., Gray, M.C. and Levitus, R. 2005. 'Policy issues for the Community Development Employment Projects scheme in rural and remote Australia', *Discussion Paper No. 271*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/DP/2005DP271.php>>.

This paper examines the statistical evidence on the social and economic outcomes for the CDEP scheme. The evidence indicates that the scheme is cost-effective in achieving positive economic and community development outcomes. Indigenous Australians participating in CDEP (around 35,000 people or more than one-quarter of total Indigenous employment at the time of writing) were engaged in a mutual obligation type arrangement long before the new, explicit emphasis on 'mutual obligation' in policy as a result of the McClure review of the social security system in 2000. The authors explain that those employed in CDEP are more likely to participate in customary activity than those in mainstream employment; part of the attraction of CDEP is that it facilitates undertaking customary activity while maintaining paid work. They recommend continued support and enhanced resourcing for CDEP.

Altman, J.C. 2007. 'Scrapping CDEP is just plain dumb', *Topical Issue No. 11/2007*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2007TI11.php>>.

This Topical Issue was first published in *Crikey*.¹¹ Altman strongly criticises the move to abolish the Community Development Employment Projects scheme in the Northern Territory as misguided. The arts, the management of Indigenous Protected Areas and community-based Caring for Country Ranger programs (i.e. important and dynamic components of the hybrid economy), and levels of Indigenous employment more generally will all suffer without CDEP. Altman takes a historical view of unemployment in remote and very remote Australia, citing the introduction of award wages in the 1970s as the catalyst for the introduction of CDEP by the Fraser Government in 1977. CDEP maximises individual choice because participants can work part-time, full-time and overtime if they so choose. A motive other than creating so called 'real jobs' that underlies the dismantling of CDEP may have been to have a single system for welfare quarantining and possibly to limit the power and influence of Indigenous organisations administering CDEP.

Altman, J.C. 2007. 'Neo-paternalism and the destruction of CDEP', *Topical Issue No. 14/2007*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2007TI14.php>>.

This Topical Issue was first published in *Arena Magazine*.¹² It discusses the announcement that CDEP would be abolished in the Northern Territory as the twelfth measure under the Northern Territory Emergency Response. CDEP in urban areas was dismantled mid-way through 2007. The 'passive welfare'/'real jobs' dichotomy, associated with Noel Pearson and adopted widely in public policy and commentary, is a false one (this dichotomy, and others, can be challenged using the hybrid economy framework). NATSISS 2002 data analysis demonstrates the success of CDEP. Because CDEP participants are classified as employed, the end of CDEP will see a dramatic increase in Indigenous unemployment. Altman focuses on the Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation, one of the largest CDEP organisations in the Northern Territory, and the enormous effect the closure of CDEP would have on the provision of services and individual, social and economic wellbeing in the Maningrida region. He suggests that the NTER will create jobs for non-Indigenous bureaucrats rather than Aboriginal people living remotely and will undermine other Government priorities and programs, such as Indigenous Protected Areas. The ultimate result of the abolition of CDEP will be increased state dependence.

Altman, J.C. and Sanders, W. 2008. 'Re-vitalising the Community Development Employment Program in the Northern Territory', Submission prepared in response to the Northern Territory Government's Review of Community Development Employment Program Discussion Paper, *Topical Issue No. 05/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI5.php>>.

In this Topical Issue, CDEP participation is positioned somewhere between employment and unemployment. Altman and Sanders highlight the flexibility of CDEP in accommodating spatial as well as occupational mobility (i.e. between different sectors of the hybrid economy). They see the differentiation of labour markets in remote communities and the recognition of people's frequent movement between them as crucial. Easier access to capital support, multi-year rolling funding for robust CDEP organisations and a Guaranteed Minimum Income for Outstations are among the recommendations proposed here. Describing CDEP as welfare is a misrepresentation that overlooks the employment, productive activity, service provision and income it generates. However, CDEP alone cannot provide the solutions to complex pressures and hardships in remote Aboriginal Australia.

4.3 'REAL ECONOMY' CRITIQUE

Altman, J.C. 2005. 'Development options on Aboriginal land: Sustainable Indigenous hybrid economies in the twenty-first century', in L. Taylor, G. Ward, G. Henderson, R. Davis and L. Wallis (eds), *The Power of Knowledge, the Resonance of Tradition*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 34–38, available at <http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr-dev/sites/default/files/StaffProfiles/stafffiles/jon-altman//2005_PowerOfKnowledge.pdf>.

This chapter builds on Altman's 2001 Discussion Paper 'Sustainable development options on Aboriginal land: The hybrid economy in the 21st century' (see entry 1 at part 1). The 'real' (market) and 'unreal' (welfare) economic binary is seen to be an oversimplification in which the significant, and often robust, customary (or non-market) sector is overlooked. Altman cites Yang's concept of economic hybridity and Gibson-Graham's community economy as approaches related to his own. The hybrid economy is here presented as intercultural and dependent on community-based organisations and brokers. Key features of the hybrid economy include its ability to accommodate and facilitate Indigenous norms of mobility (i.e. people move between the different sectors); the variability in size, depending on location, of each sector; and little material accumulation, long-term saving and investment from the perspective of dominant market-based economic thinking. The relationship between 'culture' and 'economy' can be recast by repositioning the customary sector as a key component of the contemporary economy.

Altman, J.C. 2005. 'Economic futures on Aboriginal land in remote and very remote Australia: Hybrid economies and joint ventures', in D. Austin-Broos and G. Macdonald (eds), *Culture, Economy and Governance in Aboriginal Australia*, University of Sydney Press, Sydney, 111–134.*

The hybrid economy is presented here as intercultural and highly reliant on community-based organisations, many of which are 'joint ventures', that is, Aboriginal-controlled, state supported, and often white-managed (e.g. Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation). Altman describes the particularities of the development context in remote Indigenous Australia, including the different forms of land ownership in operation, small populations isolated from the market geographically and culturally, and the late arrival of colonialism in some areas of Arnhem Land and Central Australia. These characteristics mean that customary systems and practices are strong. In light of this, Altman contends that development policies for remote Australia based on the two-sector economic model will fail. The hybrid economy is the real economy for Indigenous people in remote and very remote Australia, Altman argues. The dominant relations of production and distribution in each sector of the hybrid economy are described.

Altman, J.C., Buchanan, G. and Biddle, N. 2006. 'Measuring the "real" Indigenous economy in remote Australia using NATSISS 2002', *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, 9 (1): 17–31, available at <<http://search.informit.com.au/fullText;dn=200612745;res=APAF>>.^{*13}

This article represents one approach to 'Indigenise' the economy by including the usually ignored non-market customary sector. Data from the 2002 NATSISS on fishing and hunting, art and craft and the ability of Indigenous people to satisfy cultural responsibilities whilst in employment is explored. The authors examine the questions, results and limitations of the 2002 NATSISS and make recommendations for the 2008 NATSISS regarding data on hunting, fishing and gathering activities. They look to the Canadian Aboriginal Peoples Survey in 2001 for guidance on how to collect data on hunting, fishing and gathering as economically and culturally significant activities (i.e. as activities that occupy several overlapping sectors of the hybrid economy). Overlooking the contributions of Indigenous Australians in the customary sector of the hybrid economy reinforces a notion of development that may undermine Indigenous world-views, practices, wellbeing and aspirations.

Altman, J.C. 2009. 'The hybrid economy and anthropological engagements with policy discourse: A brief reflection', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 20 (3): 318–29, available at <<http://search.informit.com.au/fullText;dn=201001507;res=APAF>>.*

Altman developed this article from a presentation delivered at the Australian Anthropological Society Plenary Panel Session 'The economic in contemporary anthropology' in 2007. Kuningku tend to conceptualise their productive economic activity as occurring in three discrete spheres (market, state and customary), whereas Altman is interested in the overlap of intersections of the sectors of the hybrid economy. The Northern Territory Emergency Response reveals tensions about the extent and form of state involvement in remote Indigenous Australia. Altman argues that the 'real economy' framework overlooks structural limitations regarding mainstream employment and the interdependencies between all sectors of the hybrid economy in these regions. He describes the hybrid economy discourse as subordinate, but influential in certain spheres. Economic anthropology needs to understand changing intercultural hybrid economies in the current climate and engage in the political processes affecting local economies.

5. HYBRID INSTITUTIONS AND INTERCULTURALITY

Altman uses hybridity not just in relation to livelihood activities; he also applies the concept to the particular relationships and institutions that underlie, and in some sense structure, economic life.

This section includes readings examining the structural conditions or facilitators of hybrid economies. Intercultural values regarding natural resources, governance, cooperative management, arts infrastructure and mobility are presented. Many of the following readings examine the kinds of partnerships, agency and social environments required for hybrid economies to flourish.

Altman, J.C. and Cochrane, M. 2005. 'Sustainable development in the indigenous-owned savanna: Innovative institutional design for cooperative wildlife management', *Wildlife Research*, 32: 473–80, available at <http://www.publish.csiro.au/?act=view_file&file_id=WR04074.pdf>.

This article draws on Altman and Cochrane's *CAEPR Discussion Paper No. 247* in 2003 (first entry at 2.2). It canvasses the Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation's recent engagement in wildlife utilisation as an example of cooperative wildlife management on Indigenous-owned land in the tropical savanna. Hybrid approaches and hybrid institutions are required to realise sustainable development. Such hybridity would be achieved through interaction between Indigenous Ecological Knowledge and biological and social scientific knowledge. Commercial and customary use of wildlife are positioned within a natural resource management context as part of sustainable economic and ecological development involving and benefiting Indigenous people and the general public alike. Institutional innovation and collaboration are needed, as is adapting income-support schemes (the Canadian Cree Income Security Program is one example) to the outstations movement and the hybrid economy. Commercial use of wildlife, which is currently restricted, could, the authors argue, enhance Indigenous economic and political control over their land and natural resources.

Altman, J.C. 2007. 'Art business: The Indigenous visual arts infrastructure', in H. Perkins and M. West (eds), *One Sun, One Moon: Indigenous Art in Australia*, Art Gallery of NSW, Sydney, 43–49, available at <http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr-dev/sites/default/files/StaffProfiles/stafffiles/jon-altman//2007_OneSun.pdf>.

Altman argues that community-controlled art organisations are hybrid with cultural (customary) and commercial (market), Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, local and global components. He attributes much of the success of Australian Indigenous art to these organisations, which collect, document and market art. The debate, emerging from the 1970s, over whether community-controlled arts organisations are fundamentally commercial or cultural enterprises overlooks their hybridity and interculturality. Aboriginal art centres are critical brokering institutions, and arts advisors play a complex and multifaceted role within this. Altman provides a historical overview of the development of Aboriginal art centres, which are incorporated organisations with artists as members, a model which departed radically from its mission-based predecessor. He advises against mainstreaming the Indigenous arts movement, concluding that Indigenous arts are a successful instance of the culturally appropriate use of particular Indigenous expertise for economic development.

Altman, J.C. and Hinkson, M. 2007. 'Mobility and modernity in Arnhem land: The social universe of Kuninjkun trucks', *Journal of Material Culture*, 12 (2): 181–203, available at <<http://mcu.sagepub.com/content/12/2/181.full.pdf+html>>.

The authors describe, in historical context, the ways in which vehicles mediate Kuninjkun social processes. They identify the significance of vehicles for Kuninjkun moving to Maningrida in the 1960s and then back to their ancestral lands in the 1970s (having collectively bought vehicles for this purpose). Welfare payments, representing the state sector, are fixed, so Kuninjkun can influence their income level in the customary (harvesting) and market (arts) sectors of the hybrid economy. Trucks allow a high degree of mobility between the customary, market and state sectors of the hybrid economy. Such mobility is partially underwritten by the state, but undermines the state project of sedentarisation and mainstreaming. The mobility afforded by vehicles has also facilitated shifting identity and status for Kuninjkun as well as self-directed, yet in some ways constrained, livelihood options. The use of vehicles enables large-scale harvest expeditions and distribution of bounty, and in this sense plays a role in reaffirming the strength of customary livelihood practices.

Altman, J.C. 2008. 'Different governance for difference: The Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation', in J. Hunt, D.E. Smith, S. Garling, and W. Sanders (eds), *Contested Governance: Culture, Power and Institutions in Indigenous Australia*, CAEPR Research Monograph No. 29, ANU E Press, Canberra, 177–203, available at <http://epress.anu.edu.au/caepr_series/no_29/pdf/ch07.pdf>.

This chapter charts the organisational history of the Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation (BAC), an outstation resource agency based in Maningrida, north-central Arnhem Land, from its establishment in 1979 until late 2007. BAC is a dynamic organisation with a frequently changing all-Aboriginal executive and a non-Indigenous senior management with low turn-over. The Northern Territory Emergency Response has created new challenges for BAC. Altman argues that one key dimension of BAC's success is its ability to navigate tensions between market-based and kin-based forms of governance and accountability. However continuing success depends, to some degree, on the state's willingness to tolerate difference. BAC's governance is intercultural and hybrid; indeed, the organisation has actively adopted the hybrid economy model, which accords with its sense of appropriate development and provides a platform for political advocacy.

BAC:
Bawinanga
Aboriginal
Corporation

Altman, J.C. 2009. 'Contestations over development', in J.C. Altman and D. Martin (eds), *Power, Culture, Economy: Indigenous Australians and Mining*, CAEPR Research Monograph No. 30, ANU E Press, Canberra, 1–15, available at <http://epress.anu.edu.au/caepr_series/no_30/pdf/ch01.pdf>.

An ARC Linkage Project between CAEPR, Rio Tinto and the Committee for Economic Development of Australia (CEDA) between 2002 and 2007 is the basis for this chapter. Research findings concentrate on three case studies: the Ranger Uranium Mine in the Northern Territory, the Yandicoogina Mine in Western Australia and the Century Mine in north Queensland. The chapter questions whether large, long-life extractive mines on Aboriginal land can change the marginal socioeconomic status of Indigenous Australians in a sustainable and significant way. More generally, it analyses the triangular relations between the state, the mining sector and Indigenous people. The three sectors of the hybrid economy are highly interdependent, and none exists in a 'pure form', isolated from the others. A failure to recognise interculturality,

CEDA:
Committee
for Economic
Development of
Australia

or in other words, an adherence to the notion that Indigenous Australians are either 'traditional' or 'modern', lies at the heart of the troubled relationship between the state and mining companies, on one side, and Indigenous traditional owners of land, on the other. This question is approached from the perspectives of economic hybridity, interculturality and the complexity and politics of 'authenticity' and 'recognition' (in native title and land rights processes). The hybrid economy model aims to explain articulations. Economic hybridity can be situated as a significant development option for remote-living Indigenous people.

Jackson, S. and Altman, J.C. 2009. 'Indigenous rights and water policy: Perspectives from tropical north Australia', *Australian Indigenous Law Review*, 13 (1): 27–48, available at <[http://www.ilc.unsw.edu.au/sites/ilc.unsw.edu.au/files/mdocs/13\(1\)_Jackson%20&%20Altman.pdf](http://www.ilc.unsw.edu.au/sites/ilc.unsw.edu.au/files/mdocs/13(1)_Jackson%20&%20Altman.pdf)>.

Jackson and Altman outline findings of an applied research and policy development project undertaken in 2007 for the Indigenous Water Policy Group. The article examines two cases studies: Maningrida and Katherine. In the former, the hybrid economy framework is applied. Seasonal availability of water is crucial for customary activity and the functioning of the hybrid economy more generally; indeed, fresh water is one of the most valuable resources for Indigenous Australians. Indigenous perspectives on water, grounded in diverse customary and Western social norms, are outlined, as well as the ways in which the dominant paradigm for water management tends to ignore this intercultural reality and the myriad water values (including religious and livelihood) beyond the market. The hybrid economy is useful in highlighting non-market values and extent of inter-sectoral linkages, as well as challenging private/public and consumptive/productive dichotomies.

6. CRITICAL ENGAGEMENTS

This part of the topic guide canvasses selected critical engagements with Altman's hybrid economy model, focusing particularly on the more detailed conceptual and analytical contributions. References which might be interpreted as objections to Altman's political positioning rather than critiques of the analytical foundations of the hybrid economy are also discussed.

Several authors briefly mention the hybrid economy and position it as representative of a particular take on Aboriginal economic development and Aboriginal affairs more generally (see Langton 2010; Rothwell 2010:160–161). Passing engagements such as these, particularly where polemic, may involve a degree of over-simplification, as often occur in passionate policy debates. Kowal (2008: 346) takes a more neutral stance, framing Altman's hybrid economy as 'Orientalism' (or difference) favoured over 'remedialism' (statistical equality), concluding that both approaches have particular strengths and weaknesses that can be ascertained by anthropologically analysing the logic of the state. This characterisation of two main approaches to Indigenous affairs is similar to that put forward by Altman and Rowse (2005), who suggests that two "discourses of difference" are at play: one which values cultural difference positively, and one which construes difference as symptomatic of exclusion, racism and neglect. They associate anthropology with the former view and economics with the latter.

Langton (2010: 106) asserts that Altman's hybrid economy framework does not apply to the locations where she and Noel Pearson have been working to reduce welfare dependency and poverty through market engagement, or what Pearson terms the 'real economy' (Pearson 2009:154–158).¹⁴ In contrast, Altman, who has acknowledged the importance of Pearson's welfare dependency argument ('Pearson Spot On', *The Australian*, 17 May 2010), argues that there are instances where welfare is productive and can facilitate market and customary engagement. Some, such as Rothwell (2010: 161) see unsustainable dependency and separatism where Altman sees promising and productive interdependencies and interculturality.

More conceptual critiques of the hybrid economy also exist. Merlan (2009) questions whether the representation of the hybrid economy as separate (overlapping) sectors adequately represents the interdependency and mobility that Altman and others emphasise. In other words, Merlan questions whether the sectors of the hybrid economy are ever discrete, bounded spheres in the first place. Altman (2009a: 8) seems aware of Merlan's concern when he says that 'none [of the sectors] actually exists in isolation in some "pure form"[:] the overlaps between sectors are where significant productive activity occurs'. Perhaps this reflects that Altman and Merlan have different positions on the question of whether interculturality should be conceptualised in terms of domains and interface or a single field of interrelation (see Hinkson and Smith 2005), a point perhaps alluded to in Martin's critique below. In general, Altman's model and Merlan's critique of it raises questions of how to theorise borders, contact and commensurability in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal socioeconomic engagement.

Merlan re-imagines Altman's hybrid economy model in terms of 'differing frameworks of value' and the 'production of particular forms of meaningfulness' (Merlan 2009: 277), arguing that the source and availability of resources cannot be separated from the production of values. Merlan favours 'constellations of activity types' and their values over domains as a way of acknowledging shifts in the resourcing of economic activity. Merlan advocates for a model tracing the relationships between various kinds of economic activity, their resourcing and the complex of associated values. Merlan's take on the hybrid economy model perhaps aligns with Sahlin's (1999a: 411–12; 1999b: xi) comment that hybridity is an analytical construct rather than an ethnographic descriptor. Altman has stated that the hybrid economy model is intended to be a conceptual, descriptive framework (Altman 2011a), however

the legitimacy of the framework is demonstrated with reference to ethnographic research and case studies. Whether one might expect to address the kinds of issues Merlan raises through the ethnographic application of the hybrid economy model seems unclear.

Austin-Broos (2009: 311) sees successful engagement with education and employment as something to be achieved, at least in part, through migration rather than localisation. In contrast, Altman emphasises 'on country' education (see, for example, Altman and Fogarty 2010, summarised at 4.1) and employment opportunities (and the instances in which the former could lead to the latter or occur in tandem) in the hybrid economy and is skeptical that migration would align with Indigenous livelihood aspirations or indeed lead to market-based employment.

Merlan and Austin-Broos' criticism that the hybrid economy does not adequately convey the dynamism and nuance of localised Aboriginal economic activity is in a broad sense shared by Martin. According to Martin (2003: 3), Altman's hybrid economy model is useful as an analytical tool, but its application to a 'wider social field' is problematic. He comments that

while the notion of hybridity does suggest the production of new practices and values from heterogeneous sources, it does not encompass the dynamism of the new forms. Nor does it capture the recursive manner in which they both are transformations of other practices and values (and not just those originating in some 'indigenous domain'), and in turn transform them (2003: 3).

Chris Lloyd's appraisal of the hybrid economy (Lloyd 2009) suggests that, despite the utility of the concept, there is a latent danger of overgeneralisation. He suggests that economic hybridity needs to be part of a cluster of concepts including conquest and production regimes to avoid this and fully contextualise Aboriginal economic engagement in its various local manifestations. Lloyd comments that hybridity can be used in a descriptive sense,¹⁵ but not explanatory, given that it cannot generally address causal processes. However, Lloyd remains positive about the analytical scope available within Altman's hybrid economy model, a model which will presumably be further elaborated, adapted and critiqued over the next decade.

NOTES

1. In some 'earlier diagrams of the hybrid economy (e.g. Altman 2007), the state sector (1) appears larger than the customary (2) and market (3) sectors, perhaps indicating the proportional significance of state resources in remote and very remote settings. In the more recent model presented above, each circle is of equal size so as not to predetermine their relative significance.
2. In a different context (the 'copyright wars'), Lawrence Lessig addresses the relationship between culture and economy using a hybrid economy model, constituted by a commercial (monetised) economy and a sharing (non-monetised) economy. See Lessig, L. 2008. *Remix: Making Art and Commerce Thrive in the Hybrid Economy*, London: Bloomsbury Academic (available to download under Creative Commons Licence at <http://www.archive.org/details/LawrenceLessigRemix>).
3. Throughout this document, 'Indigenous' and 'Aboriginal' are used interchangeably. Some people take issue with the term 'Indigenous', however its use here reflects its presence in the literature and its dominance in popular public discourse in Australia.
4. An updated version appears as Altman, J.C. 2011. 'Alleviating poverty in remote Indigenous Australia: The hybrid economy', in G. Argyrous and F. Stillwell (eds) *Readings in Political Economy: Economics as a Social Science*, 3rd Ed., Tilde University Press, Prahran, Victoria, 330–336.
5. See CAEPR *Topical Issue No. 01/2003*, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2003TI1.php>.
6. For a related submission, see Altman, J.C. and Kerins, S. 2008. Evidence to Senate Standing Committee on Rural and Regional Affairs and Transport Inquiry into Natural Resource Management and Conservation Challenges, *Topical Issue No. 15/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI16.php-0>.
7. Critiques of the deconstruction of CDEP that do not directly reference the hybrid economy but draw on related themes include Altman, J.C. 2008. Submission to 'Increasing Indigenous Economic Opportunity: A discussion paper on the future of the CDEP and Indigenous Employment Programs', *Topical Issue No. 14/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI14.php> and Altman, J.C. 2008. Submission to the Australian Government's 'Increasing Indigenous Employment Opportunity' Discussion Paper, including annotated chronology of the Community Development Employment Projects Program 1977–2008 by M. Johns, *Topical Issue No. 16/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, available at <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI16.php>.
8. Pearson, N. 2009. 'Our Right to Take Responsibility' (2000), in *Up from the Mission: Selected Writings*, Black Inc., Melbourne.
9. Notably, Pearson uses the term 'traditional' whereas Altman uses 'customary', the latter term being perhaps less temporally bounded or semantically charged as the former. Altman's use of the term 'customary' is one of the ways he seeks to displace or unsettle the 'modern'/'traditional' dichotomy.
10. Altman, J.C. 2004. 'Practical reconciliation and the new mainstreaming: Will it make a difference to Indigenous Australians?', *Dialogue*, 23 (2): 35–46, available at http://www.assa.edu.au/publications/dialogue/2004_Vol23_No2.php. Although this article does not explicitly mention the hybrid economy, it discusses the related themes of 'closing the gaps', diversity, difference and 'practical' versus 'symbolic' reconciliation.
11. 'Scrapping CDEP is just dumb, dumb, dumb', *Crikey*, 24 July 2007, <http://www.crikey.com.au/2007/07/24/scrapping-cdep-is-just-dumb-dumb-dumb/>. Also published as 'Scrapping CDEP is just plain dumb', *ABC online*, 26 July 2007, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2007/07/26/1988592.htm>.
12. 'Neo-paternalism and the destruction of CDEP', *Arena Magazine* 90, August–September 2007: 33–5.

13. A similar version is published as Altman, J.C., Buchanan, G. and Biddle, N. 2006. 'The real "real" economy in remote Australia', in B. Hunter (ed.), *Assessing the Evidence on Indigenous Socioeconomic Outcomes: A focus on the 2002 NATSISS*, CAEPR Research Monograph No. 26, ANU E Press, Canberra, 139–152, available at http://epress.anu.edu.au/caepr_series/no_26/mobile_devices/ch12.html.
14. However, as Altman and May (2011: 164) note, Pearson has advocated for increased community self-sufficiency and internal subsistence economies at times.
15. A statement Altman seems to agree with when he says that the hybrid economy model is 'a descriptive model of Indigenous lived reality' (2004: 521).

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