



NORTHERN LAND  
COUNCIL

*Our Land, Our Sea, Our Life*

# COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

*Ground Up Monitoring and Evaluation  
Interim Report - December 2020*

## *Research facilitation*

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# Key Points

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The Ground Up team from Charles Darwin University (CDU) worked with local researchers in Galiwin'ku, Gapuwiyak and on Malak Malak country to design and undertake monitoring and evaluation (M&E) for the Northern Land Council's (NLC) Community Planning and Development (CP&D) Program. This interim report details the insights and reflection of key elders and community members in relation to the local projects, and the professional development and engagement of the local researchers. This work draws on local definitions and practices of M&E – from the Ground Up – and supplements other M&E research being undertaken for the NLC CP&D Program.

A key principle which became evident in the work of all three communities, is the insistence that continued reference to ancestral imperatives is key to monitoring and evaluating community development. This commitment to 're-membering the future' plays out in locally specific ways.

- At Galiwin'ku a major focus has become the design and governance of raypirri' camps for young people. They need to be conducted in carefully chosen places, with young people with the right connections to the place and each other, and under the 'strong leadership' of traditional owners (TOs). This is quite different from the way kids are organised at school. Taking care to ensure that the right people work with the right people visibly and accountably is equally true of non-Yolŋu staff and service providers including NLC who work with the CP&D projects. They are part of the 'räl-manapanmirri' – the carefully managed pooling of M&E skills and resources which is key to Yolŋu life. The importance of place in Yolŋu identity gives raypirri' camps a role in strengthening homelands.
- At Gapuwiyak getting right and visible the origin stories of the land and waters around the community is a principle to guide which CP&D projects are developed, how they are designed, who is involved, and how they should be monitored and evaluated. Projects which serve to enliven and reinforce the people's correct relation to the land and its authorities are becoming a focus at Gapuwiyak. The elders continue to invoke the principle that other clan groups and local and government agencies must work together through the TOs and their corporation. Working with Balanda in a supervised Yolŋu way is important for 'inputting character' for young people.
- With the Malak Malak people, with whom we have begun to work, getting their history right and visible, working out what can be shared and what belongs to who is currently the key focus of CP&D and its M&E, particularly given the urgency which comes as key elders are becoming very old. At this stage the new Malak Malak culture centre may become the focus of community development.

In each place, the identity and connectedness of the local researchers is critical to the success of the M&E work. They, like the projects themselves, must be the right people working with the right authority. As they undertook their research, they were supported by CDU's Indigenous Researchers Initiative and worked under the authority of both the CDU researchers, and their own elders.

In all sites there was an ongoing satisfaction with the way the community development projects were progressing, and with the support provided by the NLC for these activities. There were also clear suggestions supporting iterative program improvement, and growing alignment between how TOs want to work on the ground, and the organisational practices of the NLC CP&D Program, and the NLC more generally.

# Executive Summary

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In 2020, Ground Up Researchers from CDU began working on Stage 2 of the Northern Land Council (NLC) Community Planning and Development (CP&D) Program Monitoring and Evaluation project. This work is associated with Subproject 2 of the Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy: Participatory monitoring in Galiwin'ku and Gapuwiyak. This work has now expanded to include Daly River as a third site.

This monitoring and evaluation (M&E) research continued to mobilise Ground Up research methods in building on the work of Stage 1 of the NLC's CP&D M&E project (see <http://groundup.cdu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/NLC-report-2019-.pdf>). These methods take seriously at the outset, the authority and sovereignty of Aboriginal knowledge authorities and elders and their various places, and work collaboratively with them to design, undertake and evaluate research and service delivery from the ground up.

Local researchers guided activities at each site, and negotiated understandings and practices of M&E with the clan elders who supervise CP&D projects. These researchers received professional training through CDU's Indigenous Researcher Initiative, and were supported to undertake further studies through the Diploma of Indigenous Research, and via CDU's Indigenous community-based researcher micro-credentials.

COVID-19 travel restriction had a considerable impact on this round of work but relevant local support was developed to assist local researchers to work independently on the ground. These researchers developed relevant and innovative new methods to manage this time, and through this took on greater levels of responsibility and control in the project. In each project site, CP&D activities continue to progress in different ways and at different rates.

In this Executive Summary we outline project outcomes and everyday program considerations for each location. In the extended report we introduce the local researchers in each location and present stories, themes and vignettes demonstrating local M&E. We detail the project backgrounds and our methods in the appendices.

## Galiwin'ku

### Community development outcomes at Galiwin'ku

Looking back over the key themes which emerged during the course of Stage 1, it seems that there continues to be a productive tension between a focus on delivery of identified local projects, and the broader focus of community development as articulated by the TO group. At present there is satisfaction around the conduct of most projects, whilst also ongoing discussion about how to keep these projects running smoothly and well.

- A focus on homelands is continually reiterated as a key consideration in community development work, and the growing of sustainable Yolŋu futures.
- Raypirri camps are seen as a key way of invigorating homelands both on country and in the minds of young people who require guidance.

- There is significant diversity of opinion around how raypirri camps should be structured, who should be authorised to lead them, where they should be located and what organisation might auspice them. Such tensions are likely to be ongoing, and it may be more appropriate to encourage respectful and productive ways of negotiating these difficult questions, rather than seeking to quickly resolve them
- The continued and insistent focus on raypirri camps as important for young people, and an important responsibility of the TO group, also affirms their significance to community development and the negotiation, coordination and emergence of strong relations between elders and young people, Yolŋu leadership and service providers
- The TOs focus on the relations between organisations in community life, and the balance and distribution of funding between them, also suggests that this is an important element of community development.
- There are clear differences made between public/general services and how they are constituted (e.g. all children mixed together and the possibility of either balanda or Yolŋu leadership), and specific activities such as raypirri which require strict observance of clan leadership and land ownership if it is to be efficacious.
- There is an increasing interest in how the authority of the TO group may become more visible, and more actively deferred to by others, in relation to CP&D activities and other activities which are to do with respectful community life under appropriate authority.
- Aligned with this are a growing number of questions concerned with best organisational structures through which, and to which, TO money should be invested. For example, should there be a central hub that supports TO activities and funded programs? If CP&D funds are to 'grow' should they be invested in clan corporations, or granted to existing services? Does this begin to blur lines between pocket money and CP&D money?

### **Everyday CP&D Program considerations at Galiwin'ku**

There continues to be a clear appreciation of the efforts of the NLC CP&D staff who are well known to the TO group and who are recognised as being clear and consistent in their engagements. The diversity of clan groups involved in the CP&D Program in Galiwin'ku continues to differentiate the work here from that being carried out in Gapuwiyak, and centres tensions between groups within the meeting space, rather than at its edges.

There is continuing confidence in most projects, as well as an appreciation when the work of these organisations is made visible and able to be celebrated by the TO group (e.g. via meeting report backs), and by other Yolŋu in Galiwin'ku (e.g. celebration of the playground completion, seeing Sport and Rec with kids on the beach or other areas)

- There is an interest in maintaining or creating clear processes by which people from community organisations may make requests about partnership, or propose new ideas for project funding. Potentially by writing a letter and delivering a PowerPoint presentation, then providing regular report-backs on ongoing work
- There is an interest in being able to continually review, and keep moving, the allocation of available funding. If one service provider is unable to deliver while others may be able to take on more work and deliver good results

- Consideration around how the TO group may productively function as different clans, and one coherent group, have been encouraged (e.g. negotiating separate raypirri events/locations, but ensuring they function from the one budget)
- The report-backs from services providers continue to be highly valued within the group as a way of understanding what has been done with CP&D funds and why.
- Services delivering CP&D projects can be encouraged to be explicit as to the extent that they deliver 'public/mixed' activities (i.e. community-based rather than clan-based) or can authoritatively work with young people and their specific clan identities.

## Gapuwiyak

### Community development outcomes at Gapuwiyak

The TO group continue to value the Gapuwiyak story as a way to ground M&E and CP&D activities. This reiteration, and general satisfaction at the program level, indicate good alignment between NLC activities and the interests, hopes, aspirations and commitments of the TO group. Within TO discussions, there were some suggestions which can be taken into consideration by the NLC and Matrix on Board Consulting and Training (project partner), and which might support and contribute to discussions around continuing community development activities in Gapuwiyak.

- The success of future emerging ventures (such as a Tourism business, or takeaway) continues to be described as hinging on both their capacity to 'look backwards' to the origin story of Gapuwiyak, and to 'look forward' to how this story is being shown and observed by others. For example, younger generations, other Yolŋu in Gapuwiyak, balanda staff, tourists, other organisations.
- The growth of these relations will begin to depend more significantly on the forms of partnership that Milindji enters into, beyond the everyday set-up and functioning of the Trust itself
- This includes any potential ventures around the Ranger group, which may need to be carefully considered and negotiated so as to maximise opportunities for care of country, whilst also recognising that Milindji is still a very young organisation
- Homelands, and their care, remain a key concern for many TOs. Relationships between the town and these other places are likely to have a bearing on the success and sustainability of the corporation with regards to its capacity to re-make and keep visible the Milindji story.
- The style of engagement practices enacted by the NLC CP&D team are seen as a model that should be mirrored by other areas of the NLC. There may be considerable value in iterative discussions and learning between other NLC departments and the CP&D group to support alignment of practice between their work and emerging CD efforts by the TO group in Gapuwiyak

### Everyday CP&D Program considerations at Gapuwiyak

There continues to be strong positivity around the development of the Milindji Trust. There also remains a clear insistence that the sustainable financial and social functioning of Milindji trust need to re-enact the right relations of landownership for the Gapuwiyak region stretching beyond the township.

- Consideration of the emerging business model of Milindji Trust, and how it may support ongoing reinvestment through cycling of funds within the community, may be productive
- There was an interest in specific kinds of materials used for communication and financial reporting to TOs (e.g. there was a request for 'financial statements' show ingoings and outgoings for the CP&D Program in Gapuwiyak, and being able to see how, where and the speed at which funds move has been described as a priority)
- A review of the current forms of communication flowing between organisations within Gapuwiyak, and in particular between Goŋ-Däl and Milindji Trust, may reveal whether there are ways to reduce the burden of letter writing, and support productive engagements and partnership discussions between different organisations over leasing and other issues
- There was overwhelming support for the work of Matrix on Board consulting who were seen as effective, trusted and supporting the training and upskilling of Yolŋu, and a hope that this working relationship could be maintained
- There was clear endorsement of current processes for informing TOs of NLC meetings, and support offered to TO group members needing to travel in from other locations. There was also appreciation of the clear manner in which matters were raised, discussed and communicated in meetings
- Further opportunities for training are a clear priority for many in the TO group. This is associated with an interest in being able to step into financial or administrative roles in the Milindji Trust as it begins to develop more capacity

## Malak Malak

There needs to be more M&E research carried out before definitive insights or recommendations can be proposed. However, within the everyday life of the program, finding means by which different members may tell their different stories, and be heard, is a priority. This is for the M&E work, and potentially for the CP&D project as a whole.

This has been requested by people we have spoken to, particularly in reference to the development of the culture centre. The value of this work is also being exhibited as young Malak Malak who through the project have had the opportunity to sit with senior Elders, listening to them and recording their stories.

In relation to this, supporting community development activities, seems to be bound up in iterative relations whereby what may come to exist as a culture centre is also involved in finding ways to tell stories, and keep present tensions and distinctions between them. This culture centre work thereby becomes a way to remember and re-enact particular separations and connections within the TO group, and potentially rehearse and explore where these connections may be appropriately extended to others, and where they cannot.



# Galiwin'ku Report

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## CP&D in Galiwin'ku

In Galiwin'ku, income for community development is derived from lease agreements for the Top and Bottom takeaway shops. In 2020, the lease agreements for these shops were up for renewal, and new leases are currently under negotiation.

From the early days of the CP&D Program in Galiwin'ku, program funding has been invested in a variety of existing projects. In most cases these projects have involved partnerships with stakeholder organisations in the community who use the funding to deliver services, and who report back to the TO group at regular intervals. All of these projects are ongoing, apart from the playground project that was completed in mid-2020.

- **Law and Justice Project** (with North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency) – Sessions the week prior to court dates teaching young Yolŋu about balanda law, and supporting senior Yolŋu engagement with the court system (also presence during all court weeks)
- **Raypirri Camps – Galiwin'ku** (initially with Yalu' Marngithinyaraw, current partners under negotiation) – camps supporting young people in Galiwin'ku to learn law and discipline under the guidance of Senior Yolŋu authorised to teach them.
- **Raypirri Camps – Murrunga** (with MOPRA rangers, in a logistical support capacity) – camps run by Jonathon Roy and his close family, taking children out to Murrunga for clay collecting, spear making, hunting, bush tucker collecting.
- **Youth Diversion and Engagement Project** (with Sport and Rec, East Arnhem Shire Council) – program providing activities and support for youth in Galiwin'ku.
- **Playground** (with Shepherdson College, who co-funded the project) – a new playground for primary school children to play on before and after school and during break time.

As part of the Ground Up M&E at Galiwin'ku, TOs have been invited to share their 'feedback' on these projects, as well as the NLC CP&D work in general. We found that the focus of discussion often shifted around, depending on other issues occurring in the community at the time. For example, when there was concern for children sniffing petrol and breaking in, raypirri camps emerged as the main focus of TO discussions.

## What we did

Stage 2 research methods emerged in response to needs on the ground, including changes associated with COVID-19. The M&E methods used at these times retained a core focus on a minimal interviewing style proposed by Nyomba during Stage 1 – asking TOs 'what is manymak (good)?' and 'what is yaka manymak (not good)?' and following the flow of discussions around current events and concerns in Galiwin'ku.

## **During COVID-19 lockdown**

When travel to Galiwin'ku was halted, Michaela (CDU researcher) and Nyomba (Galiwin'ku Senior Indigenous Community-based researcher) discussed the best way forward at this time. Nyomba was clear she wanted to continue with M&E activities, and together they developed a strategy for eliciting and receiving feedback. Nyomba would call Michaela with regular updates on each of the CP&D projects. As Nyomba reported these things, Michaela could also ask further questions about what counted as 'successful' and why.

Nyomba also requested a voice recorder so that she could visit the TOs and service providers, and record their stories. Once recorded, Nyomba would work with the staff member at the Arnhem Land Progress Aboriginal Corporation (ALPA) study hub to send the files to Michaela in Darwin. While this was discussed as a preferred option for Nyomba, she frequently had other commitments which took her away from this work, and the coupling of Nyomba's reports with a visit by Michaela post-COVID, turned out to be a more appropriate way to complete our M&E work.

Alongside these activities Nyomba has also continued with her Diploma work, and developed several short texts reflecting on M&E key concepts, including concepts of 'community' and 'development' (see Appendix).

## **Beyond COVID-19 lockdown**

Michaela returned to Galiwin'ku for a trip on 2-5<sup>th</sup> February 2021. During this time, Nyomba and Michaela worked together, meeting with members of the TO group who were available and hearing their stories. Interviews were conducted with the following people.

- Galiwin'ku:
  - Jane Garritju, Helen Nyomba, Don Wininba, Jessie Roy, Nancy Gudaltj, Oscar Datjarranja and Stephen Maluku.
  - Unavailable: Joanne Dururrnga (Ramingining), Richard Gandhuwuy (unwell), Geoffrey Gurawanawuy (unwell).
- Milingimbi (phone):
  - Jennifer Roy and Jonathan Roy (with Mili Roy)
- Darwin:
  - Rosemary Gundjarranbuy and Mavis Dajanbarr

These discussions were conducted with TOs at their homes or in their workplaces. Most interviewees were familiar with the M&E work, and recalled previous occasions when we had talked together in a similar way. When Nyomba was present, discussions were primarily in Yolŋu languages, with some translation offered by Nyomba or the interviewee. When Michaela conducted the interviews most discussion was in English. In both cases Michaela took notes, ensured consent forms were signed and requested a photo of each TO at the close of the conversation.

This trip followed after the Christmas holidays when it had been very beneficial for the young children in the community to be involved in holiday activities. It also coincided with significant concerns amongst elders for the safety and well-being of many troubled young people who were engaging in sniffing, violence and break ins. To deal with this issue, some Elders were engaged in their own private conversations about initiating raypirri within their family groups. There was also a special meeting of the Yolŋu Nations Assembly (YNA) called in the Rec hall, where senior Yolŋu and staff from service providers were invited to speak and work together to find ways to help the young people at this time.

## Local Researcher: Nyomba Gandangu

In Galiwin'ku, during Stage 2, on-ground research continued to be led by Nyomba Gandangu, a senior Yolŋu woman, who is also a key member of the Traditional Owner (TO) group directly involved in the CP&D Program in Galiwin'ku (see her research profile here: <https://iri.cdu.edu.au/nyomba-gandangu/>)

Nyomba has long-term experience working with CDU researchers and service providers in Galiwin'ku and during Stage 1 used this project as an opportunity to attain a Diploma of Indigenous Research at CDU. Nyomba has now successfully completed 3 units of this course, 2 of which were directly related to her CP&D M&E activities. During Stage 2 Nyomba has been supported to deliver a number of public presentations detailing her research and understandings of M&E 'Yolŋu-way'.

She was supported by NLC CP&D staff to present to the other TOs at the NLC meeting held in Galiwin'ku held in mid-2020. She described this as a positive experience, and as of benefit to the group as they collectively work on finding good pathways for community development in Galiwin'ku.

On the 26 Nov 2020 Nyomba presented to the La Trobe Monitoring Evaluation Learning (MEL) community of practice group. An edited transcript of Nyomba's contribution to this meeting is available in the appendix of this report.

Through her Diploma Studies, and as part of this project, Nyomba has also developed a number of academic resources:

- A set of videos on community development and how stakeholder groups may align with Yolŋu, described through the metaphor of weaving a pandanus mat and doing M&E [\[PART 1\]](#) [\[PART 2\]](#) [\[PART 3\]](#)
- A short essay on 'what is community development?' that explores these concepts from a Yolŋu perspective: <https://iri.cdu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Nyomba-2020-Community-Development-Yolnu-Way.pdf>
- Transcript from MEL community of practice group presentation: <https://iri.cdu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/MEL-Community-of-Practice-presentation-transcript-Nov-2020-.pdf>

Nyomba is also a co-author on a paper being developed for publication by the Ground Up team, which contrasts Yolŋu M&E practice with mainstream understandings of M&E methods and theories of change.



Nyomba Gandangu, Galiwin'ku community-based researcher

## Vignettes

Don Wininba – Raypirri as needing to re-enact correct places and differentiations



*Major problem with the raypirri camps was that the kids were all going mixed. Girls alright can mix, but boys can't. Boys can't be taught if all the clans are mixing. Only they can dance if related through family. If not the right way they can't dance or do men's ceremony. Doesn't work. TOs have to see, do it by clan groups and looking to the season to see how to work. The school runs Learning from Country, and the rangers have Caring for Country. This is manyamak (good), but these are general. When rangers or schools take kids out, camping is all mixed and go to other people's places. But for*

*raypirri, this makes the kids get confused. Children can feel that if go someone else's land for law, feel a bit strange. How to do this on someone else's land? But can ask one clan to come because connected so can go together, but the owner of that place has to run it. This is how our manikay system works.*

Jane Garritju – Funding allocation, organisational practice and community development as centred around particular issues TOs are seeking to address



*Stop violence, stealing, breaking in. When talking with the NLC, these are problems we have in mind – breaking in, sniffing, throwing rock. Some of us have own corporation. If NLC can give us a go, divide the funding to different corporations so have a go. Just shared our request to NLC about empowering the TOs. Need to benefit ourselves from the red/blue money. Important for the NLC to be thinking not just about how to do the program, but how to make the money grow. We are all friends outside, in Galiwin'ku, at the shop. But in the NLC meeting, we have to speak for our clan and be strong there we share ideas with them.*



Nancy Gumatj – Homelands as crucial to education and community development



*NLC people need to speak up for our homelands, safe area to run cultural awareness programs. Not just sitting here in town. Homelands are important. More to learn there, education. What to learn here in town? Nothing. Just bad influences here, yaka (no) learning.*

Nyomba Ganḍanju – Gurruṯu as the basis for community development and change through the unique identity of individual Yolḁu



*People say that we have to have each clan separate. That you can't speak for another clan, that we go clan-by-clan for community development. But, for example, I have worked with those men, those fathers who have done domestic violence. When helping them, it is gurruṯu that is important. How we are related and connected. Focussing on that one person and their connections, [not just keeping clans separate]. Encouraging, supporting that one person. These men are good fathers now, they are good people.*

Jennifer Roy – Participation of TOs together as important to community development done together as Yolḁu



*Us TOs for Galiwin'ku, some don't attend meetings full time. They just get rrupiya (money), and not attend the meeting. Should get all tribe together for community development. People has been putting their name as member, but don't attend anymore meeting. We should be sharing. Everyone have to solve problem together. Help each other. That's what we are – Yolḁu together. Raypirri can help make better. What I believe, Dhambala can run their own, Nayawilli runs their own, Galawarra has theirs. But one budget. One group of tribe on our own country, and one budget together.*

## Don Wininba - Mis-crediting TOs as generating bad feelings and trouble in CD negotiations



*What I see, if clan groups are the real TO for this country they are gentle when talking to other groups. But if not real TO, you get real strong, hard. And are fighting. Could be you are talking about your grandmother, grandfather clan, that's when you get strong, and try to hold everything.*

*NLC need to start with the right TOs. Not māri wataṇu (grandmother country) or people like this is my father's mother's land. When talking to the wrong people are doing the wrong thing. And when that been happening with one clan, they get really angry, hard. Anthropologists have to talk to right*

*people, hear right story for this land. Need to hear right story.*

## Mavis Dajanjarr and Rosemary Gundjarranbuy – being guided by elder people rather than organisations in making decisions



*Need justice and truth to be revealed. There is much petrol sniffing and bayṇu (nothing), no funding for them. Need right people to work on it. Yolṇu who has got a heart for djamarrkuli (children). We don't know what's happening with Yalu'. How can Yolṇu organisation help ourselves and work with community people really. Sitting with elderly people sharing ideas, getting strong message from them about how to plan and run. Yaka (no) talking to family members and off you*

*go. Need to build different, different clans, can come together and talk about this.*

## Stephen Maliku – The importance of finding organisaitonal arrangements which retain and make visible the authority of TOs

*Second meeting with NLC when I was sitting down listening to the TOs, I heard mostly they are helping out organisation that were already employ by government and funded by government. They were helping out where money is already coming in. I'm thinking other plan to do djāma (work) instead of all the time helping organisation that already has funding. What about for the community benefit the TO needs to put their organisation to the community. Have a main area or building or hub in the community. So, if funding comes it goes through that, through in right way, right channel.*

*Just an example, even when dhāwu (story) is coming in from government bayṇu (nothing) goes to TOs as first priority. TO should know everything coming in; then the Local Authority, then spread to other stakeholders, and then from there out to community. But at the moment it is going straight to organisations, then L.A. then to TO in the community. Should be first priority is traditional owner.*

## M&E Stories and Evaluative Themes

In the Stage 1 M&E work, Nyomba defined concepts of Monitoring and Evaluation as she understood them to be present in Yolŋu life (see Stage 1 report, p.13-14 for details). She suggested:

Monitoring:

*...is a practice which Yolŋu are always engaged in as part of everyday collective life... [it] involves specific assessment of certain qualities or attributes as they emerge or are further developed in a variety of aspects of community.*

Evaluation:

*...helps to specify a way of seeing that accompanies monitoring, allowing the stories emerging from this research to be read and arranged in productive ways... it is to do with a moment where what has been done is also seen by a broader Yolŋu polity and be known as having been achieved.*

There were also a number of 'evaluative themes' elicited from the stories told by members of the TO group to the M&E research team. These themes were identified by CDU researchers, and discussed and checked with members of the TO group (see Stage 1 report, p.13-14 for details).

These themes were listed as follows:

- *Yolŋu people-places*
- *Maintaining Yolŋu law and ways of raising children*
- *Strong authority and leadership*
- *Connections within and beyond family groups*
- *Money stories*

We further mobilise these M&E concepts in interpreting and telling stories of events arising in the Stage 2 M&E work. We use these themes to help present an evaluative account of current developments, drawing on quotes and providing interpretation of interviews with TOs as they reflect on the five projects of the Galiwin'ku CP&D project and broader engagement with the NLC.

### Yolŋu people-places

The responses and stories offered by the TO group in this stage of work described satisfaction with many of the CP&D activities taking place whilst also remaining interested in iterative learning that might allow programs, funding and organisational arrangements to better align with Yolŋu people places. This emphasis was most present as TOs continued to emphasise the significance of homelands in any community development agenda, as well as when they provided comment and guidance around the conduct of raypirri camps, and reflected on appropriate business models for CP&D work going forward.

*We are always looking to our homelands areas. When organisations are sending Yolŋu staff to Darwin for training, what is that for? To learn to be more balanda? Education happens in homelands – Nancy Gudaltj*

Questions were most strongly raised (as elaborated below) in relation to the right running of raypirri camps, and how the activities and leadership of the camps need to align with relations of Yolŋu



people-place, their proper authorities, and ways that these authorities can appropriately work together.

*[When running raypirri camps] Painting on body – has to be clan by clan. Weaving is for anyone, but body paint it's not general – clan put this paint, one clan put that paint. Djungaya when there is ceremony, put in right place. Children can feel that. If go to someone else's land for law, feel a bit strange. How to do this on someone else's land? But can ask one clan to come because connected so can go one together. Can go together. Work with Galawarra, but they have to run it. Wäŋa-lupthunamirri (have ŋäŋdi here cleansing ceremony at beach)? Every Dhuwa ceremony run by Galawarra because have linkage with every Dhuwa clan, same with Yirritja clan, Warramiri here living with Dhŋgu, Wangurri. Dätiwuy here link with Naymil clan, other 4 clans. We can link and connect. Gurruṯu have ŋama' to link with Birrikli, Gupapuyŋu, Warramiri others. Through same line and family connections from before we grew up. Now not thinking right way. Before all Yirritja clan used to come to one ceremony. Through linkages – Don Wininba*

Some also have questions around how Yolŋu organisational structures / clan corporations might eventually have responsibility for this work, rather than existing programs and balanda service providers.

*Key thing, living in Galiwin'ku we will have own program instead of looking outside, have our own corporation. Have to show government we can manage rrupiya (money). Do paperwork so can do it, have share on the blue money for raypirri program. I don't know that clan. I have to be role model to community. Can't trespass someone else's clan, can only talk to own. Living in one community but that particular peoples can only talk to their own. NLC know this, but it's not happening – Jane Garritju*

This interest in learning and improvement through aligning configurations of Yolŋu people-places to community development business was articulated during COVID-19 lockdown periods (see Stage 2 Progress Report) and currently as there are worries about children petrol sniffing and committing crimes. Discussions reaffirmed that the development of community is dependent on the capacity to continue enacting Yolŋu people-places even in times of difficulty and crisis. At these, and all times, it's important to maintain strength through right relations between people (under authority of elders) and between people and homelands.

### **Maintaining Yolŋu law and ways of raising children**

At the time when many of the discussions informing this report were held, there was significant trouble with petrol sniffing and break-ins by young children in Galiwin'ku. These concerns dominated the thoughts of many senior people at this time, as they worked hard to initiate meetings within their family groups, and broader groups of Yolŋu and stakeholders to discuss the issue (e.g., Yolŋu Nations Assembly meeting in the Rec Hall, Wed 3 Feb 2021).

When reflecting on the school playground project, the law and justice education run by NAAJA and the youth diversion program run through Sport and Rec, there was general appreciation and satisfaction with these activities. Nyomba spoke very positively of the school playground project, and elaborated on why it was an exemplary CP&D activity: “the playground project has worked really well, I can see it happening. The contractors are there, it's coming together”. When asked why it worked



well, Nyomba said, “because both groups donated money for a project for the specific special safety of our children” (see Stage 2 progress report, p. 5).

There was considerably more appreciation for the Sport and Rec program reported in discussions in 2021, than there had been in late 2020. Over the Christmas period, the Sport and Rec team had been very active supporting children with a variety of activities in the hall, and in other places, such as the beach. Parents and grandparents could feel the benefit of this work, and how it kept young people busy and entertained during the holiday period.

*Good feeling came from playground, Nyomba was dancing – Jane Garritju*

*Playground is manymak. Sport and Rec – everything happening in school break and after – Don Wininba*

*Sport and Rec, Youth Diversion – dhapirrk (perfect)! All holidays, across the new year, this program was running, working together. Really manymak (good), good outcome - Nancy Gudaltj*

However, most discussion was focussed towards Raypirri, and ways that the Raypirri Camps for children could be supported and best run. This was because of the urgency felt in the current situation, and the clear reiteration that in the face of such trouble, raypirri was the most important thing to focus on. In many different ways, stories from the TOs reiterated that the effectiveness of the raypirri camps does not just reside in the camps being held, but also the structure of Yolŋu leadership and the relations of Yolŋu people and places being expressed in the camps, which is important.

Recognising that work between the NLC and the TO group is ongoing around this issue, there were a number of different opinions and concerns that were raised in relation to the raypirri camps (also see vignettes for details). Questions revolved around whether all children, or only ‘at risk’ children should be involved; whether clan and moiety groups should be separate (for strong raypirri) as opposed to everyone being ‘mixed’ as happens with Learning on Country and Caring for Country programs; who are legitimate senior people to lead; where camps should be held; and if the camps should be associated with particular clan corporations.

*Raypirri still the best thing to be doing. Raypirri can only be held in homeland, Yirralka wāŋa when leaders are there – Jane Garritju*

*Learning on Country is important, manymak (good). Maybe when doing it for school, with mixed kids is alright. But with Yalu’ raypirri has to be strict, Yalu’ when doing raypirri rom have to focus on clans, not together. Yalu need to teach about respect, they are a Yolŋu organisation – Don Wininba*

*Need this one raypirri in Galiwin’ku. Money passed back to our account, is sitting there. Didn’t do raypirri, just went to school – Jessie Roy*

*Are giving this for activity and we are helping our own Yolŋu people, and helping Yolŋu to work along and learn on this program. \$40,000 just sitting there, when other program latju (beautiful). Difficult decision to make, to give money to Yalu other raypirri program? We need a good role model to run the program – Jane Garritju*

*Looking at that program because too many issues in the community. We need to do action like TO working with stakeholders giving funding to benefit the community. Raypirri money is sitting there so trying to see if can reorganise TOs to run program. NLC must understand we*

*are contributing. We will to do raypirri in each homeland/ Yirralka, right people. Before have done that program here with money, but not heart. But what are we achieving along the way?*  
– Jane Garritju

*NLC can help make better, what I believe Dhambala run their own, Nayawili runs their own, Galawarra, but one budget. One by one group of tribe in our own country, and only one budget* – Jennifer Roy

Feedback on the Murrunga camps told a slightly separate story to the current concerns at Milingimbi. Jonathon and other family members continue to be clear about the importance of the camps, and insistent about the importance of running these themselves – just Jonathon and his son and daughter.

*Murrunga camps all good. When Jonathon and the children go out, they take photo and send it to me. Make spear and send photo. Go for walk, send photo. Its manymak (good). Me and Jonathan used to stay there [Murrunga] with big boss* – Jessie Roy

*Rangers manymak, they say is up to you mob. Have to do it properly. Run our business, the manymak way* – Jennifer Roy

*Jonathon Roy is wanting to educate people at Milingimbi. I told him, if you want to do NAAJA legal education – go through raypirri camps (that you already have going). Understanding and learning about how to access, to help people who need legal aid (how to support family they are in trouble, write references when person is attending court, how you have to help our family or our children or individual about what is the law, justices, parole, what is sentence? Children are coming for raypirri, could get this other education too* – Nyomba Ganḍanu

Alongside these discussions about raypirri, many TOs also mentioned the Youth Program recently initiated by ALPA, and coordinated by Melanie Williams. This program initially involves the establishment of research around how to best support young people, and will expand into other activities and programs under the guidance of local Yolŋu committees. There was clear endorsement of this program by members of the TO group (both in Galiwin'ku and Gapuwiyak), suggesting that there may be the potential for productive partnering or collaborative engagement between this program and the CD&P activities in the future.

### **Strong authority and leadership**

Particularly in the context of troubles with sniffing and breaking in, TOs spoke about the importance of other leadership in the community, and ways that raypirri was anyway being organised outside of the structure of Balanda programs and funding. An element of this leadership is being strong for your family, and also having other leaders in Galiwin'ku respect the authority of the TOs.

*Leaders must stand from each tribe – yaka TOs. We didn't force them to have children here. Have them in their own community. People here, wish they were acknowledging the TOs. Yaka violence, need to respect the service providers* – Jane Garritju

*Worried for grandchildren. Any boys come, pick up, take to lake, smoke marijuana. I support them at beach camp area. Stop fighting, home brew no good. Need raypirri. Need Galiwin'ku one. My brother had raypirri, we supported each week at the camp* – Jessie Roy

*I went to meeting with other Yolŋu at beach camp. We said we'll have family raypirri. Yirritja and Dhuwa, our children at beach camp area. Nyomba and Old man can come and teach. My*

*private granddaughters - just 5 of them. Take raypirri at Nayawili, so can grow up, make leader for themselves. I don't like boys around, picking them up – Jessie Roy*

Considerations around relations within the TO group, and tensions that tend to spring up in meetings, were still a concern for some who reflected on whether TOs should coordinate with each other separately to the NLC, and whether it would be beneficial for the NLC to observe and participate in decision making 'in the field' as well as in meetings.

*In meeting dharrwa (many) ideas come in. Manymak (would be good if) we have a talk together before we go to the meeting, then arrive there with one mind, one idea. So go straight to the point, and from there what is manymak (good), and what is yätjkurru (bad) – Stephen Maliku*

*NLC all good, only thing yaka manymak (not good), one day visit is not enough. Come talk, talk, talk – fly afternoon. Another meeting come talk about same situation and fly. Manymak (good) if spend 1 week talking and 1 week in the field. Show them how TO wants to run because sometimes when they talk and when they go is a confusion, confusing on the TOs – Stephen Maliku*

There was also a sense that there is leadership present within the TO group which should be able to be visible and authoritative beyond the CP&D work. This may have different manifestations, including functioning as a group that police need to approach first and seek permission before entering homelands (also see Stephen Maliku's comments regarding a TO hub, and Garritju's comments regarding investing in clan corporations).

*All the officer mob, when they feel like it just go to homelands. Who will look after homelands? Sometimes go in to Nayawili, Dhambala, Galawarra. They should ask us TOs to come and see them first then let these officers go in. Check and see its safe for children. They always go to look for men and women, problem with law. But should see TO first, then can go after that to look for them – Jessie Roy*

### **Connections within and beyond family groups**

More than on previous occasions, members of the TO group, were focussing on an 'overall' story associated with how particular groups and organisations relate to each other, considering these as particular 'parts' through which the relations of community also emerge. This interest can be seen as reflecting in two directions – towards the kinds of outcomes which are hoped to be produced through CP&D work, and towards relations enacted within these projects and the TO group themselves.

For good outcomes to be produced through CP&D work, the relations of Yolŋu people and place feature within processes through which projects are conducted poorly or well, and how respect may be produced and learned through these activities.

*Looking overall: harmony, safe community, yaka violence, yaka sniffing. Make community health and safety – Jane Garritju*

*Young people are not respecting old people – can laugh and swearing anytime they want. Before not laughing or joking, was respect. Nyomba should teach how to respect old people and clan groups. By talking to kids will know later on need to respect these clans, how I have family, community – Don Wininba*

*When rangers or schools take kids out, camping is all mixed and go to other people's places – Don Wininba*

At the same time, careful consideration of how different Yolŋu and balanda ways of operating continues to be an important feature of this work. With both observation of Yolŋu law, and the structures of Balanda practice being key in contemporary times.

*With NAAJA it has been happening that they are sometimes helping different, different clans when Yolŋu get into trouble. This is manyamak (good) that Balanda work with the police. Sometimes when Yolŋu do this, things sometimes getting confused. They can be family for the bad guy, conflict of interest. Yolŋu have law – deal with it in 10-15 mins. Balanda have law, have to come back next court date. NAAJA there to help everyone with this, just working with one or other clan really bad – Don Wininba*

*Balanda say, when you get job, follow these rules. 'Do this, this, this... Do you understand? Do you agree? Sign this'. Yolŋu sometimes feel bad, and that they can't do this. But Balanda are good for guidelines because some Yolŋu go off track. We need to have that, it's just some Yolŋu that feel bad – Don Wininba*

It was also proposed by some, that even while there can be tension between different clan groups in the context of royalty and CP&D business, it is important for all groups to be involved in the meetings and decision making of the group, and to be visible as working together and celebrating good outcomes together, as role models for younger Yolŋu.

*Get all tribe get together community development. People has been putting their name as member. Don't attend anymore that meeting, even Gondarra/Ganambar. Only Gandanju/Golpa are coming – Jennifer Roy*

*Playground, For kids when go to school, something to do. At the celebration, only few clans come in, not all clans. Wasn't feeling really good. Only Roy's family, Galawarra, clan Birtjimula. Geoffrey, David not there. Every royalty time they are there, when starting a good thing, they weren't there – Don Wininba*

## **Money story**

There continues to be some tension around the different streams of red and blue funding which are allocated to the TO group, and around the allocation of these funds to clans who some consider not to be the rightful owners of lands around Galiwin'ku. These tensions are likely to persist for the life of the project. Beyond these concerns, there were a number of comments and proposals focussed around the CP&D money story, and ways funds could or should be productively managed, both in relation to individual projects, and the overall program in Galiwin'ku.

There was a general satisfaction with the way that the money story was managed and explained in meetings by the NLC and the way that the NLC responded to requests by the TO group.

*NLC meetings, they are manyamak. Clans turn up to talk about the programs, let everyone know. And it's clear, money side clear – Don Wininba*

There was also significant interest in the way that the TO group could regulate, and responsibly receive requests from other organisations who may want to seek support from the group. There have already been some people who have done this, some successfully (the school for the playground project) and some unsuccessfully (Sport and Rec staff member seeking funding for housing).

*Need to get report in writing about what they do. That's the way we can know what they are doing, and how to be allocating funding. Activities happening, just write it down. Show how much money spent – Jan, Feb, March, April, May – Oscar Datjarranga*

*The Father's engaging program, said we'll try the land council. They are showing community what they do, on the oval and showing other activities. They should write letter, put powerpoint with it, and try and ask the land council. This might be new one that TO group can support. If you're asking the TO group, you have to write letter and have attachment on the powerpoints so TOs has to see that you are asking for rrupiya (money) with those powerpoints. If a TO member is part of that group, the [balanda] coordinator would write letter on behalf of that group – Nyomba Ganḍanju*

*Gundjarranbuy submitted an application, but it is taking too long and we don't know what is happening. People who claim to be TOs never support Galawarra – Mavis Daganbarr*

The management of funds continued to be expressed as a way that the TO group was choosing to exert influence within the emerging relationships and ecologies of Galiwin'ku community. Amidst the considerable discussion of who and how raypirri camps should be held, the TO group were also considering the overall balance and movement of funding within the community as an important issue.

*One particular organisation, Yalu', is receiving dharrwa, dharrwa (lots, lots of) funding. Maybe is a lot of funding going to Yalu' and the one going there has been pulled back to CD&P funding. So much money in one organisation. It's coming in from federal, from NTG – so we withdraw contribution from Yalu'. We are looking overall and trying to fill the gaps. Looking at funding, whether could be coming to two homelands: Galawarra (Yirritja) and Dhambala (Dhuwa) – Jane Garritju*

Checking in with the harmony and interrelation of organisations was important community development work, and work which could also extend to considerations of how the TO group might continue to invest (rather than distribute) funds, so as to support community organisations and relations to emerge in ways that make sense to them.

This includes the potential to consider a range of smaller clan based corporations as suitable providers of services and recipients of funds, as well as consideration around how the authority and leadership of the TO group could be affirmed, rather than diluted through the way in which funding is granted.

*The NLC we share ideas with them. Some of us have own corporation. If NLC can give us a go, divide the funding to different corporations so have a go. Just shared our request to NLC about empowering the TOs. Need to benefit ourselves from the red/blue money. Need to get share from our investment. We have been investing rrupiya (money) for a long time, have to share that investment. Important for the NLC to be thinking not just about how to do the program, but how to make the money grow – Jane Garritju*

*Organisations are like emu or goanna or giraffe. When they smell or see that funding they look around, see there is something here. Funding that is there needs to be recognised as first with TOs. With the TOs for different, different areas and authorities there for Dhuwa and Yirritja – Stephen Maliku*

# Gapuwiyak Report

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## CP&D in Gapuwiyak

In Gapuwiyak, community development funds have been primarily invested in a local corporation, and activities associated with its development and functioning through 3 core projects:

- Project 1 – Milindji Development Trust,
- Project 2 – Painting Crew Project, in partnership with ALPA, and their CDP program
- Project 3 – Logo project, with the NLC
- Project 4 – Matrix on-board governance support project

Considerable momentum has built around the Milindji trust, as it has developed an operational structure and been involved in various negotiations around land ownership and asset leasing in Gapuwiyak. The paint crew project had been occurring successfully, however was halted during COVID-19. The TO group have subsequently assessed its continuation, with a decision made to continue with the project for now. Following feedback from senior TOs, the initial logo has undergone a process of redesign to better portray the origin story and ownership of Gapuwiyak and is now almost complete.

## What we did

### During COVID-19 lockdown

When travel to Gapuwiyak was no longer possible, Emmanuel was keen to continue working largely independently with only phone and email contact with Michaela. He helped to develop a strategy whereby he would visit senior TOs and video record updates from them, if they were interested (see Appendix for recording with Clancy). He was also happy to send reports by phone (with Michaela taking notes) or create his own 'selfie stories' where he shared M&E updates with Michaela via video recordings (see Appendix).

Through this process, some ongoing M&E work was maintained during lockdown, and a set of notes and resources gathered. Crucial to this work was Emmanuel's ability to stay in touch with Michaela online, and to share video material through google drive. It proved difficult to set this up at a distance, and we took the opportunity of a visit to Darwin by Emmanuel to establish a working file sharing system.

### Beyond COVID-19 lockdown

When travel arrangements opened up again, Michaela was able to make two visits to Gapuwiyak. One in early-November 2020 in conjunction with another project where Emmanuel helped facilitate interviews with:

- Clancy Guthitjpuy Marrkula
- Margaret Dhaminy Marrkula.

In the course of these discussions a proposal was developed that Emmanuel would work to learn the story of Gunbitjun, a grandfather of Clancy's who was known for his good work connecting and

communicating between clans. This would offer a model for Emmanuel to undertake M&E work, beyond discussions with the TO group along.

Michaela returned again in early-February 2021 and during this trip Emmanuel helped facilitate interviews with:

- Thomas Marrkula
- Andrew Marrkula and Jason Marrkula (with Samuel Marrkula)
- Jason Butjula
- We also connected again with Margaret Dhaminy.

At this time, Terrence Marrkula was not available to meet, and Clancy Guthitjpuy, Gordon Lanyipi and Joy Marrkula were away from Gapuwiyak. Edna Gäwuḍu was contacted on the phone, but was just recovering from an operation and hospital stay.

This was a time when there was considerable unrest and fighting in the community, and Emmanuel was not comfortable to record the story of Gunbutjun. It was proposed that this recording could happen, with the permission of Clancy, when Emmanuel next travelled to Darwin.

During this trip, Emmanuel was given a CDU laptop to assist with collating and sharing videos as part of his M&E activities.

## Local Researcher: Emmanuel Yunupingu



Emmanuel Yunupingu, Gapuwiyak  
community-based researcher

In Gapuwiyak, during Stage 2, we continued to benefit from the assistance of Emmanuel Yunupingu who is descended from the most senior members of the TO group using the CP&D Program to develop and deliver community projects (see his research profile here: <https://iri.cdu.edu.au/emmanuel-yunupingu/>).

During Stage 1 Emmanuel received a CDU Indigenous Community-based Researcher micro-credential ([https://iri.cdu.edu.au/info\\_icbr/](https://iri.cdu.edu.au/info_icbr/)), recognising the research skills that he demonstrated and acquired as part of his collaborative involvement in this project.

Beyond this initial work, he has been further endorsed by the TO groups as a suitable person to continue with the CP&D M&E in Gapuwiyak, and he has continued on to further employment with Matrix on-board, the consultants assisting with the Milindji Corporation business development.

Emmanuel was exceptionally proactive in developing new methods and processes for sharing data and remaining in touch during COVID-19. He developed a technique which he has termed 'selfie stories' whereby he makes video recordings reporting on recent comments from senior TOs, which he can then share with CDU.

He remains interested in continuing to support the CP&D M&E work through his research efforts, and through assisting his family to work productively and well with the NLC and other stakeholders.

*I'm looking forward to keeping going with this work and helping my family so they can keep focussed. I'll push them to keep going, not to stop planning other ideas. Making other business, bringing more clans in one big area, so can all clearly understand and get all the story. Also, Matrix, NLC, ALPA so they can be all be parts in that area of that business. I want to stay strong and help Clancy and Jimmy to help seniors of Marrkula clan. It is time to stand up tall and fight for our land and our tribe and our people.*

*– Emmanuel Yunupingu, Gapuwiyak, Sept 2020*

To support his capacity to engage with CDU remotely, Emmanuel requested access to a laptop and work phone. He has been provided with a CDU Macbook Air, and has sat with Michaela to configure it so that video uploading and storage should be possible. The laptop will be housed with another CDU researcher who lives in Gapuwiyak, and will be accessible to Emmanuel anytime. We are continuing to investigate options around a phone or video recorder, but for now Emmanuel is happy using his own phone for this work. Currently, data needs are able to be funded by the project.



## Vignettes

### Clancy Guthitjpuy – The balance of moieties in the past and future



*Gapuwiyak is a really big area, but we know Yolŋu where is Yirritja, and where is Dhuwa. The NLC already know this, they will have to help us Yolŋu. Maybe I'll die before we change this area, and passing onto next they will be here for this place.*

*Twenty years in the future, will this corporation be strong business for wāṇa-watanu (TOs)? It stays when everything else is changing. Government is changing, in 20 years' time maybe no money, no food, no key card. Maybe future all different things. But this if corporation grows bigger, bigger, is it here future after I die for community. Looking at*

*bright future for grandson and whole family. People have problem, we can help them.*

*Share Art Centre, make our name visible. True story. Some people don't know story for this area. Some Yirritja people look at djalumbu, djalumbu are Yirritja and Dhuwa. But Liya-lanmirri djalumbu with bilparr' that represents Gapuwiyak*

### Thomas Marrkula – creating jobs which care for Yolŋu places



*Future times maybe take that ranger group. Take over from Laynha corporation, because we have to get this ranger [group]. Think new ideas, what's the next business that could benefit. Also, will kill the weeds, gamba grass, for futures. That's the job for the rangers, learn more for fisheries, 4WD, slashing, coxswain training – lots of training there. Manymak djäma (good jobs) for young people. Last year, two years ago Milindji was starting. Now stepping up. Is growing up, and the community as well.*

Margaret Dhaminy – The visibility and circulation of money as participating in caring for Yolŋu places



*We are interested in where does that money go to? NLC will come and want to work with us, we need to know how NLC will be close to Milindji – partnership. Not just NLC in the middle. Their job, look after our land. We need them to bring out [make visible] all monies, show how many every year we get paid royalty money for leases. We need something, like a bank statement, that shows Milindji's share: 2017, 2018, 2019... My concern, how much will go in and out.*

Jason Marrkula (with Andrew and Samuel Marrkula) – Community development as generating ways for Yolŋu and balanda to learn from each other in doing Yolŋu places



*Now on we have everything in Gapuwiyak but others might steal money. We all drink, smoke. All money, ga business [needs to] stay one, one place. Maningrida got dharrwa (many) take away, vehicle, powercards. We need takeaway wänja (shop). So when look area back here, lake part, everyone can sit here, eat and drink. That's part of our land, how to work together and stay together so balanda and Yolŋu can learn together. We will learn balanda life and they will learn Yolŋu life*

Jason Butjala – Right arrangements of partnerships as important in caring for homelands



*I want to see Milindji grow wider, putting partnership with Gorŋ-Däl so they can help on homeland project, cleaning their land, helping set that platform of working together. Right now I don't think Clancy is getting involved with Gorŋ-Däl but its good in the future they can do their joint venture on this project for homelands. Want to see this is what Milindji to be, joining with other organisations.*

## M&E Stories and Evaluative Themes

In the Stage 1 M&E work, there were a number of 'evaluative themes' elicited from the Milindji story as told by Clancy, Gordon and Gäwuđu. These themes were identified by CDU researchers, and discussed and checked with members of the TO group (see Stage 1 report, p.25 for details).

These themes were listed as follows:

- *Knowing the origins of the land and its peoples in the Milindji area*
- *Working locally/ learning skills in place*
- *Remembering which things belong to which people*
- *Making the true story visible*

We further mobilise these M&E concepts in interpreting and telling stories of events arising in the Stage 2 of the CP&D M&E work. We use these themes to help present an evaluative account of current developments, drawing on quotes and providing interpretation of interviews with TOs as they reflect on the three projects of the Milindji Trust, the logo project and the paint crew.

### Knowing the origins of the land and its peoples in the Milindji area

There was a strong sense of satisfaction amongst the TO group with the establishment and progress of the Milindji trust. They had a sense that creating a new organisation was a challenging process, but that Milindji was moving past its early stages and starting, slowly, to grow up.

*Our business Milindji corporation is still ongoing, smoothly and following the right order. Our business hasn't been stopped or had someone else come and look after our business – Emmanuel Marrkula*

*Going really well for TOs, good to see the traditional landowner that they are getting involved with the business on their own – Jason Butjula*

The manner in which the Milindji Trust was able to follow and re-enact the right arrangements of traditional ownership within Gapuwiyak remained a key concern, and also a guide as to how the business and partnerships of the trust may continue to unfold.

*I'm very happy with TO, got their own business with Milindji homelands. Right now, they [the homelands] are very depending on Goṇ-Ḍäl but Goṇ-Ḍäl don't know what to do and how to help homelands. Goṇ-Ḍäl have joined with the government and I don't know what their plan is. We could help the land better. They are the one that look after the homeland, but we can be guiding them – Jason Butjula*

*Before Gapuwiyak, we were different, different tribe. What we need is only for Gapuwiyak but connected to whole region of Gapuwiyak – Margaret Dhaminy*

Caring in the right way for homelands and Marrkula people-places currently extends beyond traditional practice to the way organisational arrangements may authorise certain people to be working in certain ways and in certain places. Where organisations work is important to the health of these places and their people. Developing partnerships which allow this care to happen carefully and well is a key element of community development work.

In an initial update on the experience of COVID-19 in Gapuwiyak, Emmanuel described other community members as not knowing much about Milindji Trust, and Yolṇu and balanda not being

able to communicate well because of COVID-19 (Appendix – see video). Difficult relationships between organisations offered a challenge in the ongoing work of caring for people and places, amidst the extra stress of a pandemic.

However, this also seemed to shift as the process of dealing with COVID-19 matured in Gapuwiyak. Milindji has come to be recognised as an organisation of the TO group, and worked collaboratively with members of Goṇ-Däl Aboriginal Corporation and other stakeholder groups in developing appropriate forms of COVID-19 response.

*If some balanda or any department come to see Clancy about this story have to go straight to Clancy, not to anyone else. He is the strong man with full story, that's why everyone looks at him and they are surprised to see Milindji corporation pop out.*

*He's the one who came with the old people that established community of Gapuwiyak - he was there. He was asking every old people for the true story about Gapuwiyak, he was getting all the story from different people (Emmanuel reporting on discussion with Clancy)*

The presence of the Milindji Trust assisted appropriate COVID-19 response in Gapuwiyak, just as the imperative of COVID-19 appeared (at that time) to have supported greater awareness and respect for the presence and role of the trust in Gapuwiyak.

Difficulties in how the relationships, and potential partnerships, between different organisations in Gapuwiyak, and between Milindji and Goṇ-Däl in particular remain an ongoing tension within the CP&D project. These tensions are present in ongoing discussions around leasing arrangements and the ownership of the Ranger group as Laynhapuy Homelands Aboriginal Corporation looks to devolve responsibility for ranger groups to different regions.

*Clancy was thinking probably Goṇ-Däl wanted to take over ranger, but he said 'no'. Rangers important because look after for the land to see what whether fisherman's come in and take all fish, also sacred place. They are looking after the country – Thomas Marrkula*

These tensions are also present within the significant discussions emerging around leasing in Gapuwiyak, and ongoing discussions around potential joint venture partners associated with available lands and assets.

*We're focussing on our business before we do partnership with other organisation. Everyone thinking [need to be careful before] bring [in] anyone else – Emmanuel Yunupingu*

In relation to these negotiations, the work of the logo project remains recognised and significant. It offers a public way of continually reiterating and displaying the origin story of Gapuwiyak, and differentiating different aspects of ownership.

*That logo belongs to this land. We are the right person. Other Gupapuyngu, Gaykamanu mob they using that other land. When see it they will remember right owner. Larrakitj – hollow log, lots of clan have hollow log, Dhuwa – Yirritja have this. But Bilparr' that belongs to us. They the person who create the lake Girkirwa and Gurrulan and ours bilparr (bullroarer). I just heard my story from my Dad, dreamtime story – Thomas Marrkula*

As part of his M&E work, Emmanuel made a video with Clancy explaining one iteration of the logo re-design. This has also been mobilised, in a small way, to share the story of Gapuwiyak and to work at developing right relations between organisations which relate to the origins of Milindji.

*Share that logo video (see Appendix) with the Art Centre. Make sure they know all that story on the video. Make name visible. True story. Not nyäl (lies) what I've told here – only at the Arts centre some people don't know story for this area. Some Yirritja people look at djalumbu, they have too, are djalumbu Yirritja and Dhuwa. But Liya-lanmirri djalumbu with bilparr' that represents Gapuwiyak – Clancy Guthitjpuy*

### **Working locally/ learning skills in place**

There was strong endorsement and enthusiasm for the training courses which have been initiated through Matrix on Board Consulting and Training, and which have already seen several members of the TO group participate in Cert 1 business training.

*Matrix is manymak (good). Keep organising courses for Yolŋu, we're waiting on that – Margaret Dhaminy*

*Sally organised everything, like computer program, we got certificate. I want to work with Milindji as account or receptions. We want more training like literacy and numeracy – learning more from English and writing for young people for future. Once we get all dhäwu (story), write it down, put on laptop of our own – Thomas Marrkula*

*Everyone was so happy, and told me they need more to develop and get skill typing and literacy and everything. Sally is pushing on that to provide training and study for Yolŋu people for traditional owners. Everything is getting strong and some TOs they are getting everything and pretty much happy – Emmanuel Yunupingu*

*Little bit budget for Matrix. Happy for her. She is right person. Old Milindji people, TOs really trust her. Will help us keep going – Thomas Marrkula*

Due to the restrictions placed on NIAA Community Development Program (CDP), the work of the painting crew project ceased during COVID-19. Instead, with the assistance of Matrix on Board, focus turned to a number of other initiatives that were being developed at this time. This included work on the housing and tourism businesses, which all TOs that Emmanuel spoke to, described as a good and important move for the group.

Reflecting afterwards on this time, several people mentioned that while the project was a good one, it was a problem for the painting crew funds to be just 'sitting there'. There was a commitment expressed in the group, to keeping their money moving and circulating in ways that generate employment for Yolŋu. This reflects comments reported in the Stage 1 report, that while everyone was impressed with the painting crew work, there was also some urgency around the capacity for this work to grow, and offer further employment and training opportunities for young people (see Stage 1 report, pg. 27-28).

*Painting crew – not sure what happening. Money still on ALPA but no working, no activity. I don't know, maybe NLC know, maybe ALPA money, still holding with ALPA. Haven't seen the painting crew, fix all the houses. Probably will take that money and put into business. That's what I heard from Clancy, will take that out and put it into other djäma for Yolŋu. Clancy always wants money to work to make djäma for Yolŋu – Thomas Marrkula*

*That rrupiya (money) still standing there for painting crew. Heard story Milindji Trust and ALPA partnership. Paint crew funding was sitting there – Clancy Guthitjpuy*

Often discussions of the painting crew project were coupled with discussions of a potential successor piece of work associated with tourism. Similar to ranger work, tourism was seen as a promising way to couple the need for people to be on country, ways to strengthen Yolŋu through telling and living the true stories, and ways to develop business potential.

*Paint crew is still on the project, but Milindji decide are going to start new business - tourist business. Decide how to stop painting crew, and start other business. People are very excited welcoming more balanda people to come here and have story and have culture and stuff like this. It is almost like inputting character for the Yolŋu people to share it with the balanda. Helping them grown stronger by sharing their story. Working on that building a little bit – Emmanuel Yunupingu*

*We want bright future for djämarkuli (children). Tourism training course will be good way to go. There is an example from Ramingining, the work of the corporation in Ramo, they had a joint venture with ALPA and are working on new business. This partnership is also good for Milindji who works with ALPA for so many years, trust are honest for everything. Manymak tourism for children – young boys, how to make clap stick, didgeridoo, songlines, bungul (ceremony) – Margaret Marrkula*

*I set up this corporation not for me, for future Yolŋu. Community better place for visitors, local djäma (work). Bring all family together to work together – Clancy Guthitjpu*

While there was a clear commitment to continued creation of new projects, and ensuring that community benefit funds worked to actively produce jobs and opportunities for young people, there was also agreement that doing this well would take time, and should be done carefully.

*I'm just thinking of future time when Milindji are growing up. We are not rush, go slowly to get hold of everything. Try and bring up more people for djäma (work) both men and women – Thomas Marrkula*

### **Remembering which things belong to which people**

The act of remembering appropriate owners and ownership in Gapuwiyak takes place within the everyday functioning of the Milindji Trust and CP&D activities. The role of the corporation as making decisions based on specific relations of authority and ownership, was detailed in a story about decision making and sharing of CP&D funds. When approached to provide funds for a venture outside of existing plans, the TO group decided not to do this straight away.

*A decision was made to not offer that money yet, because the Trust is not like the government. A letter will be sent back and the TO group will discuss this more later (Emmanuel reporting on discussion with Clancy)*

This expresses a commitment to certain places being owned by certain people, and the Milindji Trust remaining true to these arrangements rather than acting as a pan-Yolŋu organisation which works for a general community. Rather it is a community as certain relations and arrangements of ownership which they would like to see emerge out of the work of the CP&D Program.

*Maybe this family are other family, give to them, corporation grow bigger and bigger*



*Business help people here, Milindji Trust help this community. Government mob change every year, every year – showing how here. People have problem, we can help them. Once grow own business can help other (departments) – Clancy Guthitjpuy*

*Open new Westpac account for Milindji – signatories: Sally, Terrance, Margaret and Andrew. Right people for responsibility for bank, all TOs say yes for us – Thomas Marrkula*

There were examples of instances when this ownership was not recognised in negotiations and agreements between organisations around business opportunities.

*Next year the army coming to Gapuwiyak, why are they only helping Gorj-Däl – everyone should know. People from this community and TO. These people don't go ask them what's happening. Don't hear what will happen in future. It's difficult, this what happens when not communicating, talking to each other. Now they are still chasing us for everything – Thomas Marrkula*

There were also suggestions around how remembering what belongs to which people, is important for the decision making and design of what businesses may emerge, where they will be located, how they support people to remain connected to their place, or otherwise, and how this refracts through the particular business models imagined for projects, and these projects interrelate in helping the emergence of a strong and prosperous community.

*One man from Canberra came here, I talk straight, I need takeaway. Money goes round, round our people and back. All money, all business stay one, one place – Jason Marrkula*

*Tourism - always take tourists to other places, Share [this business] with my brother, yapa (sister). Looking forward to go to new one, tourists will go and sit here, we will take them, our kids and our gutharra will be there. Clancy/Jimmy family dharrwa. This corporation is looking back and forward. Who we are and what belongs where, as well as how to make future for our children – Andrew Marrkula*

It was in relation to these particular issues, that some TOs talked about the importance of funding for Gapuwiyak being like a bucket with no holes, so that when Yolŋu earn from their jobs, they spend the money at the takeaway, which takes them to the lake, and helps both the lake and Yolŋu to remember who they are.

### **Making the true story visible**

Recently the Milindji logo design has moved through several new iterations, and as mentioned the logo continues to be seen as playing a key role in continuing to make visible right relations of ownership in Gapuwiyak. Emmanuel has expressed significant excitement at the appearance of one revision of the new logo. He has reported others as also being happy with the design, and to have it displayed in many places around Gapuwiyak, on vehicles and other places.

*Before back in Gapuwiyak, some Yolŋu don't want to share story to children. They hide it and don't want to teach them because happens a long time ago. But are slowly getting there to teach young children, family, extended family (Emmanuel reporting on discussion with Clancy)*

The final revision of the logo is now under review by the TO group, and all those who spoke about it seem happy with its design. They are confident that it now tells the right story (although of course this may change at a later date) and are keen that it starts to appear in all sorts of places.

*That logo belongs to this land. We are the right person. Other Gupapuyŋu, Gaykamaŋu mob they using that other land. When see it they will remember right owner (of Gapuwiyak). Already paid logo: two person, hollow log, burala. Story right thing represent Gapuwiyak burala. We should put it on t-shirt, hat, stickers, towels – Thomas Marrkula*

*Logo is done. Maybe now we need lanyard, shirt, towel. If people see logo helps them remember who belongs here - Jason Butjula*

Beyond the logo, it is the work of the Milindji Trust, and the way it can produce jobs for Yolŋu, can begin to assist other families and clans, and may become visible to government which is seen as a significant way to make Gapuwiyak and its true story visible and able to be witnessed by others. Core to this is maintaining the recognition of Milindji people first, and as the initial agents within the NLC CP&D work.

*Milindji people first. That's what they do in first places – we welcome everyone. Getting young people back to right path. Milindji will be independent. Work for themselves in the future time – Margaret Dhaminy*

Significant to this work is the ongoing and respectful relationships between the TO group and the NLC, who are seen as supportive and well aligned with the needs of the group, and the manner in which they are trying to 'uplift' themselves and support others.

*Sarah and the NLC are very helpful. Have been working with TOs everywhere, show them how the business and where it's going to end up in the future. That's how they help TOs to know that – Jason Butjula*

*NLC is manymak. Going good because letting Milindji know when coming, meeting, everything – Margaret Dhaminy*

*Manymak NLC. Sarah got everything, phone, when meeting ring up Clancy, Thomas, Margaret – let all know and come together. Manymak everything NLC – for any business let know all the people – Clancy Guthitjpu*

As this continues, and the work of Milindji extends, it remains unclear whether government and other organisations will begin to see Milindji Trust as an important Aboriginal organisation in Gapuwiyak.

*More jobs for Milindji, more ideas to talk together and chat to Sarah. Hard to know what is happening in the future, probably go for better, maybe government can recognise us, or might not – Thomas Marrkula*

There are also questions around ways that other clan groups in Gapuwiyak might recognise Milindji, not just through the display of the logo or tourist signs, but also through other possible initiatives where support for other Yolŋu can begin to be offered by Marrkula and the Milindji Trust.

*I'm worrying for in funeral time should have container for Milindji in funeral time, have BBQ, mats, tarp, spotlights for funeral time because some people use their own money. Truck first, and container in the back. Put aside for funeral day, and when other tribe pass away Milindji will help them. Sometimes Yolŋu dance and no ŋatha (food) – Margaret Dhaminy*



# Malak Malak Report

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## CP&D with Malak Malak

The Malak Malak TO group guide CP&D activities in Maddainya/Wooliana. This group is connected to the Malak Malak Land Trust, with members often moving between Wooliana and Darwin. Work is closely associated with the Malak Malak Ranger group, and funds are derived from an Intertidal Fishing Access Agreement with the NT government.

To date, community development work has been largely focussed around maintenance of language and culture, including the installation of interpretive signs detailing important sites, features, animals and language names along the stretch of river owned by Malak Malak, and the development of a language app for use on phones, and restricted to Malak Malak language learners. CP&D activities also include the administration of a funeral fund, providing support to TO families for funeral costs.

The focus of the current stage of work is around the development of a Malak Malak Culture Centre. It is with this stage that Ground Up M&E has been most closely associated.

## What we did

Ground Up M&E was first initiated at this site in August 2020, when Sarah Bentley and Hayley Barich (NLC) convened a meeting of the Malak Malak working group and invited Michaela to attend and introduce potential M&E collaborations. Michaela also presented at a full meeting of the Malak Malak TO group, again introducing a potential Ground Up M&E process, and inviting potential local researchers to join the team.

In late October, Michaela joined an NLC trip to Daly River, and began initial M&E discussions with senior members of the TO group guided by local researcher Gwendoline (Gwen) White. During this visit Michaela and Gwen were joined by Sarah Bentley, as an NLC staff member shadowing the Ground Up M&E work.

During this visit, initial guidance was sought from Valemina White, Sheila White and Donna Sullivan. A meeting was held with Rob Lindsay and the Ranger group. Gwen facilitated interview discussions with Angela Neidacowie and Betty Sullivan, as well as a brief meeting with the senior TO ladies under whose authority the CP&D project runs: Biddy Lindsay, Frances Miljat and Rita Pirak.

Subsequent visits were made by Gwen, Sarah and Michaela to sit with Don White at Bagot community (24 Nov 2020), and to meet with Michael Kunbuk at Belyuen (4 Dec 2020). During this trip, Quinton Shields was engaged to help as another local research consultant and Sheila White also helped to guide discussions. A return visit to Belyuen was made on 15 December to talk further with Michael Kunbuk, but he was not available to meet.

Most of this work has involved initial introductions and scoping. A visit for further interviews in Daly River is now planned for the end of April 2021.

## Local Researcher: Gwen White

In beginning work with Malak Malak Daly River, we have been assisted by Gwendoline White, a member of the Malak Malak TO group developing CP&D projects in Daly River.

Gwen has been supported to develop a research profile on the Indigenous Researchers Initiative Website (see her profile here: <https://iri.cdu.edu.au/gwendoline-white/>) and to enrol in the Diploma of Indigenous Research at CDU, commencing in Semester 1, 2021.

Gwen has a long term interest in research, particularly around collecting family stories and histories associated with Bagot Community and Malak Malak people. She is using the opportunity for research training and upskilling to help prepare her for further work at the Malak Malak Culture Centre which is proposed as an outcome of the NLC CP&D activities.

She has been endorsed by many of the senior Malak Malak TOs as the right person to be involved in the research aspect of the CP&D work, and will receive computer support and other assistance from the staff at the Ranger base as she commences her studies.

As M&E work continues at this site, Gwen will continue to work collaboratively with Michaela, using the on-ground research as the basis for her first unit of study in the Diploma.



Gwen White, Malak Malak  
community-based researcher

## Vignettes

### Michael Kunbuk – The importance of starting with naming



Michael Kunbuk - Story of Kangaroo Boy

Gwen, Sheila and Quinton sat with Kunbuk, and asked if he had any stories to share. The first story that Kunbuk chose to tell was a lighthearted tale about naming.

About one day down by the river, how he tracked a kangaroo and brought it home for dinner. This is how he got his name, 'Kangaroo boy' all those years ago, and is still known by it now.

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sPQTWb3x4lo&feature=youtu.be>

### Michael Kunbuk – Stories of Malak Malak as stories of the Daly River



Michael Kunbuk - Stories of along the Daly River

Next, in telling stories of his life, Kunbuk told stories of the Daly River, and how it used to flow.

Link: <https://youtu.be/xS2RN2-1b4w>

*I knew the rivers, birds, everything. Know country, all the places. Went to school mission. After school for job, went with white people. Camped in tin house. Get a job and stay there. Every Wednesday get plane from here to Wooliana*

*Real good here before. Have to go along creek, creek.*

*I used to go in town, but too rough. Long time to get back to Darwin. Not like today, before long time. Big mob in these days. People moved out to work, all sorts of things, council, other things. When old, go back Wooliana. Connection Belyuen, Daly River, Darwin mob – connected through ceremony, and intermarrying – Michael Kunbuk*

## Michael Kunbuk – Malak Malak and relations with other tribes and their land

**Kunbuk:** We're all one. Charlie Creek area, its my area. And this one, she's at like the top end. That big river, been long, and water run down there to Charlie Creek. My father country is that area, see. Alright. Well all of other family, like that mob there now, Mummy mob... [that area along the bottom]. But we don't say 'that my country, that my country' we're not like that. You can go anywhere, family... On that country, and all that area there, on top and billabong... we walked all that... doesn't matter what place.



**Sheila:** So we shouldn't separate it

**Kumbuk:** They wasn't telling me, don't go there. We can't say that.

**Gwen:** So more like peacekeeping, sharing

**Kunbuk:** All the people there, Malak Malak, Madngele too. One group. Malak Malak and Madngele, one group.

**Sheila:** And we share? But even if it's different, that mob sat down there and that family sat down there, you mob family but we share all us there. Nobody can't say, this my country, this my area.

**Kunbuk:** No.

**Sheila:** Not allowed.

**Kunbuk:** Not, 'that's my country, not allowed'. You can't say that. You can go there hunting, anywhere. But I can understand, this mob it's theirs.

## Initial ethnographic insights

Work at Daly River remains in its early stages. Initial work has involved meeting with senior TOs, introducing them to the project and hearing their initial stories and impressions. At these meetings, the question of an appropriate local research leader was raised, and all were happy to endorse Gwen White as right for this role.

Many of these senior TOs in the Malak Malak group are very elderly. These people are keen to share stories of Malak Malak heritage and life along the Daly River, but less inclined to engage with the details of M&E activities. Beginning by speaking with these Elders, we're not yet confident to propose a set of 'M&E key themes' but instead present a series of 'ethnographic insights' informing future CP&D M&E below.

### Ground Up M&E as place-based Malak Malak heritage work

There was an instinctive move from the working group to interpret the addition of M&E research to the project as an opportunity to embed research capacities within the nascent Malak Malak culture centre. This configured the M&E research not as an assessment of work being done, but as another thread or capacity within the CP&D activities.

*It's important for the CDU work to be part of the building of the culture centre. Mentoring Gwen, and perhaps others, is a good part of that. Uncle Kunbuk at Belyuen, he has good stories to tell. It's a long time since he has been here. [That work is] part of collecting stories for the Culture Centre. Problem is that there are not many people left to tell stories – Rob Lindsay*

*There are people from the stolen generation and there are people who have not learnt culture because the old people had serious punishments for passing these things on. The knowledge is all around – the place is our library, our archive – Sheila White*

*We need to go from the ground, get the foundations right – Donna Sullivan*

Acceptance of the M&E work was also a request for involvement in Malak Malak knowledge and culture work. This implicit resistance to an objectivist, or outsider, research position can be seen as an extension of local knowledge practices which include and enfold extra skills and resources into an emerging collective arrangement of community development. Beginning by talking with old people produces right relations in this research.

### Right stories, right people, right separations

There was an early insistence on the importance of restrictions around stories. Early discussions around the culture centre emphasised this in relation to the particular stories, images and artefacts which may be displayed.

*Some stories need to be locked away and only certain people can see them. When you visit other culture centres - spirits take you through, and bring you straight past things you are not supposed to see. It's better to get these things sorted out sooner rather than later. Set pathway so people can follow it easily. Lots of things to plan and discuss – Betty Sullivan*

The focus on the restricted nature of stories, was also a key message for the M&E research work. When stories are shared, they are of particular places, and refer to relations of ownership which are difficult to police now, but which were well known in the past.

*There were people along the river, and important questions around sharing your story. In the past, [when the NLC came, sometimes other people said] all the area was theirs. They stood with the land council and said 'this is ours, that is ours' – even while speaking Malak Malak. This is why there is so much pressure and emphasis on IP and keeping things safe for the language app – Malak Malak Ranger Group*

*Everyone has different story. Old ladies at Wooliana, were there all their lives. We went on weekends. That was where Dad came from. My grandma is Madngele and Dad is Malak Malak. Mum's Dad is from Belyuen. Most ladies have arranged marriages. Mum's tribe is gone and she is only one left. And one other mum from different country. Wish I started a long time ago when there were old people. Sit down and talk stories. Was interested in history from a young age – Gwen White*

It's the hearing, collecting and observing of the restrictions of these stories which may offer guidance to nonIndigenous people trying to learn about the contours of place, as they learn about how to bring to life a Malak Malak culture centre.

### **Different stories, different places**

Beyond needing to recognise the importance of keeping stories safe, and seeking permission before sharing them, another point was made which was that in telling different stories, people are telling of different places. The Daly River that is told in some stories by some people, will be completely different to the Daly River that is present in other stories.

*Yeah, this is a good thing, talking about sharing stories... Telling her story of this place. Also, about before it was here. And of people who didn't know about school and clinic... but the place grew up – Angela Neidacowie*

*This is just my story. Others will have a different story. I can tell my story, good to get others to tell theirs – Angela Neidacowie*

*Here before knew about clinic and other things. Made mission here. Want school, clinic, not to send kids to Garden Point for school. Two old people write letter to bishop. Got school here. Th[is] story I know from when we were little kids. [It's important to] get different, different stories at the start. Slowly, slowly – Angela Neidacowie*

This is not so much a claim about cultural preference, but an assertion of the character of stories-storytellers themselves. The people come with the place, come with the story – and this is as much about experience as it is about land ownership. Truth claims are personal and particular, so while Angela can tell of her place, others will tell of a different place – crucially, not a different story of the same place – and it is important to keep these separations. This may be an important part of community development work, and potentially significant to the negotiation of new connections between people, places and ownership in the future.

### **Malak Malak lands – governance and ownership**

Through stories, such as the one Kunbuk told about clan/land ownership, and others below, differences become visible in contemporary Malak Malak governance practices. One of the key concerns of the TO group, is how they can continue to keep themselves strong. This can be through remembering their stories and family relations, and experience through their lives.

*40 years ago, Albert, Lofty, Pincher Malak Malak (Angela's father) and others all sat with the NLC around the land claim map. There is a picture of them, and there was a certain way people were sitting. Men were in the middle around the map, the women were behind them. This didn't stop the women talking, they could interject, but was important the way they were sitting. Over time this has changed. Women are [coming forward] as well as others in the Malak Malak Ranger Group – Rob Lindsay*

*In the Land Claim book, the rules are laid out [ownership]. We need to know the rules and to have peaceful meetings. The first meeting I went to was ok, but something is changing. I'm looking for ideas and rules. Learning from reading books and talking to old people. Remembering that 'because of them we can' – Gwen White*

The question of how to manage, engage with and sustain this tension will be a continual question throughout the life of the project. Finding ways to productively engage with this issue, and potentially tracking and or supporting means by which governance practices may change, or stay the same, will be important both to the CP&D project and the M&E work.



# Appendix

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## Galiwinku:

### Nyomba Ganḍanḍu, M&E Contributions

- What is Community Development, Yolḡu Way? (Oct 2020): <https://iri.cdu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Nyomba-2020-Community-Development-Yolnu-Way.pdf>
- MEL Community of Practice presentation transcript (Nov 2020): <https://iri.cdu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/MEL-Community-of-Practice-presentation-transcript-Nov-2020-.pdf>
- A set of videos on community development and how stakeholder groups may align with Yolḡu, described through the metaphor of weaving a pandanus mat and doing M&E [\[PART 1\]](#) [\[PART 2\]](#) [\[PART 3\]](#)

## Gapuwiyak:

### Emmanuel Yunipinḡu, M&E Contributions

- Statement from Clancy Guthitjpuy Marrkula, discussing an intermediary logo design: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9U\\_FbvNOfs&feature=youtu.be](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9U_FbvNOfs&feature=youtu.be)
- ‘Selfie story’ report from Emmanuel, discussing the situation in the community and between different organisations during the early days of COVID-19: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKGOWOTMoF0>
- Statement from Emmanuel Yunupinḡu: Monitoring and Evaluation for Milindji Corporation: [https://iri.cdu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Statement-from-Emmanuel-Yunupinu\\_Feb-2021.pdf](https://iri.cdu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Statement-from-Emmanuel-Yunupinu_Feb-2021.pdf)



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