

Community Employment on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands

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Introduction

The purpose of this article is to review aspects of traditional employment and to describe the establishment of successful non-traditional employment among Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people (Anangu) living on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. For centuries, Anangu have been self-employed, over a range of activities that sustain life and include the daily chores of securing food supplies, manufacturing tools and equipment and maintaining cultural ties with the Land. After contact with western settlement Pitjantjatjaras and Yankunytjatjaras found themselves living traditionally as well as cross culturally with their new non-Anangu neighbours and this situation has continued to the present day. Western culture has had a powerful influence on Anangu, who before contact, had to work hard with fewer resources to sustain life. The struggle since contact for Pitjantjatjaras and Yankunytjatjaras, has been to retain their identity while living cross culturally. Part of the solution has been for them to determine their own rate of change. When the two cultures met, there was a sense within the western culture of taking advantage of what Pitjantjatjaras and Yankunytjatjaras could produce, without building relationships with them. This was a serious oversight on the part of non-Aboriginal people, because at the point of contact, both cultures had the opportunity to begin productive long term relationships. It wasn't until 1937, when Dr Duguid was involved in the purchase of Ernabella, that a transition towards building these relations began.

Traditional Employment

In the period before contact, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people actively employed their skills learnt from childhood, to meet the needs of their families. Each day began with the call of the "Alpiri" across the still morning air. Various people would raise their voices to be heard by those around them, as they sounded out a range of issues from immediate needs to those requiring further discussion. This was a public, open method, by which people could hear about major concerns of some and the joys of others. It was a way of managing the pressure and stresses, both good and bad, on family life as well as setting an agenda for the day. It was similar to being in a market place where everything was advertised in such a way that people could buy, sell or give accordingly. This method of public announcements is still in use today.

In the division of labour, sickness would be attended to by traditional healers as well as those who would gather the medicinal plants and herbs which were used to assist healing. Obtaining food and water was always high on the list of daily activities for Pitjantjatjara

and Yankunytjatjara men and women. Everybody was aware of the responsibility to secure food and an organized work force was always in place.

When more than their own skills were required to sustain this food supply, traditional ceremonies were relied upon to provide the increase in animal and plant life.

The work force was also involved in managing the environment within the parameters that Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people understood. When rock holes silted up, people had the equipment to clean them out before the next rains. Often rock holes were covered with logs to protect the water supply. The shading effect would also reduce evaporation.

Patches of dry grass were burnt according to a pattern across the Lands. Care was taken using fire because there were no roads to burn to or from, only natural breaks in the vegetation. Heavy equipment didn't exist on the Lands and therefore couldn't be used to control hot wildfires. Instead Anangu relied heavily on the personal skills gained over many years to burn small patches throughout the season so grasses were at different stages of maturity. This form of management resulted in animals leaving the unburnt areas and being caught while eating the fresh green grass. There was little point burning large areas because this would affect the overall number of animals available for hunting. This form of management required a high level of skill and creativeness and people had a knowledge of the balance that existed between the available food resources and the demand for them.

Protection from the elements was essential and Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people had developed a very effective form of shelter. All materials used were local and these shelters or wiltjas were easily built and arranged to avoid the present day crowding problems experienced in houses. People lived in small groups providing fewer opportunities for the transmission of sickness. Sick people were also easy to isolate from the main group to prevent further infection.

Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people were able to manage most of the factors which governed a sustainable lifestyle. Drought was the biggest factor which they were unable to escape. There were no motor cars to transport them to a town or city which had the resources to survive through dry periods. Hence care was taken to manage the resources necessary for survival. All community members from various family groups formed a very effective work force with a style which included both relationship and responsibility within the wider extended family. These relationships were an integral part of people's response to everyday needs. Goals were set and when they were achieved, the day's work was complete regardless of the hour.

Traditional Training

The capacity of Anangu to maintain a sustainable lifestyle depended on the training provided by the adult population of Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people. Children were trained from a very young age to identify the many tracks made by a host of animals which lived on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. It was important to determine from these

tracks the type of activity the animal was involved in and its condition. These were high level skills to learn and it involved a large amount of “on the job” training. To become a graduate, one had to use the learnt skills to catch the next meal. Graduation ceremonies were celebrated at the time when the young man or woman provided the food for the banquet.

Training sessions were numerous covering a range of subjects from the construction business, to tool making and the production of equipment. People’s creative abilities were developed and there were always opportunities to use them. This creativeness is certainly apparent in today’s world when Anangu demonstrate their ability to repair broken motor cars. Training goals were very important and were supported across the whole community. There was always a sense of learning and growth in the principles used to sustain the lifestyle.

Early Contact

In the 1930’s, pastoralists and doggers took up residence on what are now known as the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. These people brought with them tea, flour and sugar for their own consumption as well as to exchange for the services of Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people. These services included the supply of dingo scalps from which the doggers obtained the government bounty, providing them with finance to meet the covenants over their pastoral leases. Anangu now found themselves trading cross culturally with a different people group whose trading standards were quite different to theirs. This was a new experience for Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people, one in which they were open to abuse because they had no experience of the value of the items they were trading with their new neighbours. Knives and metal axes were more effective than those made from stone and became items which Anangu traded for.

In a very short space of time Pitjantjatjaras’ and Yankunytjatjaras’ traditional world changed in more ways than one. Their new neighbours were dominant and aggressive in character, exercising full ownership over the land they were leasing. Little respect was shown for the rights of Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people. Their social structure and ownership of the Lands was under threat as they were mistreated and in some cases abused. Anangu had no organised political or military strength of their own with which to defend themselves. What they believed to be theirs was being taken away from them, leaving them to respond in a number of ways for which they ultimately suffered.

Ernabella

Due to the ill treatment of Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people, Dr Duguid an Adelaide doctor, visited their Lands in the far North West of South Australia in 1935. He was impressed with the dignity displayed by the people and aggressively pursued a solution to preserve their well being. As a result he was instrumental in the purchase of the Ernabella pastoral lease in 1937. This lease was over traditional land which was to become a buffer zone, allowing Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people to adapt to change at their own pace without suffering under the pressures of injustice. Hence fair

trading practices were introduced allowing the exchange of dingo scalps for their true value.

Ernabella had always been a place of retreat for Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people, because of its reliable water hole and soakages which provided sustenance during the big droughts. Its new role was to become a place where two cultures could impact one another in a beneficial way. In his own words Dr. Duguid said,

" There was to be no compulsion nor imposition of our way of life on the Aborigines, nor deliberate interference with tribal custom ... only people trained in some particular skill should be on mission staff, and ... they must learn the tribal language. As the economy of the mission developed, responsibility should be passed to the aborigines as soon as possible".

This policy provided an opportunity for a two way "transition" between Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people and the non-Anangu world which was encroaching upon them. It became an opportunity to begin long term, meaningful relationships between the two cultures over a 23 year period. In 1961, Amata was established west of Ernabella as a government settlement and its original policies were less favourable toward fostering cultural relationships. Five Anangu families moved from Ernabella to Amata to begin the task of building a new community on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands.

The Transition

Dr Duguid first travelled across the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands by camel and experienced for himself the health, the injustices suffered and the general condition of Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people. He was very clear about the type of people who should be at Ernabella helping to build new relationships between Anangu and non-Anangu. The fact that the new staff had to learn the local language was a major beginning to building a different kind of relationship from that which Anangu were accustomed. Language learning is a process that engages people in a relationship and allows the opportunity for each culture to learn about each other. Out of this, people begin to trust one another and exchange information, skills and knowledge. They also begin to share their concerns, their hopes and their goals.

Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people were free to continue with a traditional lifestyle, living off the land in the bush. Wells had been dug to provide water for the small flocks of sheep which had been introduced some years earlier. Establishing permanent water supplies for sheep aided Anangu to live closer to their homelands. They took an interest in the sheep and many helped to shepherd them, yarding them at night and camping close by to protect them from dingos. These services were traded for food and other commodities and this relationship continued until the early 1970's when the sheep industry was discontinued, due to the lack of viability.

The sheep work at Ernabella played a major part in the transitional process between two cultures. It was interesting to see first hand in 1968, Anangu living out at sheep camps free to decide how to use their day. Some would maintain cultural links with the land,

while others would hunt or collect bush food which was supplemented with the rations they received each week in return for looking after the sheep.

The craft industry began in 1948 and wool produced in the sheep industry, was spun by Pitjantjatjara and Yankuntjatjara women using traditional spinning methods. Men used their skills to make artefacts, while tending sheep. The craft industry was an excellent opportunity for men and women to express their creativeness.

As time passed, Pitjantjatjara and Yankuntjatjara people were using more resources from the world of their non-Anangu neighbours to maintain their traditional lifestyle. Rifles made it easier to hunt kangaroos and rabbits and windmill rod, when fashioned into crow bars, made it easier to dig for honey ants, maku grubs and rabbits. In exchange for these items people traded dingo scalps and worked for short periods on various projects around Ernabella. Tarpaulins were very popular and were used as a waterproof covering over the top of the wiltja. As more goods were required, people worked for longer periods and became more involved in community projects. During the 1950's, people committed themselves to a 12 week work period after which they would return to some traditional living.

Money didn't become part of the trading process until the 1950's and by 1960 most people, except shepherds received a full cash remuneration for their services. Because shepherds lived a long way from Ernabella's trading store, they received food each week from the rations truck and cash at the end of their 12 weeks. An unofficial bank was started in 1953 and a Commonwealth Bank agency was opened in 1964. This facility was used by many to save money from their wage, which was based on sufficient cash for food and clothes and some extra to accumulate to purchase a new rifle or other commodities.

Relationships and Community Employment

The concept of community employment embraces community development principles, where Anangu become involved at all levels in programs, which contribute to the wellbeing of their own community. The degree of wellbeing depends on an integrated relationship between Anangu and non-Anangu where each have a role to play throughout the life of the employment program. A major goal of these programs is for Anangu to become the directors and planners. The success of community employment depends on who owns the program and the degree of skill that each person is free to invest in the program. When Anangu lose identity with employment programs, they lose a sense of ownership and therefore relationship with the work.

A good example of the ownership of a program was when Anangu decided to install large boulders along the edge of the road outside the store at Pipalyatjara (2001). The boulders became the defining line separating vehicles from people including children. Everybody in the community was aware of the danger before the boulders were installed, when vehicles had access to off road areas reserved for people. Hence every body had a sense of ownership of the program and therefore supported it. Anangu continued the program and installed boulders elsewhere in the community.

The most significant factor in community employment at Ernabella was the trusted relationships which were forged over long periods of time. This relationship required the participation of both cultures in community projects. Pitjantjatjaras and Yankunytjatjaras worked with their non-Anangu counterparts, learning new skills in the same manner as they had learnt traditional skills and practices.

In 1964, some men built their own houses out of locally made stabilized earth bricks. They worked together with a non-Anangu worker with building experience to complete the project. Each man contributed fifty pounds (\$100) from their savings plus their labour.

It needs to be emphasised that this relationship between two cultures is dependent on it being equitable. Anangu need the opportunity to earn or trade in a just and fair environment. If this environment is inequitable, then one culture is disadvantaged and ultimately both suffer. For the relationship to flourish, Anangu need a range of opportunities available to them that they can use and regulate to govern their productivity.

Another factor which helps maintain the relationship is mutual support. The Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands occupy a remote part of Australia and this remoteness demands support of all kinds. The extended family structure used by Anangu is a mechanism through which support is provided. A knowledge of how this structure works enables both cultures to channel their support, producing workable relationships.

Incorporation of Communities

During the early to mid 1970's, the communities at Amata, Ernabella, Fregon and Indulkana became incorporated and community councils were formed as a result. These councils were in turn, funded directly from the Office of Aboriginal Affairs in Canberra. The organizations and State Government Departments who were responsible for overseeing the above communities handed over their responsibilities to the community councils. At Ernabella the community had many years of experience in determining their future and now they were moving toward managing a very "up market" version of what they managed before contact with non-Anangu. The changes at Ernabella from 1937 to 1970 had been slow and steady, however the pace of change was increasing. Upon incorporation, many non-Anangu advisory personnel were invited to stay and continue their long term relationships with Anangu. They were now officially employed and under the control of the local Anangu council. This was a very significant time which required both cultures to remain committed to each other, so Anangu could take the next step in becoming the managers of their own more advanced community.

Initially government funding brought some relief, providing finance for an expanded community employment program. During this time of change, the South Australian Education Department assumed control of what was the locally managed community school. The same process occurred in the area of health with the South Australian Department of Health taking over from the locally managed hospital. The community

had also embarked on a large modern day housing program and all these changes demanded the upgrading of water and electrical supplies. Motor vehicles were now very popular and families began to suffer as they committed their savings and weekly earnings to the purchase of these expensive items. The community wage structure was being stretched to the limit and an inequitable environment was emerging. The weekly wage was not sufficient to buy food, clothes, motor vehicles, petrol etc. More finance was required to support this new faster moving era than in the 1960's when the local economy provided for everyone's needs.

Community Development Employment Program [CDEP]

Community employment programs were well established across the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands during the 1960's. After incorporation in the 1970's, communities received Town Management and Public Utilities finance to fund the employment of Anangu involved in community management projects, while Housing Associations received finance to fund the building of houses. At Ernabella, the craft industry relied on the income from sales to employ highly skilled local artists and crafts people. The sheep industry became uneconomic and was phased out in the early 1970's. Anangu relied less on living a traditional lifestyle until the homelands movement began in the latter 1970's. Some Anangu at Amata were unemployed and signed up and received unemployment benefits. This type of income had not been experienced on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands before.

As the economy changed, so did the relationship between Anangu and non-Anangu. Financial parameters had changed and it became difficult to preserve the quality of life practiced in the 1950's and 60's. The lack of finance made it difficult to fund a just and fair wage structure for Anangu. The financial pressures on family life during the 1970's, had not previously been experienced by Anangu. In the past, if money wasn't available to meet daily needs, Anangu could resort to an alternative. The situation had now changed and solutions had to be found.

The use of unemployment benefits on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands was seen as counter productive to community employment. Hence in 1977, the Ernabella community wrote to the minister for Aboriginal Affairs in Canberra and raised with him their concerns of inadequate funding being provided for their community employment programs. As a result, he took notice and began to develop the concept of the Community Development Employment Program [CDEP].

The Original Community Development Employment Program

This program was designed to provide communities with the power to develop and operate employment programs, which catered for the needs of every community member. This would replace the need to use unemployment benefits as an income source. The community quickly established new wage structures and benefits to satisfy the needs of all families. Hence those who were unable to work due to disabilities, could receive an allowance from the community for the purpose of meeting their daily needs. Work was also available for those who were less skilled, while those who were involved in more

highly skilled occupations like operating machinery were placed on an award wage, equivalent to their trade or profession. Hence a variable wage structure was practiced at Ernabella.

The formula which was used to determine the quantity of finance the community would receive each year was simply the number of “bread winners” in each community multiplied by the amount of money each person would receive if they were being paid unemployment benefits. During the late 1970’s, this formula provided sufficient finance to fund the Community Development Employment Program [CDEP], however it was clear that this formula would have to change as the cost of living increased and Anangu became more experienced overall.

The CDEP scheme allowed the Ernabella community to work within the established financial and cultural parameters. Some Anangu received high wages for their work thus supporting both their family and extended family, while others could maintain traditional ties with the land including hunting and gathering food. For a number of years the financial pressures on families became more manageable. Ernabella was chosen as a pilot community for the introduction of the CDEP scheme on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. There was a very strong desire within the community to make the scheme work and the positive results hastened its introduction across the Lands.

It should be noted that as well as the CDEP scheme operating within the community, employment was also available in the government operated school and hospital. The higher wages received in these jobs made a handsome contribution to the needs of the extended family.

Employment Programs at Ernabella

In the later part of the 1970’s, Ernabella had a comprehensive set of community employment programs. The policies, which were introduced forty years earlier had been successfully developed over the period and Anangu had gained many skills through “on the job” training. All programs at Ernabella involved the participation of Anangu. The use of contractors on projects was discouraged because they were not geared to include Anangu within their work programs. The policy of Anangu and non-Anangu working together in all aspects of community life was strongly adhered to at Ernabella because this was a proven method through which Anangu could achieve responsibility for their own communities. The following list of functions demonstrates the scope over which Anangu were involved.

1. Office: Anangu were involved in producing the weekly payroll, elements of bookkeeping and the communications area, which included meeting the mail plane, sorting mail, operating a message system and monitoring telephone calls, distributing pension checks and the administration of benefits etc.
2. Council: Anangu were involved in administering community affairs including letter writing, managing budgets, arranging community visits by government departments and

other agencies. They were also involved in resolving community affairs, monitoring community programs and maintaining relationships with the hospital and school.

3. Building Program: Anangu were involved in building all locally built buildings and houses. They were involved in all aspects of the program from pegging out the building site, the construction phase and the connection of services. Anangu were also involved in the building maintenance program.

4. Essential Services: Anangu were involved in all aspects of installing water reticulation systems, electrical supplies and effluent disposal. Anangu operated machinery including the back hoe for digging septic tank holes to installing the original common drain system and common effluent ponds.

5. Garage: Anangu were involved in all aspects of operating the community garage. This was the only garage and it provided services to all sections of the community. The garage staff was also responsible for operating the power house.

5. Land Management: Anangu were involved in all aspects of land management including the farm and re-forestation programs. It also included services to homelands.

6. Craft: Anangu were involved in producing a comprehensive range of products through the organization called Ernabella Arts and Crafts. This was a very active industry, which served to publicise the skills of Anangu.

7. Store: Anangu were involved in many of the store functions including operating the cash register and balancing the cash at the end of the day.

8. Bakehouse/Butcher Shop/Petrol: These enterprises were operated for many years by Anangu who were supported by bookkeeping staff.

9. Water Drilling: Ernabella purchased a Southern Cross percussion drilling rig in 1960, and it was operated by Louis Wirultjukur, an Anangu who received his training locally. He drilled all the town and stock bores on Fregon at the time of its establishment and continued drilling bores on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands well into the 1970's.

10. Ernabella Pre-school: This community pre-school was managed by Angkuna, an Anangu woman, from the very first day it opened.

11. Mechanical Training Centre: Anangu were very involved in the mechanical training Centre, which was established at Ernabella during the 1970's. Many people received excellent training in all aspects of mechanical work through this centre.

12. Hospital: Anangu were involved as health workers in the local hospital, providing a service to the community.

13. School: Anangu were involved as teacher aides in the school since the 1940's. Their position in the school was essential as most of the teaching was done in language.

14. Community Services: Anangu were involved in all aspects of community services from rubbish collection to the maintenance of public areas.

15. Roads and Airstrip: Anangu were involved in maintaining the main roads as well as servicing the Ernabella airstrip.

16. Sports: Anangu managed most of the sporting functions Ernabella was involved in. This included local football days as well as organising the community to travel many hundreds of kilometres to the annual Yuendumu sports weekend.

17. Ceremonies: Anangu were involved at all levels, organising and providing a service to all Anangu, when hosting ceremonies. These functions usually placed a heavy demand on the services provided by the community from providing enough food through the community store to arranging cash payments to those from other communities.

There was a very strong relationship between Anangu and non-Anangu which made the community the success it was. The community employed non-Anangu which included builders, plumbers, mechanics, community advisors, bookkeepers, secretaries, craft advisors, land management advisors etc. in an effort to assist Anangu to retain and rebuild a lifestyle which they could sustain within their cross cultural world. The Ernabella homelands movement, which began in the late 1970's, was successful because Anangu with their many acquired skills, were able to manage the daily affairs of their homelands as well as maintain traditions links with the Lands. This combination was very noticeable and resulted in a strong, determined and focused group of people.

Strategies for Establishing Cross Cultural Relationships

Without successful cross cultural relationships, the moral of the community deteriorates and the productivity of community employment programs decreases significantly. Strategies are always needed and the best people for providing the information to develop them are Anangu. They are the reason the community exists and therefore understand what contributes to a good working relationship. The following factors help produce a two way relationship which should be the goal of everybody working within the community.

1. Time to Listen: Everybody needs to take time to listen to what people are saying within the community. When relationships are being ignored, Anangu often say of those who are new to the field, that they are "pina pati", which simply means they don't listen or they can't hear. Non-Anangu have usually grown up in a busy world where everybody is taught to decide and act independently. The world of Anangu is quite different, where everybody bears some relationship with one another. For this relationship to work, everybody must take time to listen and during this process, put their ideas "on the table" so everybody can assess them and decide on the way to proceed.

2. When to Listen: Often the best times to listen are while sitting around a camp fire or sharing a cup of tea. In other words, learn when Anangu take time out as they may want you to join them and share whatever may be significant. This is a two way process where

everybody can share. It's advisable to be around at the end of the day and visit with Anangu, because this can be a good time for reflection. The beginning of the day is usually the best time for discussing various agendas for the day. Avoid disturbing Anangu on cold wintery mornings as these can be the worst times to talk.

3. To Whom to Listen: Anangu are very aware of the families who live within their community and therefore know those who can speak with authority. Non-Anangu who are new to the field, usually don't know how local families interact. Hence they should take the time and have Anangu teach them how the family relationships are structured. The process of being taught these structures provides a bridge between Anangu and non-Anangu through which relationships grow. Unless these structures are understood, non-Anangu often find themselves carrying the problems of the community rather than being part of the problem solving process. The role of non-Anangu needs to be well integrated with the roles played by Anangu. Non-Anangu should avoid, on all occasions, becoming the controlling influence over the community. Bonds built from developing good relationships, produce an environment for the exchange of ideas and technologies.

4. Respect/Instructions/Authority: Once non-Anangu learn about the family structures, they should learn about the respect shown to each other. The process of showing respect is intended to be a two way process and it should be preserved at all times. As a result of understanding family structures, non-Anangu need to determine the domain in which they have authority to operate. Instructions defining the role and the authority that each non-Anangu is to have in the community, need to be prepared at a community level. If situations arise in which non-Anangu are not sure of their authority, it's better to ask the community for clarification rather than act independently of them. Attitudes which reflect racial inequalities cannot be hidden within a community and should be adjusted immediately.

5. Commitment/Continuity: Becoming part of a functional Anangu community requires adjustments for both Anangu and non-Anangu. Both parties have to learn to live and work cross culturally together. Their commitment often results in long term relationships which are beneficial for the wellbeing of the community. Past results have clearly shown that if staff turnover is high amongst Anangu and non-Anangu, then the community becomes dysfunctional, resulting in social disorders and the lack of wellbeing for everybody.

6. Trust/Honesty/Communication: Communication within the community needs to be open and transparent. Everybody in a small isolated community depends on reliable communication between each other. Rumours and miscommunication result in confusion and strife being generated in communities. Certain members of the community, including Anangu and non-Anangu may be referred to as "ngunti wangkapai" or "kali kali". These are people who are unable to speak the truth or are crooked. All people in the community need to remain truthful and honest in their communications with one another.

7. Language Learning: The benefits of learning the local language spoken in a community should never be under estimated. All people learn at least one language in their lifetime, usually at a very young age. Hence all people working in a community

should take the opportunity to learn a basic amount of the local language. Learning the language of the people group for whom you are working, produces some wonderful exchanges resulting in enhanced relationships.

Non-Anangu should exercise caution when communicating in their own language because it may not be the first language spoken in a community and misunderstandings can result. Much care should be taken when communicating over sensitive issues and the indicators used to detect misunderstandings need to be employed. Any misunderstanding over community issues should be rectified and not over looked or discounted.

8. Cultural and Cross-cultural Responsibilities: Since Anangu and non-Anangu are working and living in a cross cultural environment, they both have responsibilities within their own culture to maintain. These responsibilities should be clearly established in the community and allowances made so people can fulfil them. When the CDEP scheme was introduced at Ernabella in the 1970's, the cultural responsibilities for Anangu were established and the appropriate allowances made. Allowances were also made for non-Anangu to take time out and go on trips with Anangu, thus fulfilling cross cultural responsibilities.

The role of non-Anangu working and living with Anangu is quite different to working within their own cultural environment. The difficulty which has to be over come is being able to move from one culture to another. When Dr Duguid was setting policy to be used at Ernabella in 1937, he outlined how non-Anangu were required to be skilled and yet respect Anangu culture. The same applies today.

Community Employment Performance Indicators

We live in an age where the use of public finance is continually scrutinised. Community development programs are established to improve the well being of people groups around the world. Indicators are required to give feedback on the degree of success of each program. Often the indicators used, measure physical parameters and exclude the degree of personal development gained by individuals. The success of a training program can be measured by viewing the score of each student, however it's difficult to measure the acquired hidden skills or maturity gained from the course. Anangu communities should be encouraged to develop their own set of performance indicators, which may include the following.

1. Physical Results: These indicators are the easiest to measure because it involves measuring finite quantities like how many people are housed, how many people work in the community, how many children go to school etc. This type of data is very useful and communities should be encouraged to keep these records as a measure of their activity. Physical data helps determine the goals set by the community, which in turn, defines the physical resource required to achieve the goals.

2. Quality of Life: This factor could also be measured by counting the number of people who visit the clinic or the number who are sick. Quality of life could also be measured by less finite quantities like the amount of responsibility taken by members of the

community. It could also be measured by the type of food and goods sold in the local store or alternatively by the amount of creativeness demonstrated by members of the community. The quality of life for Anangu in the 1950' and 60's was measured by good access to traditional life, sufficient wages for food and clothes and some left over to bank or purchase other commodities.

The quality of life can also be measured by the quality of employment available in the community. Employment programs are a must in communities, if life is to have quality. The increasing use of contractors in communities would be a good indicator to demonstrate the loss of quality. Community employment programs are not to be traded off for alternatives which reduces opportunities for Anangu and non-Anangu to work together. Employment programs should include a range of activities which employs the present level of skills and qualifications of Anangu as well as an opportunity to develop further skills and gain extra qualifications. The quality of employment programs operating in a community, strongly reflects the quality of life in a community.

3. Relationships: If relationships could be measured easily, then the health and wellbeing of a community could be determined quickly and the necessary adjustments made to rectify problems before they occurred. Past experience would indicate that relationships within a community would be the most important indicator to monitor. Communities would be well advised to look carefully at their relationships both internal and external and contemplate a system for managing and adjusting them according to the degree of well being they require. Normally relationships are left to sort themselves out and the results usually reflect the lack of appropriate counselling.

Community employment programs would achieve more if the requirements of relationships in the work place were spelt out at the beginning of the program. Establishing the goals of a program determines the human and physical resources required by it. This in turn defines the relationships between Ananagu and non-Anangu which are required in the employment program. As the program proceeds, the benefits that flow from it can be monitored and corrections can be made if goals are not being achieved.

The community needs a formula, which has been developed according to their own requirements for operating employment programs. These programs should not be left to chance if a good outcome is desired. The process described in the above paragraph is a starting point for developing a formula or blue print for measuring or monitoring the status of relationships during the life of employment programs.

Reflections

It is essential that community employment programs are developed and operated from within communities on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. For this to happen, a relationship needs to exist between both Anangu and non-Anangu which is dependent on good will between the two cultures, as well as an understanding of the extended family system including the responsibilities to which members must respond. An equitable environment in which financial rewards provide a freedom to trade between cultures

should also exist. If the financial reward for services becomes reduced or threatened, then poverty begins to rule within the community. This has become evident on a number of occasions across the Anangu Pitjantjatjara lands. When this occurs, affirmative action needs to be taken by Anangu and non-Anangu to reduce its impact on the community.

Most communities on the Lands are managed by a combination of Anangu and non-Anangu resource people. This combination needs to be monitored and kept viable with everybody stimulating and encouraging one another to fulfil their roles. Decision making should always be open and involve the input of the appropriate people or family groups. Community employment programs should never be traded off for alternatives and every effort should be made to invest finance in activities which improve the quality of life in the community. Government agencies and others, including contractors, should take advantage of every opportunity to work with communities. They should take steps to integrate their activities, thus becoming part of community employment programs.

The administrative load attached to community employment programs should be greatly reduced so the community can function more efficiently in the programs already established. A flexibility needs to be re-introduced allowing community employment programs to flourish and poverty to diminish. The initiative and creativeness, which existed in the work force in pre-contact times, needs to be continually stimulated and multiplied by all members of the community. External agencies should continually review their policies, which directly or indirectly affect the viability of community employment programs.

Anangu living on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands have a dignity to preserve and should have the opportunity to provide for the needs of their families.

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