



# Workshop Report Regulated Gambling and Problem Gambling Among Aborigines From Remote Northern Territory Communities: A Yolŋu Case Study

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# Preface

This report is one of a series produced by Charles Darwin University on the phenomenon of gambling in the Northern Territory of Australia. Since 2005, the School for Social and Policy Research and its partners have pursued a structured and ongoing research agenda into commercial gambling which has encompassed gambling prevalence, gambling by the Indigenous population, problem gambling, the geography of gambling accessibility, and mechanisms for harm minimisation. The current report is the latest addition to the body of work we have produced on the complex role of gambling within the Indigenous population. Previous outputs include:

Morris, M., Young, M., Barnes, T. and Stevens, M. 2006. Indigenous Gambling Scoping Study: A Summary. Darwin: School for Social and Policy Research, Charles Darwin University.

Young, M. Barnes, T., Stevens, M., Paterson, M. and Morris, M 2007. The changing landscape of Indigenous gambling in Northern Australia: Current knowledge and future directions. *International Gambling Studies* 7: 327-347.

Stevens, M. 2008. Betting on the evidence: Reported gambling problems amongst the Indigenous population of the Northern Territory, "Finding Common Ground", National Association for Gambling Studies Conference Adelaide 3rd-5th December.

This report documents, for the first time, the perspectives on gambling held by people from remote Northern Territory communities who still live customary lifestyles and speak Australian languages. Through a series of workshops with key individuals in Yolŋu Matha, the report offers a genuine Yolŋu perspective on gambling practices, the meaning of problem gambling, and potential intervention strategies. It is specifically concerned with Yolŋu perceptions of gambling, the histories of, and relationships between, card-games and regulated forms of gambling (i.e. poker machines). It identifies the issues, both positive and negative, with these forms of gambling as well as ways in which government and non-government organisations can engage with communities to manage the effects of gambling.

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# Executive Summary

## Aims

This report represents the third draft of the Charles Darwin University (CDU) Yolŋu Aboriginal Consultancy Initiative's case study of gambling. The case study is Part A3 of a wider project called *Gambling Practice and Policy in the Northern Territory: A Research Program* funded through the Community Benefit Fund of the Northern Territory Government. The aim of Part A3 is "Through a series of workshops with key individuals in *Yolŋu Matha*, to provide a genuine Yolŋu perspective on gambling practices, the meaning of problem gambling, and potential intervention strategies". The current report presents this perspective.

## Methods

Fourteen Yolŋu consultants contributed to the project. They did this through discussions among themselves and in their communities, through a planning meeting where the wider project and the A3 questions and the methodology were discussed, through a full-day workshop at CDU, and through speaking (or in one case writing) their reflections on key questions on video. Most of the material for this report is taken from the recordings which were made in English (six statements) and Yolŋu languages (seven). Yolŋu consultancy methodology entails people working hard to reach agreement. Consequently, differences of opinion are often left to one side. Therefore, in the recording sessions, people are recorded alone, so some of the key differences are able to emerge. The representation of the findings was further developed through discussions and feedback during a symposium on Gambling research at CDU, and will be further developed following feedback from the Community Benefit Fund.

## History of gambling

In the workshop there was considerable discussion placing Yolŋu gambling in a historical perspective, how card playing (dopulu) was introduced by the Macassans before the Europeans arrived, how it was taken into Yolŋu ceremonial practice, and how it has changed over the years in various ways. These changes were first a change to a focus on play rather than ceremonial activity, then to a focus on money rather than on play, then to being seen as a morally reprehensible practice, then to being a cause and an effect of social and psychological distress in the Yolŋu world. This all happened before Yolŋu were introduced to regulated gambling in casinos in the 1980s. (Yolŋu participate in regulated gambling overwhelmingly through electronic gaming machines (EGMS)).

## Motivations for gambling

Most of the consultants cited poverty, powerlessness and isolation from custodial lands as a key determinant of gambling in communities and in Darwin and reported widespread agreement on this point among the Yolŋu in the ex-mission communities. The main reasons given for gambling were boredom or depression, the social good of being together with kin, and the need to 'make up' enough money to buy food for the family, and larger sums for important purchases. In these aspects there is little difference between unregulated and regulated gambling. (While the consultants acknowledged that accumulating large sums of money was much more difficult in regulated gambling contexts, 'making up' sums for large purchases was still cited as a strong motivation for participation in regulated gambling.)

The arrangement of people in spaces through the complexities of kinship obligations is an ongoing part of the politics of every day Yolŋu life. People congregate in particular ways, in particular arrangements. In communities there is far greater opportunity to visit and sit with your families. In Darwin houses are spread much further apart, and there are fewer places to congregate and be with family. Groups of drinkers congregate with their families in particular places, others in other places, parks and beaches.

Thus regulated gambling venues provide such a space for various aspects of Yolŋu social and political life, quite apart from gambling. Meeting other Yolŋu in places where gambling occurs (e.g. casino or community venues) mitigates the onerous political work which needs to be done meeting with people in private spaces and provides security from humbug.

Card playing on communities is seen as a natural social activity, with benefits associated with extended families playing together and sharing their winnings. Card circles usually involve close family members only, and do not extend invitations to community members from other clans. (This tends to restrict game size and the size of the pool in everyday contexts, but there are also occasionally larger games with more diverse players and much larger pools.) The consultants also noted that in unregulated contexts, play is face-to-face with people, not machines, thus it is a more natural social activity.

The consultants distinguished clearly between the social contexts of large ex-mission communities (like Galiwin'ku or Milingimbi), where the populations include members from multiple clans living in suburban-style arrangements largely removed from the traditional hunting-gathering economy, and those of the smaller, remote homeland centres (such as Mapuru and Gawa) where residents live on their custodial lands and maintain an economy significantly supported by the land. The majority of large ex-mission community residents are estranged from their own custodial countries, and have limited access to the land surrounding the community for hunting because it is not their land. In this sense cards have to some extent replaced the social activities that naturally occur on homelands, through providing a significant context for particular forms of sociality which are difficult with township housing arrangements.

### **Gambling related harm**

All forms of gambling can be a problem for some people and not for others. Problems are accentuated with regulated gambling because there are no community mechanisms to mitigate the harm. Problems identified by the consultants included children going hungry, family arguments, and tensions when gamblers ask for money for food, tobacco or rent. Sometimes the card games affected children's schooling. However these problems were not considered to be very widespread or indeed very serious where there were good traditional mechanisms in place to keep people working together, trusting and respecting each other. Losers at card games are often given money when they leave to go home.

In both regulated and unregulated gambling the consultants can see what Balanda call 'addiction'. (In the research meetings prior to the consultancy, we agreed not to raise the question of addiction, but the consultants themselves introduced the notion.) Yolŋu understandings of addiction are consistent with the Yolŋu philosophy of gakal (see glossary). Money and gambling are both seen to have agency in Yolŋu lives – their own gakal, and trouble arises when they don't take on a form which is appropriate for Yolŋu harmony – with each other, with place, and with ancestral imperatives. The spirits and feelings of disaffected youth form themselves for gambling, following in their parent's footsteps. Money hasn't found its right place in their lives. Addiction

comes upon people unawares, a strong desire that is caused by and causes depression, lethargy, boredom, alienation and anxiety - it is a spiritual problem.

In recent years, Yolŋu have participated more in regulated gambling in urban venues. The machines are very exciting because of the pictures, flashing lights and sound. Most people do not understand how EGMs work (i.e. the numbers behind the moving pictures and the chances of winning). If the Yolŋu wins, the money gets shared around, but if they lose, the money disappears, and it doesn't get shared around. This is the main problem with regulated gambling.

But the city itself causes gambling to be a problem through one's dependence on money in the city. Everything costs money, one can't go hunting. Even sleeping costs money. When gambling in the casino, one often comes home empty-handed. In that sense, the larger ex-mission communities like Galiwin'ku are also seen to be a cause of gambling because, in the larger communities (unlike homeland centres), very few people can supplement their income with hunting. And few people have well-paid jobs.

Homelands are different, your land speaks to Yolŋu in a different way and cards don't even come into your head. With hunting out on homeland centres, one should be able to come home with something to eat every day. Yolŋu only think of money when there's a shop around.

### **Harm minimisation**

Most of the consultants know about the range of assistance available for people who seek help for difficulties with gambling (self-help groups etc) but showed little conviction that they would work for Yolŋu or that Yolŋu would willingly participate. Some reacted to the question of 'What might the government do?' with statements about government interference, of racist intervention, of a failure to collaborate and lack of support for self-determination. The removal of Aboriginal control over community futures is seen as a cause of the problems of which excessive gambling is seen as another symptom.

The key recommendations centred around community-based negotiated development projects agreed through discussion with all the community, particularly the older people, and focussed on the relationship of people with their land (through homeland centres), and the creation of real jobs in remote communities. A focus on alleviating the conditions (e.g. poverty, boredom, powerlessness etc.) which lead to excessive gambling is to be preferred to trying to treat the gambler for his or her addiction. The consultants gave little support to the orthodox solutions around education and counselling and focussed on collaborations between Yolŋu clan authorities and government to address the conditions which lead to gambling-related harm. Two of the consultants tentatively suggested that outside intervention in the form of financial management training, radio messages, posters or anti-gambling workshops might be possible, but all were doubtful about whether they would work, even if such services were available. The discussion always returned to the only real solution being for governments to create the conditions in which traditional authority can be supported or restored – and that traditional land and traditional networks of kin are of themselves just as authoritative as clan elders. In general, attempts to deal with problem gambling coming from outside the traditional Yolŋu governance structures were seen (in the current climate of the Intervention) as further steps towards disempowerment.





Map showing communities where consultants live

# The Consultants

The Yolŋu Aboriginal Consultancy Initiative is a collaboration between Charles Darwin University and the Yolŋu people of Arnhemland. It grew out of a series of research collaborations which cover a wide range of issues relevant to contemporary Indigenous life – including such issues as communication breakdown in medical contexts, gifted and talented children, numbers in Aboriginal life, and the use of digital technologies in the intergenerational transmission of traditional ecological knowledge. In 2007, with the advice of the Yolŋu advisers to the Yolŋu Studies program at Charles Darwin University, the consultancy initiative was set up as an informal group of senior bicultural Yolŋu who are well respected members of their ancestral clan groups and their communities. The consultants for this project are members of various Yolŋu clan groups whose traditional lands are in Northeast Arnhemland – including Gälpu, Djambarrpuyŋu, Gupapuyŋu, Gumatj, Wangurri and Warramiri and include two people from Ngukurr. The report authors Christie and Greatorex, and all the Yolŋu consultants, are bilingual in Aboriginal languages and English.

The Indigenous consultancies aim to professionalize Indigenous consultants within the non-Indigenous world. The consultancies pay particular attention to Indigenous perspectives, and Indigenous ways of making and doing knowledge. They find ways to produce significant consultancy outcomes which make sense and are useful to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. To achieve this, we work to elaborate a methodology which allows for participants to think carefully about how meaning and agreement are made across cultures and can remain faithful to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge traditions. There are always compromises to be made over meanings, and tricky philosophical work to be done to make sure that the assumptions underlying the questions which have been brought to the research do not obscure some key concepts which Yolŋu bring to the discussion. It is always a struggle to represent Yolŋu ideas in English. Where Yolŋu words require some discussion they are included in the summaries for further discussion.

In our work on articulating collaborative intercultural research methods in Yolŋu contexts, the important questions persist of who can speak for whom, and how representative are the opinions gained through the consultancy. Our strategy has always been to take the advice of the senior Yolŋu advisers to CDU – who are from six communities, six different clan groups, and both genders, who help with the selection of the consultants for each project to ensure a complete coverage of perspective. The consultants are not (usually) the oldest people in their clan group, they are in a sense the next generation down who have grown up in the mission days, speak good English, have worked as teachers, health workers, interpreters, etc, and who have the respect and blessing of the elders. Their background is such that they know how to negotiate carefully and respectfully with each other within traditional protocols, and they understand the demands of consultancy work in the non-Indigenous world. A brief biography of each consultant is provided below:



## **Dhangal Gurruwiwi,**

(D), Gäluru community, statement in English. Dhangal is a widely and highly respected Gälpu elder and bicultural educator. She trained and worked as a teacher for many years in bilingual schools. She is regularly called upon to translate and interpret in land claims and court cases. She regularly travels the world with her brother Djalu Gurruwiwi promoting and teaching about Yidaki (didjeridoo).



### **Frank Djirrimbilpilwuy Garawirrtja**

(F), Milingimbi community, statement in English. Father and promoter of the Chooky Dancers, Frank is a well known identity and widely respected Gupapuyŋu elder. Frank has occupied the Town Clerk and Chair of the Galiwin'ku Community Council and is currently employed as the shire Liaison Officer. He widely recognised for his knowledge and ability to communicate between cultures.

### **Clive Gurrumuwyu**

(Gurr), Gäwa homeland, young trainee, statement in Djambarrpuyŋu. Clive is a thoughtful young Warramiri man who lives and attends school at Gawa, a town on the northern tip of Galiwin'ku.

### **Jane Galathi**

(Gal), Darwin, statement in Djambarrpuyŋu. Jane a Wangurri women who travelled to Darwin to complete her Year 12 studies. She became the Manager of the Gordon Symons Hostel. She is recognised for her translating and interpreting skills, and was recently engaged as an examiner for the first Djambarrpuyŋu Professional level test.



### **Maratja Dhamarrandji**

(Mar), Galiwin'ku community, statement in Djambarrpuyŋu. Maratja is a senior ceremonial elder of the Djambarrpuyŋu (Garratawuy) people. He is a highly skilled and knowledgeable man sought for his intercultural skills, interpreting for land claims and courts. He is a senior translator from the team who recently completed the translation of the New Testament into Djambarrpuyŋu.



### **Joanne Garŋgulkpuy**

(Gar), Galiwin'ku community, statement in English. Joanne is a Wangurri elder. She is a teacher by qualification who resigned after occupying an Executive Teacher position for several years. She is the co-founder of the Yalu Marnggithirinyaraw research centre at Galiwin'ku, which she has co-managed for the past ten years. She has guided and mentored numerous Menzies School of Health Research (MSHR) programs. She is currently a board member of Council for Aboriginal Alcohol Program Services (CAAPS).



### **Kathy Guthadjaka**

(K), Gäwa homeland, statement in Djambarrpuyŋu. Kathy a Warramiri elder, who was the longest serving staff member at Shepherdson College, working as a teacher for almost forty years. She resigned from the NT DEET in order to establish an independent school at Gawa. In her retirement she continues to be a passionate and inspiring member of her community, she devotes her time to producing digital culturally appropriate literary materials.



### **Ian Gumbula**

(I), Ngukurr community, statement in English. Ian is a Gupapuyŋu elder well known for his considered and respectful manner. He worked at Shepherdson College as a teacher and Executive Teacher for fifteen years before resigning

to become manager of the Galiwin'ku CDEP program. He is currently working to establish a family business at Ngukurr.

### **Elaine Lawurra**

(L), Galiwin'ku community, statement in Djambarrpuyŋu. Elaine a Warramiri elder and teacher of over 12 years experience. She co-founded the Yalu Marnggithinyaraw research centre over ten years ago and continues to co-manage the centre today. She works tirelessly to educate Balanda through her work at the centre and projects through CDU and MSHR.



### **Dorothy Gapany**

(Gap), Galiwin'ku community, statement in Djambarrpuyŋu. Dorothy taught at Shepherdson College for over 15 years, holding both teacher and Executive teacher positions. Since leaving the teaching she has been a member of the Bible translation team at Galiwin'ku.



### **Mercy Gumbula**

(Mer), Ngukurr community, statement in English. Mercy is an Alawa woman who worked as a teacher for ten years before, taking up other positions at the Galiwin'ku ALPA store, Marthakal Yolŋu Airlines and the Child Care Centre. She has recently returned to Ngukurr to establish a small family business.



### **Margaret Nyunyunu,**

(N), Milingimbi community, no statement recorded. Margaret is a Yan-nhanju language worker and dictionary maker and elder of the Gamalanga people.



### **Waymamba Gaykamaŋu**

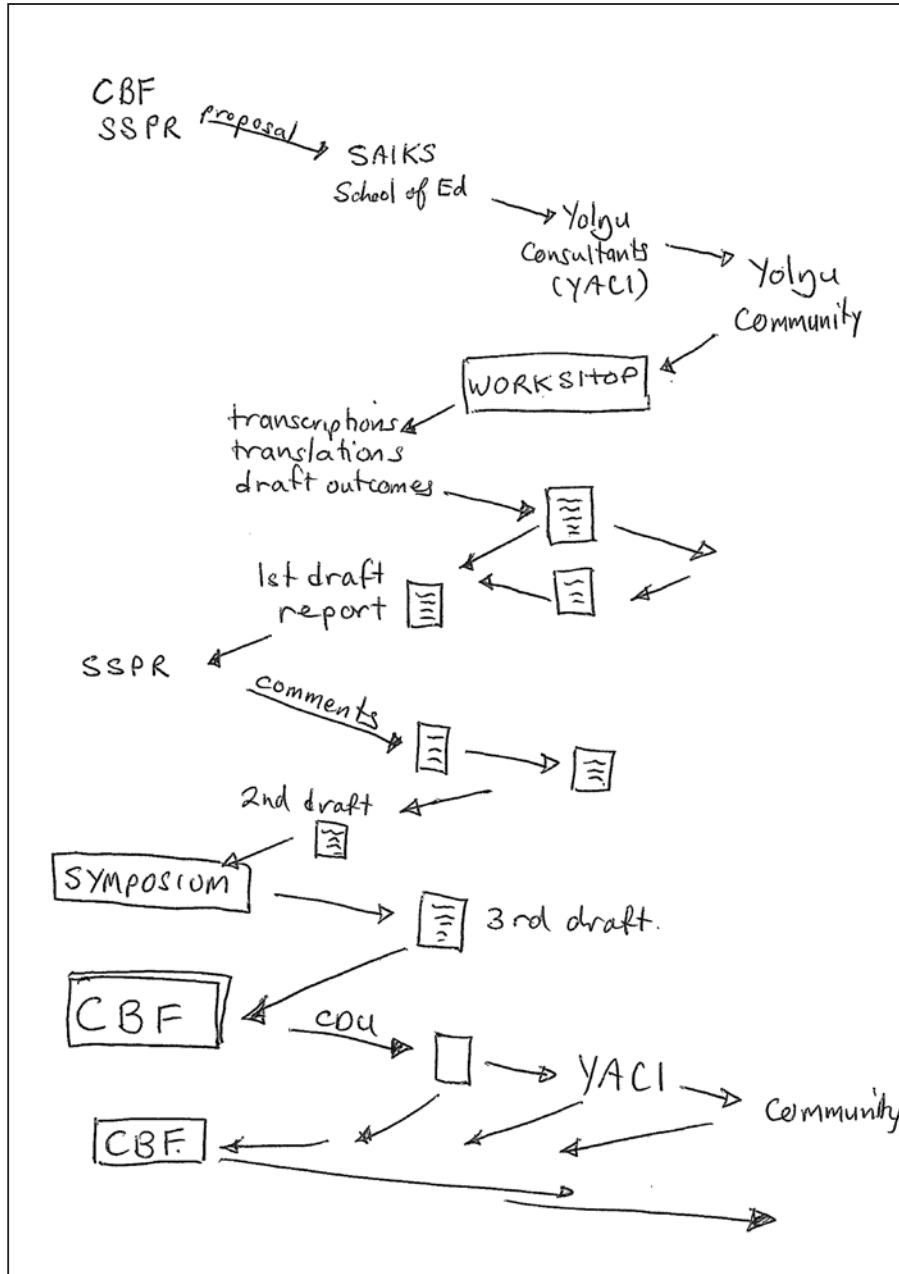
(W), Darwin, statement in English. Waymamba is a senior Gupapuyŋu elder, widely recognised as an outstanding educator and bicultural consultant. She lectured at CDU for 14 years establishing the Yolŋu studies program before retiring to return home to her family and Milingimbi. In 2005 she was a team member that received the Prime Minister's Award for university teacher of the year.



### **Yinjiya Guyula**

(Y), Milingimbi community, statement in Djambarrpuyŋu. Yinjiya is a senior Liya-Dhalinymirr ceremonial elder, who in his younger years received his Private Pilots Licence. He has worked as a consultant for a number of government and non-government projects and was engaged as translator and cultural interpreter on the Blue Mud Bay Federal Court hearings.

In the following summary, where the comments came from the video statements, the speaker is identified by name code, and the time code reference is placed after each comment. All these references can be found in the appendix. Comments without any attribution were agreed upon in the workshop session.



Methodology diagram presented to the symposium at CDU in September 2008 at CDU. The intent of the diagram is to portray the iterative and negotiated nature of the consultancy, as well as to include the CBF in the methodology, in its role of reporting back to the Yolgu consultants and their community, their reactions to the report and their resolve for future action.

# Methodology

We began with discussion with Martin Young, the SSPR research team and the industry steering committee over the methodology and deliverables. After ethics clearance, the consultants were contacted and invited to participate. They were all experienced consultants except one, Gurrumuwyu, a young man from Gawa homeland centre, who was brought to the workshop as part of the strategy to provide training for young people in consultancy processes. The consultants were given the research questions to think about and discuss for a few days before the meeting in Darwin.

On the afternoon of Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> of June, the group met and discussed the questions and a strategy for answering them, signed the consent forms, and we decided upon a methodology. On the following day, the research team came together in a workshop setting. The workshop began with a focus on methodology. We discussed ways of eliciting and documenting consensus and variations of opinion in a way consistent with traditional Yolŋu practices of negotiation and agreement making. Then the 'terms of reference' were discussed, opening up questions of the research commissioning body, its roles, history and intentions leading to some analysis of the ways in which Yolŋu agendas and perspectives may differ, as well as the diversity of perspectives within the Yolŋu world. The research questions were discussed first as reflecting an overall strategy on the part of the funding body, and then one by one, with the conversation moving backwards and forwards as issues were raised and considered, left to one side, key words are brought up, stories told, protocols reviewed, and statements were made. The discussions were held largely in Aboriginal languages. This allowed key Indigenous concepts to be used and expanded, before the complex work of translating important ideas in English was undertaken. At the end of the workshop each participant made a representation to video which summed up their personal perspectives, particular key differences, recommendations and further comments. Contributions made in Yolŋu languages were translated. The report authors went through the transcriptions and drew out key points and produced this draft report. As is often the case, some of the key words used by Yolŋu speakers have complex meanings, not easily translated into English. For this reason, a section on key words has been included. Some of the consultants have had a chance to look at this draft report and provide feedback.

Knowledge production from a Yolŋu perspective involves a great deal of negotiation, discussion, patience, humility and agreement making in good faith. This process continues as the researchers from the SSPR, who are working on other parts of the wider CBF gambling research program, work on this report in an iterative process to enhance its clarity and its persuasive relevance. A few of the consultants have had an opportunity to provide feedback on the first draft. This final draft is in response to the discussion in the symposium at Charles Darwin University, and the comments of Martin Young, Matt Stevens, and Tess Lea.

*At this stage there are no specific recommendations from the Yolŋu consultants. When the Community Benefit Committee members have read the report, they are asked to provide feedback to the Yolŋu Consultants. The Yolŋu Consultants have made clear that there are two further stages to this process: Providing further information and analysis or recommendations to the CBF on the basis of their feedback, and providing feedback to the communities on the outcomes of the consultancy, and future directions of the CBF.*

# Summary of Findings

What follows is not an academic interpretation of the information from the workshop notes and the transcriptions, but rather a summary of these documents. For this reason they are complex and detailed. To guide the reader key points have been summarised at the beginning of each section. We have avoided using constructs from the academic literature except where the concepts were introduced by the consultants themselves (e.g. 'addiction'). What we have presented is, as close as we are able, a faithful summary of the perspectives of the consultants on gambling. The references are to the speakers and time codes in the transcriptions (see the appendix).

## **Yolŋu non-regulated gambling (dopulu)**

### **Key points:**

- Card playing was originally a ceremonial activity introduced to Yolŋu by the Macassans. It was a long time before it became an everyday activity involving money.
- It was the Europeans who brought both gambling for money and the moral objections to gambling.
- These days gambling is widespread, the spaces, the networks, the economics are all part of Yolŋu life. People play in kin groups.
- Some play for fun and some, because there is a strong ethic against saving in Yolŋu society, to make large sums of money to pay for things they cannot save for.
- There are some arguments over card playing in communities, and sometimes people go hungry, but generally the money circulates around and people look after each other.

Dopulu was introduced by the Macassans (Y43) as a gift, in the formal cultural sense of exchange, or investment (wetj), not just left behind, but exchanged properly for meat maybe (Y106), by the fireside (Y137) and the history was recorded in Yirritja songs (D20, Gar32). We truly adopted the ceremony, the knowledge and the understanding (Gar25) and it had nothing to do with money (I105). Our lives have adapted to it (I00). For example, people at Galiwin'ku have invented their own names for the numbers on cards – water for 9, and 'namba' (number) for 6 (Gar133). However gambling really isn't a genuine part of our culture (F330, Gap508). When the exchanges were made (bags for example, and tobacco Y225), both the Macassans and the Yolŋu had everything they needed (murrŋ Y225). They thought they were just making a ceremonial exchange, not knowing that it would turn into a big problem (Y250).

After the Macassans left, Yolŋu ceremonial elders made their own cards out of cardboard with charcoal numbers and performed dopulu while the women and children watched (F50, I329).

During the mission times, the nature (gagal) of dopulu changed (Y302), the missionaries brought both the possibility of gambling for money and the opposition to gambling (Y321). Through money, dopulu changed from a game (wakal) to 'serious' (Gap550). It was really the Europeans who showed us how to gamble properly for money (L25). The old people didn't play in front of the missionaries (Y330, D100, Gar60). It's good for people not to gamble in public, it's really not part of our culture (F350). If they didn't turn up to work because they were playing cards, "There's no food for you or your children until you work tomorrow" (Y408).

When big money came, that put 'real business into that playing' (I400, Y225, Y321). Nowadays it's a big and open practice (Y426). For many, dopulu is a good way to relax with family and do some sharing. One consultant said: "Back in the communities, I might be painting a bark, relaxing then feel a bit tired of that, and think to myself I'll go and sit with those old people, and maybe they are playing cards, and I'll sit for a while, maybe want to have a hand, and lose the money that's in my pocket. It's just for fun" (Y900).

People play in kin groups. For some it's a problem, but even losers are handed enough (mitjpili) to feed their kids as they leave the game (Y640). Not all card games involve money. Some people play for fun (Y1000) some play in order to win money to get enough food for the family (Y430) and some play deliberately for something bigger (eg a shaft and propeller for an outboard motor (Y520), or a mobile phone (Gurr45), something big (I712) which can't be saved for when you are on CDEP, Unemployment Benefits or Newstart (Y527, Gurr20, K20, L143).

There are reasons why it is very hard for Yolŋu to save. There is very little money around to keep everyone fed, and people with money in their pocket feel a strong need to share the money until it's gone. There is a strong ethic against saving in Yolŋu society. So card gambling can be good and bad (L208).

With the introduction of the Intervention, fifty percent of Centrelink payments are currently being quarantined into food or 'No Bal' (no share) cards. Now that Centrelink is giving out vouchers, not money, dopulu may be the only way to make money (Gal1000). People are even gambling with phone cards as well as cash now. Some people who can't get work see dopulu as a 'full time job' (Gap320). The older people start it, but the younger ones follow their footsteps (luku-dhin'thun). That's how the whole kin network gets tied up (garrpin) in desire for dopulu (Gal700).

The benefit of gambling is sharing the winnings with the families (F150). 'The money goes around in circles, whether the person wins that is still shared amongst other family members' (D158). If they don't give them any money then they'll buy something like tea, sugar, meat, and go and give it to other families, who haven't got any money (Mer120). In the community, they share their winnings with their mother, sister, nephew, children, wife... (Gal244). Players often make a gift to losers as they leave games empty handed.

## **Yolŋu participation in regulated gambling in casinos**

### **Key points:**

- In Darwin, the casino and other regulated venues are a good neutral space for people to meet each other. They are airconditioned and exciting.
- However the money which is lost disappears, it is not shared among the players.
- Problems of living in the city – the way that everything costs money and you don't have an extensive network of kin on hand – make the effects of regulated gambling worse.

It's only in more recent years that Yolŋu have learnt about, and 'gone over' (luku-wapthun) to gambling in casinos (Y700). You need shoes, hair tied up, no cap, only grown up people, no children, be showered and not drunk - those are the rules for casinos and clubs. It's trouble if you break them. In the community we are not controlled by these rules for gambling (Gal600).



People like to go to the venues, they are cool with their airconditioning, and they provide neutral places to meet. To visit another Yolŋu in their home may incur feelings of responsibility or problems of privacy and protocols for dealing with avoidance kin. (Card circles perform a similar function as neutral meeting spaces in communities.)

Those machines show lots of pictures which made people excited (ŋoy-ŋapu'maram) "Hey this is great, this machine is going to give me a lot of money!" (Y720). People go for enjoyment, what Yolŋu call wakal (W330) (games) or to brighten up (galŋa-bira'). "I didn't understand its true nature (gakal). So I played, had a couple of wins, then my money was all gone. I don't go home from the casino all the time with money, not like going home from hunting every time with some food. Hunting is a direct relationship ('one way') if you are skilled (djambatj) you will always come home with meat or carbohydrate. With cards you might come home with enough or you might come home with nothing (Y820)". But it doesn't occur to many Yolŋu that they might be gambling too much of wasting money for the family (W337).

The temptation to gamble is also worse in the city – life-sickening (Gal650) because you might need some money and the Casino might come to mind (malŋ'thun liyanur) to try Keno or 'Even-Five' (Y1100). But there in people's homes playing with one's kinfolk in the communities it works out okay (Y643). If you lose in the community, you can walk home. If you lose at the casino the taxi driver still wants money to take you, and it's much further, but the casino has swallowed (ŋulkthun) your money (Gal540). In the community you always have the option of giving your children and kinfolk shellfish and fish and other things from the bush or the water (Gal590).

In Darwin and other cities the gambling culture (rom) is much harder, the Yolŋu don't understand how the numbers work on those machines. They just see the colours and the lights and hear the music which comes out of those poker machines (Gal323).

In the regulated venues, if someone wins they will share the money, but when someone loses, 'I don't know much about what happens to the money' (D218). In the community you play face to face with other Yolŋu. In the regulated venues you play face to face with a machine. In the community you can see how much money is circulating around (wirwiryun), in the regulated venues you just see numbers (Gal382).

## **Gambling related problems**

### **Key points:**

- When gambling is a problem, it affects everyone, not just the individual gambler.
- Excessive gambling is a spiritual problem which Balanda call 'addiction'
- People become involved in excessive gambling when for any number of reasons they 'opt out' of active community involvement like hunting, ceremonial activity.
- 'Opting out' is a product of disempowerment and alienation (from kin and country).
- Gambling and depression (djawar) can form a vicious cycle.

Gambling is a problem for some families but not all of them. Some don't play at all, don't want to learn about it (W59). Sometimes there are disputes over cards when there is gambling but it's easily sorted out by families (Mer108). Where it is a problem, it is a problem for families, for the kinship

system, for the whole community including children (Gap35). The consultants did not dwell on the nature of the problem and kept insisting that healthy communities have good mechanisms for dealing with some bad effect which may include using up the money which should be spent on children (Y430, D250), children going hungry (D338, Gap110 Gal70), and husbands and wives fighting (Gal80). People who don't gamble get sick of being asked for money for food, for tobacco and for rent (Gal130).

But these humbug problems are not specifically a gambling issue, they are a feature of life on any community (Darwin or the larger ex-missions) where people need money for daily survival.

In both regulated and unregulated gambling, some people gamble for very practical reasons (to make money for family food and for bigger items), and some because they have a strong desire (djäl dumurru Y540). For some it is boredom, depression (djawar) or anxiety (warwu) (Gap300, Gar250). Warwu can be caused by people not having enough money to sustain their families properly in large communities (K30).

This is a spiritual problem (Gar400), a lack of desire (Gar408), where people are bad in their 'inner being' (Gar430). People with problems just carry on gambling unawares (wawu) until that spirit (birrimbirr) goes in, which the Balanda call 'addiction' (Y550, Gar54, Gal900). The dopulu leads them away (mel-warryun Gar415), and they get itchy hands (goŋ-raypiny) to play (Y550) they invest themselves (ŋayanu nin'thun) and forget about food and children and family (L230). Their guts keep telling them that they are able to win big money to pay the rent or get food or other things, but they always come home empty-handed (Gal180).

Some people know how to handle their money and others don't (F214). You can have a lot of fun playing cards without involving money (F306). It's a problem for some, and not for others. Some are addicted and some see it as just a way of making a bit more money (L316). Just because we play cards doesn't mean we are committing our lives to gambling, there's nothing behind it (L350).

But it is a problem if a mother's pension of \$300 or \$400 gets lost and there's no money for food for the children (L503). In homeland centres there is not much of problem at all (Y1010). There are lots of things to put your mind to (laylaymaranhamirr), the places are actually different (gumurr-wiripuyirr). In the homelands, it doesn't feel right to be playing cards, the land is there meeting you. You only look for money where there's a shop. Darwin is even worse of course because food, meat, transport, and places to sleep all cost money (Y1100). Where there's no shops and no money out in the bush, it's only your skills (djambatj) which call out to you (Y1135). The place occupies (laylayyun) and relaxes (bungatthun) you (Y1200), it uplifts you (märr-ŋal'yun Y1505).

If someone loses, they may feel worried (wargugu), and that worry will actually make them go back and try harder to get it all back (roŋanroŋanmaram Y905) or to cast their depression aside (djawar-djalkthun Y1220) so the trouble (mari) gets really bad. That's what they call addiction, like a wounded head (liya-burakinnha Y905) even without money, still trying to play. This might be because Yolŋu are sick and tired of being treated like guinea pigs all the time (Mar353).

'I've thought like that to myself, when the pockets have \$500 or \$1,000, or \$2000, and there's more in the ring in \$50 or \$100 notes, and your guts get excited (ŋoy-ganyim'thun) so you just start playing' (Y600). And play until it's all gone, and then feel it doesn't matter (bäydh) when

you go home empty-handed (dhäparñ). One consultant said this is a problem because people 'keep God out of the equation' (Mar310).

People feel powerless to engage in meaningful community activity, and to put their ideas forward. So they 'opt out,' and they find themselves gambling (Mar546). When it comes to budgeting, making your mind up (liya-ñamañamayunamirrikurr) those Yolŋu who gamble too much haven't found a proper style (gakal) for money (Gal240).

Gambling causes some people to forget about ceremonial business, even funerals (D401). Young men and women get distracted by money and fall into gambling. Young women have children very quickly to get more money for children and gambling (Gal960). School-aged kids gamble in the communities to raise money for themselves for food from the shop, forgetting about school (Gal980). And there their spirit (märr) and their feelings (ñayanju) form themselves (ñamañamayunmirr) for gambling.

A lot of the disempowerment and problems have happened with the centralisation of the communities in the past, forced upon us, we have to live together and there's obviously some undercurrents that happen in communities from time to time, and all sorts of disputes that strike, not working together (Mar712). In the communities some people don't want to wander around for fear of sorcery so they stay close to home with the card players (Y1230).

There's a way to solve it: Get your food first, and then you can gamble with the remainder. If you can't resist gambling, do some work in the community to divert your mind (laylaymaram) (Gal700). Here in Darwin, you have two options: there are people at the casino who can help you, take a picture of you and you write your name down and make clear that you find it hard to stop. You won't go back in again, because they will see you and stop you from coming in because they have the authority to do so. That's what Balanda call 'banning yourself from gambling.' Or you can talk on the telephone to 'gambling anonymous' and they will come and talk to that person who wants to stop (Gal840). First look at the needs of other people, your mother and father and older people and what they need, food clothes, other things.

### **What can be done?**

- Problem gambling is spread throughout the Australian community not just the Aboriginal population.
- Mechanisms to address gambling-related harm which come from outside traditional community structures could make the *cause* of the problem worse.
- The more opportunity Yolŋu have to live healthily on their own land with their own kin, the less gambling will be a problem.
- Governments should work to create the conditions in which traditional authority can be supported or restored and traditional land and traditional networks of kin are, in themselves, sources of authority alongside clan elders.

On the way to the workshop, some of the Yolŋu saw a sign in the Maningrida airport declaring a fine of 'up to \$10,000' for gambling in the community. This caused much discussion and indignation during the workshop. It is still unclear where the poster came from or whether in fact it was legal. But it led the consultants to be very insistent that gambling is a problem for all people not just Yolŋu (W449) and the government should not be making Yolŋu gambling



Sign at Maningrida Airport

illegal when they are turning a ‘blind eye’ on widespread gambling in Balanda society (F225, F500). Gambling is a free choice, and legal (D115) (Note: This is in fact technically not the case: it is illegal in the NT.) There was a strong feeling that Yolŋu are minding their own business, and they don’t want any people ‘barging in’ and saying you have to do this and this and that (W600). This reaction was precipitated to a large extent by the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) Intervention where many decent and innocent people felt accused, mistrusted and unconsulted.

So suggestions about government programs were few and tentative. One consultant suggested that the government should try setting up centres where people can go and try and learn not to gamble, where they can learn to participate in the workshop style and talk about all these problems that they are facing with gambling, especially young mothers

(Gap130). Gamblers and non-gamblers working together (Gap230). But in some communities, Yolŋu wouldn’t bother to go to the centres or the workshops (W533). Another suggested the government could set up more programs like Alcoholics Anonymous in our communities, not in the main centres but on our communities (Mer450), like the successful alcohol awareness program and changes in alcohol legislation in Gove (D700). They could find ways to help people and communities to look after their money (I830), put up some posters talking in Yolŋu language about how dopulu changes Yolŋu life, or programs on the Yolŋu radio (Gal1000).

Most consultants agreed that the government is holding people in the large communities where they get trapped and can’t get out (Y1308). The government could possibly steer people away (yarrkmaram Y1408) from gambling and the large communities by relieving the mental suffering (dhaŋgadirr’ Y1334) through supporting the viability of land-based alternatives in homelands where there won’t be cards in people’s heads (Y1400). They say they cannot set up new homelands, they’re putting a moratorium on setting up outstations (Mar900) it’s really hard, living these days, when the dominant society is really overriding a lot of the decision making and disempowering the people (Mar1000). In homelands there is no thought to play cards, governments could help by moving people back to homelands (Y1468) because all your needs and wants are met when you are on your own country (Y1427), your ‘traditional grounding’ and a chance to get your life back together (Mar1217) This would address the harm associated with both card playing in communities, and gambling in regulated venues in town.

Maybe if people had more money in their hands, they would be less likely to gamble (W700). The government should help by creating more jobs in the communities (Mer406, Gap435), to get their minds off boredom and cards and distract them with work (Gap 435). They could start up programs in educating our people especially the high risk families (parents who have got kids, or disabilities) they can just help them how to look after their money so it lasts longer until the next pay (Mer406). We still have to make sure that children get fed properly (L503).

There has to be from within the community some leaders with a clear mind and with some vision, with some wisdom, to say okay, we have to balance, (Mar400) to have a vision to see ahead, to move forward (Mar450). Yolŋu have a 'discipline through our rituals and ancestral song that is like counselling in the western society, and people can come out of it and really see themselves where they should really be' (D600). The real development must come from the people, because they are people with a destiny (Mar1100). We're not just being, or just looking at the problem, one-sidedly. We have to look at it holistically, and then work our way around to help the people in an appropriate manner (Mar1250).

The government must work with the people (D700, Gar430), talk to the elders of the community and everybody (I900), come to an 'agreed issue point' (I1115) a new base that will help for individuals, the families and the community, then get the support from the government (I1152). 'We can do it ourselves' the government must stop calling us disadvantaged, as if we are not human beings, we may be from a different culture with different thinking but we are all human. We need to be supporting each other, don't take the control away from us, pushing us down. That's part of the cause of the gambling problem (Gar500). We don't want legalised gambling venues in Yolŋu communities (F350).

# Notes on Key Words

In a cross-cultural consultancy, there are always compromises to be made over meanings. There is tricky philosophical work to be done to make sure that the assumptions underlying the questions brought to the research do not obscure some key concepts which Yolŋu bring to the discussion. Where Yolŋu words require some discussion they are included in the summaries for further discussion.

## Bungatthun

feeling alive, refreshed, good spirit, such as being on ones ancestral country, your country will make you feel alive.

## Djäl

are the desires, wants and needs. People living in the large communities search for *djäl*, to relieve the *warwu* of large community life, their djäl is provided by cards. On homelands people already have their *djäl* because they are living in *yirralka* or custodial country.

## Djambatj

is the skill a person brings to a task, a cleverness, quickness and skilfulness as expressed through *räl* energy and activity. A person's *djambatj* is waiting to express itself, and when expressed through *räl* (activity, energetics) there will be no *liya-warwumirr* (head with worries).

## Djawaryun

means to be tired, bored, depressed, lethargic. It is seen to be a cause and an effect of excessive gambling. It is sometimes understood as pathological, as a 'life-sickening' spiritual malaise.

## Dopulu

is the Macassan (and now Yolŋu) word for gambling or card playing introduced to the Yolŋu long before the mission days.

## Gakal

is true embodiment according to ancestral principles – they way one walks, or behaves as a hunter for example, taking after ones ancestors is one's *gakal*. Dopulu has its own *gakal*, which has changed over the years. Poker machines have their own *gakal* which Yolŋu can't fathom, and which may be to do with producing feelings of excitement. Even money has its own *gakal* which needs to be understood. People who gamble too much haven't identified or produced the *gakal* of money.

## Giningarr

is a small centred location, like a navel, or the stem of a fruit, or the trigger of a gun. It is also a small tight collection of card players focussed upon an activity. The use of this work to refer to *dopulu* shows that its practice has been absorbed into traditional socio-political practice.

## Laylayyun

(intransitive) and *laylaymaram* (transitive) mean relaxed, relieved, busy, distracted, occupied, in a sense the opposite of *djawaryun*. Sometimes cards can relax you if you have been working hard, but sometimes they can distract you as well if you have nothing better to do. True jobs will distract people from spending all their time gambling. Living on country (away from the ex-missions) causes people to *layyun* – to relax

## Läy-gora

literally means the side of your head is shy, ashamed or embarrassed. If you have money, or you have been successful in hunting, other people may be looking at you from the side (*läy*). This makes you feel that you would like to share what you have – money or other resources. *Läy-gora* is what makes you *want* to share, and makes you feel you *ought* to share.

## Nayaṅu

is the seat of the emotions, the consultants talked from their *ṅayaṅu*, problem gamblers have weak *ṅayaṅu*, they make their *ṅayaṅu* towards winning big sums, the NTER Intervention removed from our *ṅayaṅu* our law of caring for each other, so we embed our *ṅayaṅu* in gambling. When we *Nayaṅu nhirrpanmirr* (commit our *ṅayaṅu*) to gambling we forget about food for the kids or our wives or husband.

## Wakal

means fun, or game, done simply for *galṅa-bira'* – to keep the skin awake. Some people participate in gambling just for wakal.

## Warwu

(worry) and *dhangadirr'* (suffering) are both seen as causes and effects of problem gambling. People in the large communities are very worried because of so many deaths, because of families scattered around, because of poverty, and because they are treated as 'disadvantaged', and isolated from their custodial country. They take their *warwu* to the cards.

## Wetj

is an investment made according to the requirements of kinship. Someone may give money or food or a vehicle to someone else as wetj – someone who is in a significant relationship to them. The original gift of *dopulu* to the Yolṅu was *wetj*, it was significantly done in the context of ceremonial exchange, and remained like that for some years.

## Wirwiryun

means to circulate or spin around. In unregulated gambling, people and money *wirwiryun* face to face. In regulated gambling, people and machines are face to face, and the money doesn't circulate, it disappears.

# Appendix: Transcriptions

The following are the transcriptions of the video files made after the workshop in the language in which they were submitted. Two are written submissions. References in the report give the initial followed by the time code.

## Dhangal (D)

Yow Yolŋu traditional understanding Gamblinŋa I think banha first ma introduced by the Macassans and Yolŋu has um sort of, yaka sort of has recorded those history in the songs. Specially the yirritja and we not nhawi during the missionary times the first ah establishment of the communities it wasn't played out in the open, they used to play behind doors or away from the public's eye bala 112 now days it has increased and not just judging people but its their own decision, whether its just for the fun socially if they wanna go out and play the game its up to them. 158. Yo like in the communities the money goes around in circles, whether a person wins that is still shared amongst other family members 218 as in the casino's or clubs or hotels where ever there's are gambling outlet, I don't know much about what happens to the money if a person wins that can be shared sometimes with other family members sometimes that doesn't happen.

(Yo mukdhuma ŋatjil.) 250 But the problem with gambling is as from my point of view, cause I'm not a gambler myself, the way I see it is the kids are just being left out mostly. 338 They go hungry, mothers are too busy to look after them ga kids are hungry while all the money is going into gambling 401 and I've seen that a lot in the communities and even during bapurru that's the time when in the olden days all clans whether it's a dhuwa bapurru or a yirritja everybody attended that but now days its different there's only the family members ga other clans that attend the bapurru, others doing their own things like gambling and its sometimes look as if

it's a division to the Yolŋu society. 515 As I've grown ga known that Yolŋu people are connected through some totem and we are also related to each other no matter how far you live away from one community, this we are still related and it shouldn't be like that 547 Yolŋu should wake up this time ga really think about their responsibilities. 600 There is a um Yolŋu discipline through our rituals ga manikay and we can do that its like counselling in the western society, and people can come out of it and really see themselves where they should really be ga who they are... 639 - (So, so if you were to tell like you know with Balanda who reckons it's the problem and there's governments that wanna do something if you were to tell those governments what to do, do you tell them just leave us alone or give us economy or what's the message to them?) ... That we can work things out together. Like I said before if there's, we have started on the alcohol awareness thing program now we have got those um permits and what's so ever at out at where I come from. 727 We could come up with some kind of a solution for like a gambling awareness program where we can either do it culturally counselling the people or with the help from the government to work together as we usually do in those parts, past problems that we have come across. 802

## Frank (F)

Garawirrtja ga dhiyŋbala ŋarra dhu lakaram ŋarrakuwuy ŋarra ŋayaŋu dhu ŋarra lakaram nhakun nhawi nhaltjan ŋuli ga nhakun ŋarra guyaŋa dhuwal dupulu. 0014 Nhaltjan nhapurr ŋuli ga baki dupulu nhaltjan ga Yolŋu guyaŋa dhuwal dupulu ga nha nhakun ŋayi gumurr dal ga wanha ŋayi manymak wu yatjikkurr. 0025 Ŋurruŋu ŋarra dhu lakaram nhakun dupulupuy dhäwu ŋunhe ŋuli lika Yolŋu bulyun dupulu wäŋaŋur wu ŋunhal batji communityŋur lika bul'yun Yolŋu dopulu 0041 um ŋathildja warray walkun bulyurr yurr yaka walal gan use nhawi, nhawi playing card yuwalk balnya ŋunhe proper



playing card nanydja nhawi walal kan napurr gan walal gan use walal muka dilkurruwuru nalapalmirri mala nhawi card board balanya walal gan mitthurr gulkthurr walal gan numbermirryanal nurrngitjthu walal gan bidi'yurr numberssdja mala 106

Ga dhuwalyi nhakun dhiyan bala nhapurr ga nhawi workshop dhiyanbala dhuwal running nhapurr ga dhuwal nhakun wanany narakun dharuk narra ga gurrupan narakuwuy gyananhawuy nhakun nhaltjan ga gyan nuli Yolnu 119 bili gabman ga djaldhurr nunhe dupulu dhuwal nuli ga bulyun rrupiya ga Yolnu wasting gabman ga wana bitjan ga walal ga idea nhapurrunn gurrupan walal ga nhapurruny gulmaram nayi dhuka yaka gard bulyun dupulu dhuka bulun wananjur communitynur napurrnal bili rrupiya ga Yolnu wasting, ya' balanya mala dhawu nunhi wiripu mala issues nhakun. Gambling dhu ga mala rrupiya wasting Yolnu family gi baynu nathaw rrupiya nurri nula nha mala balanya 149 manyak narakuwany dhawu nhakun dhiyuny bala narany ga nhawi rakuwuy yan nayanu, ga walal dhu wirupurry wiripuwiripu mala dhawu nhakun lakaram dhiyanbal wanganydja nhakun dupulu dhuwal nunhal dja wananjurdja nuli ga happen nhapurrunaldja nunhi dupuluwuy rrupiya nuli nhapurr lika bulyun ga win nuli yolnyu yurr napurr still nhapurr nuli gurrupanmirr 214 yo ga wiripuwurrnu marngimirr walal dhu handling walalangiyngal walal rrupiya ga wiripu Yolnu mala yaka marngi walal dhu handling walalanguwuy rrupiya 222 yo balanyayi mala nhakun issue mala nunhaldja napurrngaldja labulnur 225 yurr wiripu nhakun issue dhuwal gabmantthu ga nhama walal ga gulmarum dupulu ya nuli ga dhuwali nhakun walal ga gulmarum dupulu why walal ga gulmarum dupulu, nunhal yolnuwal communitynur nunhi alridi gambling is an issue in white Balanda society 245 ga why walal ga napurrnal dja nhawi nhapurruny nuli ga dupuluwuy rrupiya marrtji nhapurr dja nuli sharing ga nhapurr nuli wiripuny socialise napurr dhu lun'maranhamirr nhina napurr dhu bamara'nur napurr dhu nhina ga bul'yun nhapurr dhu ga whether napurr dhu rrupiyay bul'yun wu wiripuli yan nhapurr

dhu ga card yan bulyun so whether nayi rrupiyamirr wu rrupiyamiruw still nhakun nunhi socialising nhapurr nuli nunhiliyi 306 dhuwalyi nhakun ga wangany dhukarr nhakun nhapurr nuli ga milkum napurr dhu yaka encouraging yolnyu wal dhuka rrupiyaw bulyun wu dupulu walal dhuka bulyun that's why often walal nuli wana bitjan gum baynu walalan gi wana dharri, legal wana nunhi walal dhu bulyun marimiriw, narrtjunamiriw, nan'nan'dhunamiriw napurrdja community peopleyun nhapurrdja ga gyanu, napurr dhu yaka walalany encouraging communitiny nayi dhuka wana dharra nhawiku dupuluw yan nhapurr dhuka buydhi bulyun bili mulkuru nayi dhuwali game ga djulul'yun nhapurr dhuka bul'yun nunhi manyak ya nuli ga bulyurr nhapurr dhu bili yaka nayi dhuwali yuwalkja yolnudja culture dhuwali yurr yan napurrdja dhuwali yan gun'dhun marranal ga adopting nanapurr dhuwali culture nhakun napakiw dhuwalyi culture nhakun wu yolnuw nula yulku nula mangatharraw, 400 ga dhuwali nhakun wangany wangany gali narra ga dhawu gurrupan narakuwuy own opinion naraku, ga dhuwaliyidhin nayi nhakun nunhe dupuluny bitjandiyin napurr, narany nuli ga nhama nhakun 415 so nuli dhu walal dupulu gulmarum they have to stop other people gambling too dhuwandja dupuluny yaka yan card betting on horses yarraman tabnur , going into casino or clubnur dhu bul'yun or casino pokies poker machine walaldhu bulyun ga nha nula wiripu game yindi mirithirr 436 ga dhuwaliyiny gambling balanyayi bili ya nuli yaka narra marngi balanya nunh do you fill in nhawi docket at the newsagent ga then you nhawi that's probably gambling I think yaka narra marngi when you go to the newsagent every, every month or every week there's three kind one top lotto another gold lotto ga bulu nula nha mak something else ya nuli. 502 narany ga nhama nhakun that's gambling too, balanya nhakun gambling so dhuwali rrakunun nhakun nhawi gyananhanhawuy narakuun nhakun walal ga gyanu nuli that is gambling is bad in Yolnu community, hang on just look at nunhi theres gambling already happening in Balanda society nhakun so why looking at one eye blind ga napurrny ga nhama nunhal yolnyu dhiyalyi narra

dhu ganan because wiripuwurrunuy nhe dhu nhamadhi dhawu different their opinion ga balanya.535

### **Galathi (Gal) written submission**

Narrany dhuwal yaku ga Galathi. Galiwin'kupuy narra dhuwal yurr narra nuli ga nhina Darwinjur. Dhawuny narra dhu dhuwal lakaram ga dopuluwuy. Dopulu dhuwal Darwinjur ga communitiesjur. Yan lurrkun narra dhu lakaram nha narra gan malj'marañal Darwinjur, dopulukurr gali'kurr. Darwin narra nhinan nula nhamunha dhungarra ga nhañal narra gan nhaltjarr gan Yolju nhinan dopulukurr gali'wurr ga nhaltjan ga Yolju nhina dhiyan bala. Dharrwa gan Yolju marrtjin casinowlil ga Kalaluklil dopuluw bul'yunaraw, ga roñiyin walal gan dhaparj bitjarr bili. 77 ARDS moteljur narra gan djama nathil ga dharrway yoljuy gan maljmarañal dal mirithirr dhiyal rentjur gali'wurr, nathakurr gali'wurr, djamarrkuliwalañawurr ga bunhaminyawurr gali'kurr, nunhi nuli dhuwaymandji bunhaminya yalalanumirriy nunhi manda nuli witjarryun rrupiya dopulunjur. Wiripuwurr Yolju, nunhi dopulu bul'yunamirriw mala nuli marrtji djawaryuna nanthunaray, nathayunaray ga naraliyunaray. 124 Djawaryuna marrtji walal nuli nurikiwurrungal nunhi dopulu bul'yunamirriwal walalangal yoljuwal mala. Wiripuny nuli wanjawnha rentnha dhudi'yun, nula nhamunhamirra nalindimirr. Narra gan walalany nupar rentgu wunjili'yunaraw bili yaka napurr djalthin djamarrkuliw dhawatmaranharaw dhukarrilil nunhi nuli bapay ga nandiy warrpamthun bul'yun rrupiya rentgu dopulunjur. Bitjarrnha bilin walanydja gan marrtjin djambimiriwnha dopululil. 174 Nayanumirriyinan walal gan bitjarra bilin yan marranharaw yindiw rrupiyaw bala casinowlil marr ga walal dhu wunjiliyun rent ga nathaw ga nula nhaku malañuw. Yurr bitjarr bili walal gan roñiyin dhaparj dopulunjurnydja. Nunhiliyi narra nhañal nunhi budgetingjur gali'jur wo liya namañamayunamirrikurr gali'wurr rrupiyakurr, baynu yoljuy ganha gakalmirriyanha nhanñuwuy rrupiya. Nunha bili walal gan bay nhañal casino gunñayunaraw - dopulukurr yan. Njayiny

marrtjin nunhi dopuluynydja walalan walnan djambi warrpamñura gali'jur mala. 244

Yow, nunhany baypi communitiesjurnydja dopulu nuli ga bul'yun manutjijur mala gana-gana. Nunhi wanganydhu yoljuy nuli win, nayi nuli birrkayun wiripunuy walalany gurrutumirriy walalany, nhakun namany, yapany, wakuny ga yolnha ga yolnha walalany, bala nayi nuli gananmaraman nhanñuwuyndja nayi rrupiya, djamarrkuliw nhanñuwuy, ga miyalkkuny nhanñuwuy. Nunhal baypi nuli ga nunhi rrupiyany wirwiryun giningarrjur communityjur ga nhama nuli minytji rrupiya gurrutumirriy walal – nathaw, girriw ga wiripunuw mala namakurrwu mala nhakun limurrungal walñanjur nunhi dhu gunñayun limurruny ga djamarrkuliny limurrunj. 323

Darwinnydja woyindijurnydjamalawañanjur ga wiripu rom dal mirithirr. Yindijurnydja wanjanjur nhe dhuka gama rrupiya casinowlil dopululil bul'yunaraw wo yumurrkulil mala yaku clubs, suburbsgurr marrtji dharradharra wanga-wangany, yoljuy nuli bayñun nhama nhaltjan nayi nuli ga nunhi number mala marrtji machinejur. Yan nuli nhama minytjin, badayalan, mali'n ga manikaynha nunhi nuli malj'thun dopuluwuy djimukuwurr yaku pokies machinegurr. 382 Dharr, communitiesjurnydja nhe dhu bulyun dopulu ga gumurr – gumurr nhuma dhuka bul'yun Yolju dopulu ga dhuwannydja pokiectja nhe dhuka ga wurrkwurrkthun djimukunhan. Communityjur nhe marngi nhamunha ga wirwiryun rrupiya dopulukurr, pokiesjurnydja nhe dhu ga nhama yan numbersnha. Mak, bay wiripuy yoljuy nunhi ga galki nhina nhokal, bul'yun ga pokies, mak bay nayi ga jurinjiyi yoljuy yindi wutthun number yaku maximum bet bala nhunony marrtji nuli dhawaryuna rrupiyany galkanaraynydja. Bayñuthirr nhuñu nuli rrupiyany, nunhiliyiny ga dharrwan warwu norra. Ga nunhiyi doy nhe nuli witjarr'yun nayi nuli wandirr wanjawnha casinowgun ga bayñun nayi litjalan dhu lay roñiyirr nhakun nuli gurrutumirr walal litjalan lay roñiyirr ga gurrupan litjalany rrupiya winpuy nunhal communityjur. 492

Communitynurnydja nali dhu witjarryun rrupiya nali bala lukuy marrtji wänalil. Yindinurnydja wänanur nali dhuka goyurr nhäman wiripunhan yolny mutikamirriny wänalil bili yaka dhuwannydja marrtji wäna limurrun dhärra-dhärra galki casinowur nhakun communitynur mala bäypi. Taxi dhe dhu wandirr wänalil ga naye dhu taxi nupan dhi nhuna rrupiya wandinyawuy. 540

Rrupiyany nuli nulkthun casinowyuny bala nunhiyiny wiripunynydja waluy nuli dhäparnha rrupiyamiriwnha. Bäynun natha djamarrikuliw ga bäynun nula nhä malanuw märranharaw. Nunhiliyin naye nuli mariny ga mulkurr waykunhamirrnydja ga wiripu mala yätjurrnydja mala namanamayunmirr. Communitynurnydjanhedhumarawurrupan djamarrikuliny ga gurrutumirriny walalany maypalyu wo narirriy wo nhä naye ga norra nunha natha mala diltinur ga gapunur limurrun. 595

Bulu nhakun dhe dhu gärru casinowlil wo clublil lukupuymirr, marra dapmaranhawuy, djongumiriw, nalapalmirr yan, bäynu djamarrikuli, lupthunawuy ga yaka nänitjimirr. Dhuwali mala nunhi romnydja mala casinoguny ga clubguny. Dhe dhu bakmaram dhuwaliyi rom mala nheny dhu marinura. Nunha communitynurnydja gi bäynu barranayurr balanya mala rom limurrun dopulukurr gali'wurr.

Nayiny dopulu citynurnydja mirithirr walja rerrickthunamirr, djulkmaram ga nunhany communitynurnydja. 650

Wiripuy ga nhäma dopulu nhakun gumurr guwatjmanminyaraw, Nyumukuniny nuli bäy märram ga dhawarmaram nuli nathanur bala djälmirriyirra bulunuw rrupiyaw making upgu ga wiripu nunhi nuli marrtji djawarnur ga wiripu nhakun nartjunminyanur winyayun bejur wänanur ga bala casinowlil. Mak bäy nalapalmirriwal nuli nurruyirryunydja ga yalalanumirriy walal nuli djamarrikuliy luku dhin'dhun walalany. Balanyakurra nuli garrpin warrpamnan gurrutumirriny walalany djälnya dopulwnha.

Rom ga dhikayi norra dopulukurr gali'kurr. Männu natha nurrunur ga yalalan munguyun marrtji bul'yunaraw nyumukuninythun rrupiyay. Nunhi dhe nayanu yalnginy bul'yunaraw dopuluw nheny dhu communitynurnydja djäman märram laylaymaranhamin mulkurrnha. Näthilnydja walal nuli guyk'thunminya gon nula nänur mala nayathananur wo bulyunanur. 743

Dhuwannydja yindinurnydja wänanur ga märrma barranayun rom. Yolnu nunhi noy yalngi bul'yunaraw yurr djälthirr ga gulyunaraw, nänthurr djämamirriny walalany dopulumirrinur walal dhu wunili djawyun nhuna ga djorra gurrupan nhokal dhe dhu wukirri lakaranhamirr nunhi dhe ga yakanuw bulunuw djälthirr bul'yunaraw bili dhe ga mal'nmaram gumurr däl gulyunaraw. Walal dhu mali djawyunydja bala dhalyuna nänur bulunuwnydja bul'yunaraw. Bäynun naye dhu bulugärru bili walal nuli nhämananya dharanan bala dhawatmaraman nanya djinaganurnydja bili linyun nänur ga yoranhawuyndja norran walalangal. Dhuwaliyi walal nuli balanday lakaram "banning yourself from gambling". 841

Ga wiripuny dhukarr naye dhu yolny wänu djindjigurr yäkulil gambling anonymuslil bala walal nuli marrtji ga wänu nurikalay yolnuwal nunhi ga djälthirr gulyunaraw dopuluw. Walal dhuwaliwurr marngi nunhi Yolnu nuli weyin gärru dopulunur, casino wo communitynur ga wal walal nuli ga mal'nmaram nhä munhamirr dhe nuli ga laylayun dopulunur. Walalangalnydja dhuwaliyi ga rerrin yäku addictionnydja. Nunhiliyin walalnydja nuli gunayun yolny walalany. 903

Narrakunuy guyananhawuy dhuwal gam. Nändi ga bäpa ga bukmak nalapalmirr nhä ga yol walal nhumalangal gonur ga nhina, nathakurr, girrikurr ga wiripukurr malanhawurr. Walalan nathil djäl nänur yornha nhumalanguwuyndja. Dharrwamirr nuli ga mala yawirriny ga wirru-wirru dhiyalay witjarryun rrupiyakurr gali'wurr bala walal nuli dopulun nayatham. Wirrkulnydja

miyalk ñuli yothun bondin märram marr ga walal dhu gäna ga rrupiya märram bulu nhakun yothuwalañawurr ga dopulukurr. Dhiyanuny bala ñuli ga wukirrimirriynha dopulu bul'yun communitykurrnydja gänañuwnha walalan ñathaw bäy ga weyikaw ga girriw shoppuywu. laylaymaraman ñuli walalany wukirriñurnydja. 990

Ga ñunhiliyin ñuli walalan märrnydja ga ñayanuny ñamañamayunmirr dopulunydydja. Mak bäy limurr marrtji ñalmaram djorra – posters dopuluwuy yurr dhäruktja yolñukurr dhuka barranğayun ga lakaram dhuka nhä dhuwal dopulu ga nhaltjan dopuluy dhu djambi yolñuny ga walña nhannu. Dhuwalatjannydja djorrakurrnydja ñayi dhu wanga-wangany nhänhamirr gänagana ga mala djarryun nhannuwuy walña dhiyan bala dopuluwurr gali'gurr. Dhäwumirriyam ñunhiyi posterny wo djorrany ga mayalimirriyam ñunhi walal dhu dharanjan bawalamirriy dhungarramirriy walal ñunhi dhäwu. Dhuñan ñarra wiripunydja mala dhukarrgu, mak bäy radio programmegurr, ñunhatjan ARDS radiogurr ga TEABBAGurr wo wukirrikurr dopuluwuy dhäwu? Wiripuny bäy centrelinkthu dhuka gurrpan vouchersnha bäy yakan rrupiyany. Ñunhi nhe djäl rrupiyaw nhe dhu one waynha djäman bul'yunarawnydja dopulunydydja. Yäku Tough Love – Däl märr-ñamathinyawuy ow. Dhuwaliyi ñarrakununy. 1106

## Gapany (Gap)

0000 Ñarra dhu dhäwu lakaram dhuwal. 0003 Sharing dhuwalatjan nhawikurr, videopuy nhawipuy, ñunhi nhä napurr ga gämurru nhäma nhakun dopulupuy. 0012 Ga ñarrapi nhakun dhuwal, yaka ñarra ñuli ga bul'yun dopulu, I don't gamble, Ga 0019 just an observer nhakun, nhäma li ga, what is happening around the communityñur ga nhä mala problems ñayi li ga nhakun dhawatthun, ñurru dhawatthun ga nhä ñayi lika nhakun mal'ñthun ñunhiyi, affecting lika dopuluy – gamblingdhu. 0035 nhawinur nhakun familywal, gurrutumirriwal ga communityñur ga balanya nhakun djamarrkuliwal especially nhakun children. 0053 Ga Bitjan ñarra ga waña point threenur ga fourñur ñarra

dhu wañany ga dhuwal, gämurruny mala raisingnydja ñarra dhuka dhuwalatjan. 0102 Yow, ga djamarrkuliny nhakun yuwalktja ñayi dhäwuny nhakun, ñathanur, balanya ñathanur rrupiya li ga mirithirr wandirr dopululil. 0119 Ga lurrkunnha ñula ñathawnydja. Dhuwannydja ñändi'mirriñuw ga djamarrkuliw dhäwu. Ñändi'mirriñu ñunhi walal ñuli ga laylayyun dopulunur, ñayiny ñuli ga balayin doy'nydja marrtji. 0130 Nhaltjan dhu ñunhiyiny gung'a'yun? Especially, young mothersnha. Ñi. Mak ñayi dhu gyaña maybe young mothersgu workshopthu running, have a workshop. Just young mothersgu, focusing on gambling. Ga questions mala dhu ga, nhä nhakun raising balanya nhakun - what effects mala nhakun. Ga nhä mala gung'a'yunamirr, ga nhä mala problems, balanya mala nhakun. 0201

Ga wiripuny nhakun familyw, family nhakun ga yan maybe focus on two groups of family ga lakaranhamirr balanya family gam', card bul'yunamirr family, people that gamble, ga people ñunhi yaka gamble, ga come in together and have normal nhakun balanya family gathering, ga sharing ga dhäwu lakaram. 0030 Maybe that will help mak, ga mak ñayi dhu gung'a'yun ñuriniyi balanya mala. Yan gämurru nhakun dhuwandja. 0240 Nhäthinya gung'a'yunawuy dhu ga ñorra. Ga wiripu nhakun, bili ñayi ga, wiripuy nhäma dhuwali problemnha nhakun ñayi. Yakan ñayi dhuwali nhakun nhawi, limurr ga gyaña, some people are thinking like they're social nhakun limurruñ. Some thinking, somethu ga wiripuy gyaña yolñuy family' or community mak ñayi dhuwali boredomñur balanya, nhawi dhu ga nhina galña 0308 walal dhu djawaryun rirrikthun, warwuyun mak, balanyañur mala laylaymaram dhu ga ñula nhänur. Mak cardnha ñunhin bili djämany. They think about 0320 card is their job, full time jobnha ya' balanya. Bitjana walal ga thinkingnytja everyday walal dhu wake up bala gamblinglila dhunupan, rrupiya gulkthun bala marrtjin. Ya balanya wiripuny thinking. There's ways that we can change ñunhiyi. Balanya mala ways. Have a community nhawi, meetings or workshop ñayi dhu ga running councilyu or wiripu Yolñu communityñur dhu marrtji

nunhi nhakun ga starting gambling starting to stop, balanya mala invite walalany what happen to their community, how have a change nunhiyi walalan gamblingur. Balanya wiripuny dhäwu. 0400 Ga wiripuny nhakun, gambling in public areas cause lot of rubbish and it's not good for communityw. We should have a healthy life style, ga raypirri discipline should be given to those gamblers. Ni, ga it's yaka manyamak for djamarrkuliw to pick up rubbish ga luka marrtji dhu yaka manyamak, health wisetja yaka manyamak. 0435 Ga wiripuny nhakun, very importanttja nhakun for young peoplegu, young mothersgu ga communityw best nhakun to nayi dhu nhakun provide jobs in the community, dharrwa jobs – djäma. Manyamak djäma that will nhawi walalany dhu change walalan dhu thinkingpuy, nayanu walalan dhu dhuwal change cardjur, dopulunur bul'yunanur, ga manyamak djäma maln'maram. Make them busy, laylaymaram walalany djämanur. Ya balanya nhakun. 0508 Djuy'yun djamarrkuliny schoollil, märr walal dhu thinking djäma ga djamarrkuliny djuy'yun schoollil, ya balanya mala nhakun. Ga lately there's been nhakun slowly nayi ga changestja happening but need to see programmes runned for gamblinggu, bili yaka nayi dhuwal yuwalktja cultuareny napurrun, it's nhawi nhakun mirithirnydja nayi, people burr'yun walal lika bungul card nhakun, but really it's not our culture nhakun ya balanya nhakun yuwalktja nayi dopuluny dhuwaliyi. It's mak foreign nayi dhuwaliyi nhawi, rom dhuwaliyi. 0550 Yaka napurrun nhakun dhuwaliyi. Yuwalk nhawi, introduce wiripunuy yolnuy gänal dhuwali dopulu bala wakalkunala, seriousgunala rrupiyakurra nhawin bala nayanun nunha wanaña gurrupara, wanaña dumurrkunala nayanun nunha rrupiyawnha, ya balanya nhakun. Yuwalktja nayi ga balanya. Ma thank you.

### **Garnngulkpuy (Gar)**

Yow, narrant dhu lakaram. Narrant dhuwal Garnngulkpuy. Galiwin'kunur narra, ga Yalu narra lika ga djäma – yalu marngithinyaraw centrejur. Ga Yolnu consultancy narra dhuwal. Manyamak narra dhu firsttja yäkuyam nurrunuy, yuwalk nanapurr adoptingnydja

nunhi bungulnydja ga knowledgedja ga understandingnydja gamblingnurnydja galinur. 0032 Bili walal nunhi Mangatharray walal gänal nhakun napurrungal ya bitjarr. Bala napurr, nayi Yirritjaynha märranaldydja nunhi bungulnydja. Ga dhiyanuny bala nhakun nayi ga, nunhiyi walal gan gänal ga burr'yurra walal gan napurr ga burr'yuna napurr ga dhiyan bala bungulnura nunhiyi dopulu. 0054 Bungullila nayi nunhi practisingdja – marrtjiny, bala benuriyi bungulnur bala nayiny yolnuy wala addictednha, dhiyanuny bala nhakun gamblingguny. Manyamak, ga näthilnydja nayi gan romgurr marrtjin ga djulul'yurr nayi gan, ga yaka nhakun bukmak marngi dopuluw bul'yunaraw. Ga dhiyanuny bala nhakun nayi bukmaknha Yolnu – bili open airnura walal marrtji nuli communitynurnydja bulyun, whereas Darwinnurnydja nayi nuli casinolila Yolnu marrtji. 133 a nunhili dopulunur walal nuli marrtji yuta mala dhäruk maln'maram, names mala numberw ga nhawi wiripuny walal nuli gatjpu'yun winninggu ga yuta mala walal li creating, yaku mala numberw mala balanya nhakun nhawikuny nineguny walal nuli lakaram gapu. Ga nhawikuny dhikayi sixtja walal nuli yaka lakaram, but number walal nuli yäkuny lakaram yow, number narakuny, nunhi walal nuli lakaram. 224 Walalnydja Yolnu walal dopulumirnydja aroundnydja nunhi walalnydja marngi nhä nayi dhu lakaram number. Manyamak, nhakun narrantpiny, narrantuny concern dhuwal balanya gam, yuwalk nayi problemnydja dopuluny. Yuwalk nayi problemdja, yurr nhä nhakun nunhi problemnydja? wanganydja, warwu. 252 Warwu nunhi marrtji dhawar'yuna Yolnu. Warwu nunhi ga families scatterednha marrtji. Ga nayi nuli nhäma nunhi nanyapinya nayi yolnuy bili nayi gänan ga nhina, familymiriwnha, gurrutumiriwnha bala nayi li marrtji birrka'yuna balanyayi mala. Wanganydja nayi warwu, nayi dopulu, nunhi lika yolnuy dopulu bul'yun, nunhiny warwu. 315 Ga wiripuny nayi, wiripuny nayi Yolnu nuli marrtji balayidhi bili nanyany li affecting mak problemdhu. Family problem, mak argumentdhu nanya li affecting, mak yolnuy nanya dhuka gupa wana, all this negative things mala around the familywal or around the organization, bala nayi nuli warwuyuna

nunhi, bala nayi nuli gäman nhanjuwuy warwu card dopululila. Wanganyndja, nunha bala dhuwandja spiritualjurnydja gali'nur, the way peopleyu nuli thinking. 408

Ga warwu nayi ga djäl nayi, djäl bili bäynun nhanju gi wiripu djäl norri yoljuw, nayi dhu nhina dopulumiriw wo nhawi nhakun, yaka limurr marngi nhaltjarr nayi gan nunhi nuriyi dopuluy mel-warryun ga yoljuny walalany. Wiripuny ga yätjkurr mala nunha inner beingnur lakaram yaka narra marngi but, Yolju, governmentgu napurr djäl limurr dhu rrambanji djäma. 437 Njalimurr dhu balancegum life yoljuny. Bili nayiny ga yoljuny dhuwal, nhumany ga bitjan nhäma – we can do it ourselves. Yuwalk napurr dhu do-ittja nhä mala djäma nunha communitynur napurr dhu djämamirriyam. But nunhi nhuma dhu ga always disadvantage napurrny lakaram, napurrnydja dhuka nunhiyin dhäruk nhäma bala warwun napurrungalnydja gulñiyirr that bitjana napurrnydja ga treating, nhumany napurrny, that we are not human beings ya bitjan. 507 Ga napurrnydja ga djälthirr limurr dhu rrambanji djäma as human beings. Even though njalimurr different culturenur but limurr, limurrny ga thinkingpuy limurrny barrkuwatj, as long as limurr rrambanji, human limurr. Ga there has to be a need mala balanya, how nali dhu supporting each other ga working together, ga yaka nhe dhu control djaw'yun, but give control back to napurrungal bala nhuma dhu nhäman napurrny, napurr dhu changenha lifenja, instead of nhumapi dhu always controlling, nhumany ga pushing down napurrny bitjan bili. Ga gamblingnydja, nunhi part of gambling wiripuny warwu. Linygun.

### **Gurumuwuy (Gurr)**

Yo narany dhuwal yäku Gurumuwuy ga wänany rraku nunha Gäwa. Ga dhanan narra lika nhama rraku gurutumirriy mala walal nuli lil shortdhirr rrupiyaw bili walal lika märram nhakun CDEP rrupiya mala, ga shortnha walal lika nunhi rrupiyany marram bala walal nuli marrtji Galiwin'kulildja bala cardnha start nhakun rraku gurutumirr mala dhanan mirithirr narra li ga nhäma. 0038 bala

walal nuli card dja bul'yun ga nunhilin walal li mostdja nhakun rrupiya märram, nhakun nula nhaku walal li bäyim things mala, nhakun yindimirr rrupiyamirr, phone wu nula nhä walal dhu benuriny cardnura rrupiya märram bili walal li ga nunhi lurrkun yan rrupiya benuriny CDEP jurnydja märram mostdja walali ga card-nura märram. 106 Walal li mel nhirpan wiripunhan ga wiripunhan, friendsnha mala ga balanya dhawu rrakunony narra gan näkul.

### **Guthadjaka (K)**

Yow, narany dhu lakaram dhawu yuwalk. nunha yindi nhakun warwu Gä narra Galiwinkuny, bili wiripu malany Yolju djamamiriw ga bäynu walal li ga gana' rrupiya märram, CDPnur yan ga marram, ga bala walal nuli gardlila bul'yun. Ga nunhiliyin walal li ga bul'yun mirithirrtja. Wiripu walal dhu win ga wiripu walal dhu loose. Bala nan'dhunmirra ga rrupiyaw wu nathaw. Ga lay nhama ga wiripuny yoljuny nunhi wänja watanuny, nathawdja. Ga märrma' nayi dhuwali nakun gamurrny, 0058 Nayiny ga homelandjurdja yan yarrupthuna balan Galiwin'kulila ga mel nhirpan ga gatdhun. Ga nunhili nathany bäynudhirr, nunhiny djannarrnha ga nhinali djamarrkuli, nandi'mirriju ga bäpa'mirriju. 116 Ga nunhi homelandjurdja nhakun wänja, walalan dhu rrupiya dhawar'yun, napurr dhu huntinglil marrtji, ga gama djamarrkuliny, marngikum. 126 Ga nayiny ga nunha mitjinnur dja, ga rrupiyaynha yan marrwadaygum natha. Rrupiyanjura yan bäynun dhu hunting wänja'wängany Yolju ga huntingdja maranhu gamany yurr nha djalimnha li ga rrupiyawnha Ga nunhiyi nhakun gurupanamirr nayanu nunhi näthil napurr gan gunga'yunmin, bäynun 151Bili nayi gapmandhu ga rom nhakun business Gäma napurrny, bala nayi ga djaw'yuna nayanunur nunhiyiny nhawi gunayunamirrdja rom nhaltjan napurr dhu djaka napurrnguwuy Ga nuli balan nayi gapmandhu dhukarr nula maln'maran napurrny homelandgu, märr nula djama gurupul wu rrupiya napurrny gurupul. 214 Yurr wanhanur ga wänja napurr dhu warrpam Galiwin'kulil marrtji, dhuwali

walalanjany gapmangu rom. Walal djäl napurr dhu nünhal townnür nhina, ga djäma märram. Ga, yakun dhuwali manymak djamarrkuliwdja yalalanumirriwdja. 229 Ga nünhi nhapurr dhu yaka walalany ga wana, ga gunğa'yun, nayaniny dhu ga nünhi dhunan yan marrtji. Ga nhina nayi dhu ga gatnura yan, ga dningam nayi dhu. 240 Ga nuli dhu nayi gapman nula dhukarr maln'maram, nhaltjan nayi dhu runanmaram rrupiyagurr gali'gurr, nhakun, nal'marum marr djämamirri walalan, ga nünhiny manymak. Ga dhiyaki narra ga djaldhirr, wanha balan nayi dhuwaliyi dhawu marrtji gapmangu. Balanyaraw rrupiyaw nalmaranharaw, yaka yan CDEPnür. Yow, balanya. 306

### Ian Gumbula (I)

story of ..., how we've known and adapted to gambling in our life to Yolnu people in the community. It happened a long time ago when those first contacts from the Macassan coming in, doing some sort of trading with Yolnu people, mostly in cultural matters, people. And they sort of noticed something during that, that influenced our life, their lives. 105 Gambling, and they sort of accepted that into their life as nothing to do with rupiya or what but mainly with materials, and that sort of adapted that gambling ways to make them feel happy. When new things came into the Yolnu community, Yolnu people's, lives, they bring other things, 152 material nhakun. Like paying a little bit of rupiah and then they would keep going like that, but they sort of work along, and have that attitude of gambling in their life, not really ... work, because they had to do too many working there, go working a long way and hard, so a long time working in some sort of gardening or fishing, whatever. And when some of them took that 238 and adapted into their bungul manikay, especially some Yiritja groups. And it was just probably an activity or that makes part of their manikay, songline, to ... but actually jumping up and doing things, action nhakun. After that, when rupiya was missions, the settlement was 329 bigger, a lot of rupiya comes in, and there were a lot of things for the shop and

they use some of the cardboard things, cut up cardboard, making them cards, and they use that like, whoever's got the highest, or a lot of ticks, or a lot of wrongs; there was ticks and wrongs 355 and most of them got, there were ticks, on the five cards and they went from there on. But there was a little bit of interest there, when yindi rrupiya comes in, dharrwa djäma, new sort of, introducing new ways of playing cards. Then you know, they got real business into that playing that, getting their money and playing a little bit mak and later on it continues like 448 that. And so, from thereon, there was no, there were people influenced because they were coming into Darwin, looking at what other things, what other places are ... with, maybe small ... pubs there with poker machines and all of that, they got into that. They went back and tell the dhawu there what they did, and maybe people that didn't know ... said ah, we want to try, we have to go into Darwin. So a few went, came in Darwin and for 540 some other business or just to go for shopping or holiday or whatever and they want to see other things there, and try their luck. And they took, when they went back they took other ideas, of what now, about gambling and they sort of shared that with the family, shared that with the community, and they went on bigger. And sometimes when it was bigger, it was 624 some of the problems that they started to realise that spending money and not enough for natha or clothes, or things they want to buy, but because they have used that nhawi, missed that no use that money, then missed out on the good things, the bigger things like motor car or boat or whatever, because all the money they'd spent throwing away in that 701 thing.

*Q: there another side to that problem (outside) where it's not so much a problem, gambling or?*

712 Other things was you know, like, some people want to get more money so they want to probably buying something big or share with some other families, or probably get more money for themselves.

*Q: So there's Balanda around who are talking about gambling being a problem not just for Yolŋu but for ... in society too and the government, part of their job is to help the social life of Australians. What message do you think the government should hear about how they can help Yolŋu ... as Australians*

815 I think because of the changes in society, in Yolŋu society, where people are doing that, playing the money in some ..., maybe at the community or out from the community, going to the larger cities. I think one of the things that government should be looking at is find out why that, how to sort of help the families and the communities to look after their money. 859 And to sort of first, find ways to stop gambling their money and by talking to the people, some of them are the gamblers, and how to find ways of how to, what is the best way of not gambling the money and how can we stop it. One of the things is to talk to the elders in the community, talk to everyone, members of the community, to get their point of view, of what is the best solution for that issue. Then bring up to some sort of a group, a Yolŋu group, that looks into that (diyama) and get from various angles and come to one particular issue 1005 that is a common face in every community. And deal with that, you know, get a solution for that.

*Q: So if there's a lot of people that enjoy playing cards and like sitting around with family and having a laugh playing cards, ... How does the government, who do they work with trying to get the point of view across about ...*

1038 I think one of the things trying to get the things that what government wants to see is to talk to people, Yolŋu people, so like, consulting Yolŋu, Yolŋu to work with that government, to get stories from the government and from the community and come to some sort of an 1115 agreed issue point. Some of the important nhawi nhakun steps, the key point that we are trying to, what is the first thing that we have to do

and how we are going to do it. With the people that are, it's already known by the community and would like to pass their opinion, so to let the government try to do and to act that, some of the ways to prevent that thing from happening 1152 again. Yo, ..., that's my understanding you know, we're trying to stop that thing gambling but we need to sort of get the dhäwu, the good dhäwu and the bad dhäwu about that one and come to some sort of a yuta new era, a new base that will help for individuals, the families and the community, then get the support from the government to sort of give it back, 1236 the thinking, the ownership back to the community to sort of work with their own people.

### **Lawurrpa (L)**

Yow nhawi, ŋarrany dhu dhuwal lakaram ŋunhi, lakaram ŋarra dhu nhaltjarr marrtjin gambling bala communitylil, napurrungal, yolthu ŋunhi gänjal räli napurrun, ga mel gurrupar. 25 Mel gurruparnydja ŋunhi ŋäthilnydja nhuma balanday napurrungaldja. Bala napurr ŋunhi marŋgithinan ŋurikiyi cardgu, gamblinggu balanyaraw, bili nhuma napurrungal ŋunhi mel gurrupar. 47 Ga wanganydja nhakun, number twony ŋunhi, number twony ŋunhi nhakun, nhaliy ŋuli ŋunhi gambling nhakun ŋunhal casinoŋur napurr nhakun, bili ŋunhiyiny mak walal djinydjim bili, djinydjim napurr balayi walal napurrun bili napurr ga, ŋayi ŋunhi law marrtjin ga yaka ŋayi dhu ga public bul'yun Yolŋu bili legalŋur ŋunhi nhakun yapalanya. Bala walal changenha bala dhiyalnydja galŋu area Darwinnydja wo ŋula wanhany cityŋurnydja ya bitjan ŋayi dhu ŋunhili bili wanganyŋur areanur bul'yun ga. 143 Ga wanganydja napurr li ŋunhi guyaŋa bitjan gam ŋunhi napurr dhu ŋunhiliyi bul'yun walal, napurr dhu rrupiya märram, ya bitjana, märr napurr dhu märram ga bäyim ŋula nhä mutika wo ŋula nhä girri' ŋuriniyin wanganytja one waynydja napurr dhu earning rrupiya bondi. 208 Bili wanganydja napurr ŋuli nhänhamirr napurr ga nhinan cdeŋur wo ŋula wanha lower ground rrupiya, ya balanya märranjal nyumukuniny, ŋunhiny yaka gana. Ga ŋurini



nhakun napurr ñuli bondi earning nhakun rrupiya ya bitjan wiripuny, yurr wangany ñunhi manymak, wangany ñunhi yätkurr yapalanya. 230 Bili napurr li ñayanu nin'thun ñunhi, ga ñayanu nhirpanmirr ñurikiyi gamblinggu, napurr li yakan guyaña wiripuny ñatha ga djamarrkuliny wo miyalknha wo dirramuny, ya balanya, dhuway'mirriñuny walalany wo miyalknha walalany ñunhiyi wanganydja. Ga number three ñunhi mak ñunhi yow, yow nhä ñunhi ñarrakalnydja ñunhiyi number threeny nhakun, ñunhi wiripuny märrma' yapalanya. Wiripuny ñayi problem ga wiripuny yaka, ya bitjan bili yolñuny ñuli ñunhi bul'yun yän nhakun yaka 316 nhakun wiripuny addicted napurr ya balanya, yaka ñuriki, yän napurr dhu nhakun bul'yun. Bili, yän nhäma bitjan gam, "rrupiya dhuwal". Ga wiripu ñuli Yolñu ñayi nhakun yaka ñurikiyi used to it ya balanya. 340 Ñi, ñurikiyi cardgu or gamblinggu ya balanya. Yan djäl bul'yunaraw it's a nhawi balanya napurr dhu busykunhamirr yaka mean that we are nhakun committing napurrunguwuy napurr walña wo ñula nhä djäl into that gambling yaka yan just to nhäma, just gambling yan ya balanya, it's nothing behind nhakun yapalanya nhakun. 419 Ga nhä wiripuny? Ñunhi walal ñuli bitjandhi thinking. Mak ñarrany ga thinking, wiripuny ñayi yuwalk nhawi problem bili nheny marñgi last rrupiya nhakun three hundred dollars wo four hundred dollars mother pension or ñula nhä, and dhuwandja yuwalk dhäwu. Nhakun ñayi dhu gambling, and if she lose bäyñun nhakun nhanju ñathaw left ñula nhä. 0503 Ga we need to be aware ga bulu nhakun think about more to feed djamarrkuliny ga mothersnha yapalanya. How, how limurr dhu, because wanganydja ñayi ñunhi problem we are teaching young peoplenhan ga young childrenhan ya balanya. Ñunhi ñayi ga wangany ganga manymak ga wanganydja problemnha yan rrakalnydja. To me ñarrany ga nhäma it's a problemnha. 531 To nhawikuny nhakun for mothersgu ya balanya with kids they gamble that. Its going to be hard for mothersgu ga djamarrkuliw, for ñatha and livinggu yapalanya, and for their clothinggu, wanganydja dhuwal. 547 I think we need to nhawi nhakun ya balanya start think about that, to say to the people yakan,

ya balanya and to start thinking be -yakan bilin give up on gamblingñurnydja and start teaching djamarrkuliny ga Yolñu who don't have enough, nhawi balanya ya, nhakun, ñayi dhu, yaka ñayi dhu start teaching them to get that nhawi, habit ya balanya. Ga balanya rrakununy. Ñi. Yow, ma gatjuynha gathu.

### Maratja (Mar)

Yo. I was talking in class (I'll do both Yolñu ga Balanda?) ... Yo, I was talking in class you know, because of my nhawi my upbringing, you know I come from a family who is my father was a gambler, and my mum, they've all passed away now, dhiyañ bala, they gambled more, my father more so more so than ñarraku my mother, and I ended up gambling, half way, like, you 100 know, all of the family converted to Christianity. The whole family decided to give up gambling. So I brought the other things like, follow one way, and you know, like, I was talking in the session there about gambling and I said you know, really, looking at it from a Christian's perspective, it was our belief sometimes, nhawi, governed the way we think eh. And I was looking at it from, I said in class, bäydhi, doesn't matter, I'll just share what I feel. You know, I cannot take God's seat and become a judge for people. Let God be the judge, and I 204 cannot be judging people. And I was telling them a story about how ñarraku conversion, you know, how when I became a Christian, there was like a deep, nhakun conviction that happened in my ñayanu, my desire was suddenly changed from one way to another and from a bad way to a good way. My desire even to smoke ngarali and even drink nanitji or play gambling you know. That doesn't make me perfect, I fall short, I fail sometimes but the desire to stop playing cards, it just went quickly, just like that, you know. Because God's enabling, Goddhu ga ganydjarr gurrupan, gave me the strength to overcome all those desires. That puts me in a position where I cannot really 308 tell people what to do, ya balanya, because you have to have God in your life in order, if things are going to be changed in one's life you have to receive God. That's my nhawi assumption, guyañanhawuy Keep God out of the equation amounts to

nothing, we just go around in circles, all the time. And I was just sharing ṅunhi dhäwu, you know, it's about gamblingdja dhuwali, so it's a problem, 353 nhawi and I also shared about nhawi. Yolṅu people in general, they are sick and tired about nhawi. They feel like guinea pigs for so long. We need some answers, rather than continually sort of Yolṅu being like the guinea pigs all the time. There has to be from within the community some leaders with a clear mind and with some vision, with some wisdom, to say okay, we have to balance and ... We're not going to get good people. 445 There's going to be always some bad, you know, yaka manymak Yolṅu, some people that are going to do the other things like that. It's going to happen, it happens all the time, it happens everywhere. And how as Yolṅu, people we need to be, we have to have a vision to see ahead, to move forward. To move with the changes that is happening dhiyaṅ bala, now. Like in Galiwin'ku there's so many changes are happening and to, you know, like, it's a race against time for many Yolṅu, so the people sort of feel powerless, bayṅu power, to engage and 546 to put their ideas what they think, that they sort of opt out, and they find themselves in the gambling and grog, nanitji, whatever, and are not really feeling, you know. They feel disempowered, powerless, too. And at the same time, we have to be given an opportunity that we can stand up and say this is what we, and fight for answers, solutions to problems 630 rather than being critical all the time. We have to look for a new way or the way forward, look for that pathway, what is manymak, and try to change our thinking, that mindset, we need to think yuta, new paths, the dhukarr for the betterment of our whole community. And how to talk with leaders, you know. How, because sometimes you get a lot of pressures within 712 like the centralisation of communities that happened in the past. It's just not, that's been almost imposed upon forced upon by a lot of people, like the missionary, government people, and we have to live together and there's obviously some undercurrents that happen in communities from time to time, and all sorts of disputes that strike, not working together, you know. 745 Like in the mission days we

had a nhawi. There was, the gambling started then but there was like the superintendent, you know, if people were seen gambling and places like that they have to, they were very quickly told off, not to display their gambling habits in public. There was only a few tribes living together. But it started to, this time we're living in a 818 different era now, a different time.

Where we have to think what is workable, what can be, how do we address those needs and look for a dhukarr, a path that can help and enhance, make better their livelihood back in the communities, and maybe, you know, this government these days are telling you know, due to a lot of problems. Like homeland resource centres, they say they cannot set up new homelands, they're putting a moratorium on setting up 915 outstations. I don't know whether that's. People want to be more in their own clan groups where they can identify themselves with small groups and try to move to an outstation when they're ready, when they've got, at their own time, you know. And then people should be given an opportunity for that to happen so that people are more freer in themselves to go and have to 956 go to an outstation and to develop an outstation at their own pace, style and direction. And it's really hard, living these days, when the dominant society is really you know, overriding a lot of the decision making and taking away, disempowering the people. The people are not free to think and talk and discuss and share what they feel they can be able to. So it gives them, 1046 empowers them to make decisions for themselves and it's their decision and people can be more unified, more solidarity to pursue whatever they want to pursue, you know. I think it's really important for Yolṅu people this time now, because otherwise there's no real development taking place. The real development must come from the people, because they are people with a destiny, we are, we have to make input to a community, that's the real thing that we must 1134 do. You know, and there has to be some adaptation, some changes, for those changes. But we have to think about this problem, about gambling, I think we have to be more

positive than negative all the time. We have to think what is good and try to work around problems where the people can see and identify there's a problem, or it's a habitual problem or whatever, addiction, things like that, you know, then what's the way out for the people. That 1217 might be, that resources might come from a traditional grounding, like, you know, or maybe a homeland, how the people can really get back, their lives can come together as a whole. And that way, we can help Yolŋu a long way to do that. We're not just being, just looking at the 1250 problem one sided. We have to look at it holistically, look at it as a whole, and then work our way around it to help the people in an appropriate manner.

### **Mercy (Mer)**

I'm Mercy ... and I'm from Ngukurr community. I'd like to say that gambling was brought into our lives by the Balanda and in the olden days, because it was a mission, gambling was not allowed publicly. So that meant they went into the bush to play cards, to gamble. And 44 nowadays it's played like, gambling is anywhere in our communities, some communities. I mean not hiding but in public places and private homes, areas. In some communities now it's decreasing but still most of it is still increasing. Sometimes there are disputes when 118 gambling, when there's gambling but it's already sorted out by families. And like, the benefits of gambling is sharing the winnings with the families. If they don't give them any money then they'll buy something like tea, sugar, meat, and go and give it to other families, who haven't got any money. Nowadays, some Yolŋu people go, come into town, like, 205 Katherine, Nhulunbuy, Darwin, and go to there just to play the poker machines or play cards, roulette. I'm just mention a few because I don't go. Sometimes. And when you do go to those venues you have to have strict dress whereas in the community, we don't need any dress, 244 strict dressing rules. And I think our people spend only a little time gambling because we ... some wants and needs for the families so that's why they gamble. Whereas

in the Balanda society maybe they don't because they've got a lot of money, they want to spend the money because they've got, they can afford it. And yeah, anyway, that's in the Yolŋu way. 334 Oh, there's some Yolŋu people that have mortgages to pay, you know, like they bought a house or land, but most of us haven't got any so we don't spend too much money and that's all I want to say.

*Q Do you want to say anything about the government says it wants to help. What should they do?*

Because ... they don't ... A way for them. 406 The government maybe should help by maybe creating more jobs in the communities, and help start up programs in educating our people in especially the high risk families, you know. When I say high risk, I mean, when I say high risk, I mean parents who have got kids, or disabilities, and you know, they can just help them how to look after their money 442 so it lasts longer until the next pay. And maybe more programs like Alcoholics Anonymous like that, if they drink too much or like smoking or gambling. Those sorts of programs in our communities, not in the main centres but on our communities so people can be aware. Because I don't think some people know about those programs. They just want to drink and 517 drink. But they know, they don't know how to stop. There's those programs there to help, you know, to stop drinking and starting over a (new) turn, life ... That's my answer.

### **Waymamba (W)**

It's not really our traditional story because that gambling was adopted by Yolŋu from the Macassans and then balandas came and showed people, not show really, but people knew from the Macassans time and they started playing. And adopted it into their lives, into our culture, Yolŋu culture. But in Yolŋu culture itself it wasn't the story behind the dopulu.

*Q ... Is that point we discussed, what about now with these new types of gambling, going into clubs and casinos, what were some of the*

*points that came up for you when we talked about that? 59*

Ma. Some Yolngu think that it is a pleasure like enjoyment to go and play in casinos or clubs. But some people don't like it because it's a thing that's wasting money for families and the family goes without food and all that. Some gambling is a problem for some families, not all the Yolngu families. Some don't even play, don't even want to learn about it, but a lot of Yolngu kids have taken over gambling because the parents are like a role 157 model to them and they're copying whatever their parents are doing, and they copy. And then it becomes a problem for not attending school, wagging school, not much energy to go and learn because maybe that kid had been playing cards all night, all day, and lack of sleep.233 Bāyṇu eating, ṇatha bāyṇu, if they don't win they don't get anything from it. But it's like, yätjkurru ṇayi dhuwalidhi gambling, yätjkurru for some families, they don't gamble. What is the other question? Same question, same, sorry.

*Q It was the one about the casinos...*

307 Yo, because casino has been introduced, not introduced but it's there, and people learnt, and copying like I said before, copying. ṇayi ga yolṇuy ṇhāṇal, ga walaladja Yolṇu ga copy ṇhakun Yolṇu copy wala gan ga bala walalnyda muka gan marrtjin ga bul'yurr. But some ṇarra ga yolṇuwal malṇ'maram walal li ga bitjan lakaram, for enjoyment, for pleasure, or yān marrtji ga wakal ya balanya wakal in napurrungal dhāruk wakal, wakal galṇa-bira' bul'yun ṇayi dhu ga, but yaka nhanukal dhu bitjan ṇunhi liyaṇur malṇ'thun ga ṇunhi ṇayi dhu ga ṇhakun rupiah wasting ṇunhilidhi bitja wiripuwal napurrungal wiripu, Yolṇu ga bitjan ṇhawi, ṇarra ga gambling too much and wasting rupiah for my family. Some are just doing it for pleasure, enjoying walal ga walalṇha walal rumbal walalangu. Ok.

*Q The next question was about the problems, if you think gambling is a problem or it's not a problem and you talked a little bit about that,*

*and then that goes into the next question, if it's a problem or it's not a problem what should the government do? What message would you want to give to the government ... Some balandas think it's a problem and want to do something about it to help. What's the best ... ?*

449 Maybe it's, I'm talking about both maybe, if our government is saying about gambling is, it's a problem for all people, not only Yolngu. For all people. And if they want, maybe setting up centres where people can go and try and learn not to do it. Where they can learn to participate in the workshop style and talk about all these problems that they are facing with 533 gambling. You know, they should have some kind of a centre where Yolngu goes to, even in communities. If the government want to help like that. But some communities, Yolngu don't bother about anyone. So they're minding their own business, the Yolngus are minding their own business, and they don't want any people barging in and saying you have to do this 610 and this and that. No. Because that's not the way for our ways of thinking and understanding 620 They should be trying to stay away from us and leave us alone. But in some cases, it's a good thing what they're doing, helping, trying to understand people, how to manage their lives, or not manage but they can't be controlled like that. You know, some, our people, we know how to manage ourselves and it's a good thing, or sometimes it's a bad thing because we know what we are doing. If we are gambling that means we are wasting our time and wasting energy and wasting income for our family. You know, but sometimes it's helping people to get more money into their hands and maybe with that maybe they can buy something big, maybe in the future, for themselves. Ma.

## **Yinṇiya (Y)**

Bulu dhuwal ṇarrakal understanding ṇunhi ṇarra marrtjin ṇuthar ga ṇhāṇal ṇarra marrtjin, ga marṇgithin ga wiripu ṇarra, goṇ ṇal'yurr, bul'yurr ṇarra dhuwali wakal. Rrupiyagurr gali'gurr, win ṇarra, ga badaṭjurr. 21 Ga dhudi ṇayi dhāwu dhuwali mak wanṇaṇur ṇayi ga

marrtji, dhuwali dubulu dhalithali. 33 Dhäwu  
 ñayi ga dhuwali ñorra, Mangatharray ñayi gäñal  
 ñurruñu räli, beñur ga marñgi-gurrupar dhiyal  
 yolñuny walalany. 43 Yän marñgi-gurrupar  
 bitjarr, nhakun ñatha munhdhurr ñula  
 gurrupar, bala-räli'yurr, yaka ñayi gurrupara  
 ñula guru'kurunhany, guru'kurunhany ñayi  
 gurrupanna guru'kuru gurrpana ga bitjarra  
 goñ-gurrupara 'Ñay' dhuwal gi bul'yurru.' 106  
 Yolñuy märrañal, goñdhu-märrañal yän nhawi,  
 munhdurr nhakun, balanya wetj ñuli yä,  
 beñur Yolñu limurr li baman' gurrupanminya  
 warrakan, ga nhe dhu yaka nhanukun wetjpuy  
 ganan, wetj nhanñu nhe dhu märram, ga luka,  
 ga ñayatham. 125 Dhuwal ñayi dopulu mak  
 marrtjin beñur mangatharrañur, ga ñayi beñur  
 yän gurrupar, ga mel-gurrupar, ga gurrupar  
 räli, ga ñayi dilkurruwurruy limurruñal yä  
 wetj walalany märrañal, dhunuku. Nhawi 137  
 Ga dhuwali ñarra lakarañal nhakun bala ñayi  
 gämurru-djirr'yurruna gämurru-djirr'yurr  
 ñayi, dhuwali dopulu yolñuy walal bul'yurr gan  
 bili ñurruñun walal ñunhi mak wakal dhäkay-  
 birrka'yurra ñanya, ga ñunhiyi nhakun wetj, ñayi  
 bitjarr 'Ñay' nhuñu dhuwal, yän ñarraku dhuwal,  
 nhakun ñuli warrakangu wo ñatha ñuli räli'yuna  
 gonhdhanha yolñuy miyalkkurruwurruy, yalal  
 dhu wetj gurru'kurrupanmirri ñunhili banydji  
 gurthakurr.' 225 Ga manda Mangatharra ga  
 Yolñu dhipuñu mak gumurr-bunanhamin,  
 ga murrumirr manda gan marrtjin, ñayi  
 gan dhiyal murrumirr nhinan, ñula nhanñu,  
 dhä gurrupara ñula, mak gay'wu ñula nhä  
 munhdhurr ga ñayi beñur gurrupar nhanñu,  
 ya' dhuwali mala, ñarali' ga dopulu, ga marñgi-  
 gurrupar. Bala ñayi märrañal nha yaka ñunhi  
 nhakun mayali' nhakun marñgithin ñayi, yanbi  
 yaka ñayi marñgi ñunhi nhä ñayi dhuwali  
 yalala dhu ñayi yindithirr problemdhirr nha,  
 yän nhakun wetj märrañal nhanukun. 302  
 Bala gan bul'yurrr nha ga mitjinmirriynha,  
 Mitjinmirriyndja ñayi marrtjin märr ñunhi  
 malñ'thumalñ'thundja gakañal nhanñu, nhä ñayi  
 dhuwal manyamak wo yätjkurr? Ga mitjinarrival  
 walalangal bänñu nhakun milma giritjin ñuli  
 ya', dhuwali dopulu. 321 Dilkurruwurruy  
 birrka'yurr ñunhi wakal ñayi ñunhi manyamak,  
 ga bulu ñayi rrupiya dhipali goññur galkirrin  
 mak bala walal birrka'birrkayunna, goñ-  
 dharrpanmin bul'yurr, payday ñuli ganha,  
 carboard mala mitmitthunna nambamirriyanha

dilkurruwurru. Yurr mitjinarrri mala gan nhinan  
 walalanydja nhakun already marñgi ñunhi yaka  
 ñayi dhuwali manyamak dopulu. 348

Walalanydja nhakun marñgi ñunhi walal  
 yaka walalangal dhu milma melkurr giritjirr,  
 nhinan luñ'thun, walal ñuli giritjinya mak  
 dhagir'-märranha nhawipuy nhuma yätjkurr  
 djäm bänñu nhumalañ ñatha, bili wangany  
 mala do' mitjingurr dhärra wanga'wangany  
 408 nhakun ñarra ga dhuwal Galiwin'kupuy  
 lakaram dhäwu. Ñayi ñunhi Bäpa Sheppy mala  
 bitjana, 'Nhawi, djäma nhe moñal, dopuluñur  
 nhe win nhe gan nhinan, ga badatjurr ñunhi  
 walu, bänñu nhuñu ñula djamarrkuli nhuñu  
 ga djamarrkuli nhokalañuw ñatha, yalala  
 bänñu nhe dhu djäma godarr'. Balanya mak.  
 426 Dhiyanñuny bala ñayi dopulu marrtji  
 dhuwali yindithirr, ñathan ga Yolñu ga  
 bul'yun mitjin'kurr mala ñayi marñgi nhakun  
 yätjkurr ñayi rrupiya dhawar'maranhamirri  
 djamarrkuliw', dhawar'maram dhu ga rrupiya,  
 ga wiripu ñayi Yolñu yän ñayi ga giritjirr ñuli  
 ñathaw yän, ñatha ñayi dhu mitjpili märram  
 nhanukalañaw ñayi djamarrkuliw, familyw,  
 wo ñula nhä girri' yindi, wo ñula nhä ñayi  
 ga ñorra big, nhakun marthanaygyu part-  
 ku mala, bakthun dhu. CDEPñur bänñu  
 enough rrupiya nhawiku outboard motorw  
 ñula nhwiku shaft-ku ñayi dhu märram,  
 bapilamirr. 527 Ga UBñur, newstartñur bänñu  
 rrupiya ga ñayi dhu wakalañur dopulu yän  
 nuruki yän näp, märr ga ñayi dhu ñunhiyi  
 märr wiripu ñayi ga balanya nhina, ga wiripu  
 ñayi ga nhina yän ñayi djäl dumurr nha. 545  
 Wawu yän ñayi ga bul'yun bala ñunhiyin  
 ga birrimbirr nha gärrri ñunhi walala ñuli  
 ga yäkuyam balanday nhakun addiction-  
 nha ñunhi ñayi goñ-raypinynha, ñayi dhu  
 ga bul'yun. 559 Ga ñarra ga guyañanhamirr  
 ñarra li gana bitjana, bul'yuna marrtji—i ñayi  
 ga rrupiya bulu yindi yindi miritjirrri ñorra,  
 ring-ñur, ga bilin näpnha mak money ga goñ-  
 ñurdja gärrri, bukitmirriy näpnha, wiripu ñula  
 nhamunha' muka, 500 or 1,000 wo \$2,000  
 dhu already ga bukitñur ñorra, ga ñarranydja  
 nhäma ñunha bulu, ñayi ga ñorra ring-ñur,  
 \$50 mala dhu ga dhawa'thawathun, wo  
 hundred dollar bill mala dhu ga dhawatthun,  
 ga ñayi dhu nuruñi bili ñoy-ganyim'maram. Ga

yänadhi bul'yunan. 630 Ga nünhili bul'yuna dhawarnha, ga bäydhi dhäparn'nha marrbatn roñiyirr wänjalil. Wiripu ñayi ga balanya nhina. Wiripu ñayi ga nhina ñayi dhu yän mitjpili yän märram nhanukalanuw djamarrkuliw'. 643 Njunhaldja. Wäñanurnydja mala. Ga yolñukurrnydja nünhal gurrutumirriwaldja gurrutunur mitjingurrdja. Ga bulu yaka weyin, dhuwal nhakun yawungun märr bala ñayi Yolñu marñgithin luku-wapthuna ñayi yindilil mala casinolilnha, ga nünhiliyin dharrwan, ñarrakuwuy ñarra dhu lakaram, bitjan, ñayi ñulatjandhi ga marrtji ñayi marrtji ñulatjandhi, ga bul'yuna li gana. 720 Nñayi dhu ga machine-dhu wiripu bittja mel-gurrupan dharrwa, ñoy-ñapu'maram bitjan 'Way latju dhuwal bay mak dhu dharrwanbäyrrupiya dhiyañunyurrupan', ga yaka ñarra marñgi nhanñu gkalgu, nhä ñayi ga ñurunñy gkal ñayi ñayatham, nünhili mak ñayi ñula nhä ñoy-ñapu mala ñayatham. Nhäma, manymak nünha, wiripun mala, ga ñayi dhu rrany rrupiya dharrwa gurrupan ñurunñ mak. 747 Bala ñarra li bul'yuna. Win marrtji wiripuny, dhawar', rrupiya. Bäyñu rra ga casinonurdja gi all the time rrupiyamirr roñiyirr, yaka nhakun balanya huntingñur dhe dhu roñiyirr, nheny dhu maranhu gäma roñanmaram wänjalil. Nünhi one-way yän dhe djambatj dhe dhu buma warrakan barrtjun dhe dhu, wo wapmaram ñatha dhe dhu märram. Ga dhiyaldja cards-ñurdja mak dhe dhu roñiyirr murrunñmirr (enough) ga wiripu dhe dhu dhäparn'nha roñiyirr djanñarr dhu djamarrkuli nhuñu wäñanurdja. 823 Balandanurdja mala dhuwali balanyayi ñayi ga ñorra. Ga beñuruyi ñayi ga roñiyirr mak Yolñu ñuli dhipunur nünhaldja cardñurdja bala wargugu ñula ga ñorra mala. Yaka ñayi dhuwali balanya yolñunurdja communityñur nhakun balandanur ñula walal dhu marrtji bul'yun ñula wäña wiripunur ñurrkam, wiripun ñula nhän, mutika walal ñurrkam, 852 bala dhu wargugu nünhi yindin ñorra walalangaldja.

Ga ñurunñiyin warguguy walal dhu bulu buku-dhuwatthun ga ñupan walal dhu walal dhu nünhiyin mala roña'roñanmaram yänbi. 905 Bala li yindithirrnha marin. Bala yäku addictionnha ñayi, nünhiyin dhuwali nhawin liya-burakinnha ñuli. Bäydhi rrupiyamiririw ñayi dhu yän bul'yun. 920 Walalangun

nünhiyin, ga limurrungun dhiyal, wiripuny ñayi yolñunur communityñur balanya bäyñunha dhuwal nhawi ñarraku, gumurrñur ñarra gulyurru, nhawiku bidi'yunaraw näkuw, yän ñuli nhawiku ya laylaymaranhaminyaraw ñarra dhu muñun ga djawar'yundhina djawarñur, wäñanurdja, bala ñayi li bitjana 946 'Ñarra mak bala walalany guwatjman, yän dhu nünhi gumurr-guwatjman dilkurruwurru wiripu dhu ga nhina', nünhala mitjinñurdja. 'Ga nünhilidja dopulu walal bul'yun, ga nhina gurriri ga yan djälthirr, ga bala rrupiya dhawar'maram bukitñurnha. Gabirrka'birrkayunbul'yupulyuna. Yän djälgu larrum. 1009 Ga wiripu ñayi ga nhina, ga ñayi marñgi nhaku ñayi dhu bul'yun. Yaka mekimap ñula näp, ñathaw, girriw', ga ñula nhä part nhanñu mutikaw ñula nhaku, ga nünhi homelandñurnha nhakun wäñanur mala, homelandsñurnha, bäyñu ñayi dhuwali mirithirr problem. Ga bäyñu ñayi ñuli gi nünhili on, bili nünhilin laylaymaranhamirr nhakun dharrwa mirithirr balanya huntinglil dhu ga marrtji yan, wäña ñayi dhu gumurr-wiripuyirr, bäyñu ñayi nünhiyi right dopuluw bul'yunaraw. Nünhany dhu gumurr-wandirr ñayi nhuñu dhu wäña, homelandskurdja, 1049 diltjikurdja, dhuwalinydja ñayi dopulu yindi problem dhuwal banydji yän mitjinñu nünhi shop li ga dhärra, dhe dhu rrupiyaw larrum, Darwin, dhe dhu marrtji citylil 1100 dhe dhu rrupiyaw larrum, bili nünhi ñatha mala warrakan, mutika ganydjarr wandinyaraw taxiw, girri mala wäña ñorranharaw, rrupiya'mirr warrpam. Ga nünhili mak dhe dhu rrupiyaw larrum ga bala ñuli casino malñ'thun liyanur bala ñuli keno-nha nhawiny mala, birrka'birrkayun wo dopulu 'even-five-kurr' nhawi, ga nünhi diltjinurnydja, wäñanur nünhi bäyñun gi shop mala dhärrri, bäyñun rrupiyamirr ñula nhä, warrakan. 1135 Yän nhuñu djambatj yan ga barranga'yun. Djambatj yän nhuñu räL, nünhiyin bäyñun liya warwumirr dhu ga nhina. Even rrupiya dhu ga liyanur nhina, win dhu ga liyanur nhina, cardsthu dhe dhu bäyñu dopulu ñayatham. Bulu dhu ga laylayyun bungatthun nhakun wäñay ga ñurunñun. 1200

Ga dhiyali ñayi limurrunñ Yolñu nhakun yaka ñayi mirithin nhawi, yindi ñayi mari wiripuny dja ga ñayi yan bili bul'yun, dopulu yän walal dhu djawar-djalkthun ga, djawar-djalkthun ya bitjan, nhina ga marrtji gumurr-

guwatjman, ga gumurr-gatthun n̄unhal nhakun mitjin̄urdja. N̄ayi muṇun dhu happy n̄ula nh̄akurr marrtji, ḡana n̄ula nh̄a galka' buni, barrari ga dhuwali mala ṇorra. 1231. Ga b̄aydhi n̄unhili banydjiny yan w̄aṇaṇurnha gumurr-guwatjmanmirr, ga ṇunhi nhakun cardsmirr mala ga nhina, ga walalaṅgal wakal̄nur. Balanya mala dhuwali ṇayi ga dhukarr mala ṇorra, n̄hanṇu ṇayi ga dhuwali gapmanthu, n̄hanṇu ṇayi dhu gamanthu b̄ay bilmaram dj̄amamirriyam ṇayi dhu? 1308? Wo ṇayi ga dhuwali, dhuwali ṇunhi waṅganydja ṇayi problem ṇayi ga waṅganydja yan communitylil gapmandhu roṇanmaram, m̄arr ga Yol̄ṇu ṇayi ga gumurr-gatthun marrtjinyaraw ṇunhi layyun ṇayi dhu huntinggurr marrtji, lupthun ṇayi dhu warrakan ṇayi dhu ṇupan, buma ṇayi dhu gumurrrirriṇur ṇunha mitjin̄ur, b̄ayṇu mirithi balanya gi ṇorri. 1334 N̄unhi ga muka dhaṅadirr mala ṇorra wiripuwiripun̄ur b̄apurruṇur. N̄unhi ṇayi dhu homelandṇur nhina n̄hanukuyingal ṇayi yirralkan̄ur, ṇayiny dhu w̄aṇa n̄hanṇu gumurr-wandirr ga marrtji ṇayi dhu. 1348 Liw'maram ṇayi dhu ṇula mengum ṇayi dhu warrakangu mengumdja nhaku mayali hunting bitjan ṇayi dhu. Wayingu ṇayi dhu larrum marrtji ṇayi dhu walu ṇupan, ga roṇiyirr ga beṇurnydja ṇorran ȳan. N̄atha luka ṇula ga ṇorra. B̄ayṇu n̄hanukal dhu ṇunhili cards liyaṇur dopulu. 1408 Dhuwaliyi mak ṇayi dhu b̄ay yol̄ṇuny yarrkmaram balayi roṇanmaram gapmandhu. Gunga'yun ṇayi dhu ṇula, ṇayi dhu mala balanydjarrdjarr ȳan dhukarr ṇunhi n̄hanukuyingal n̄hanṇu yirralka'ṇur. Warrakangu, r̄ali'yun ṇayi dhu ṇula nhaku gungaw, wo ṇatha 1427 ṇayi dhu gonhdham, maypal ṇayi dhu gonhdham, ga b̄ayṇu ṇayi dhu laylayyun balanya dopulun̄ur. Bayṇu ṇayi dhu nhawi, nhina ṇayi dhu ga larrum ṇayi dhu dj̄algu ṇunhiya. Already ṇayi dj̄almirr ga nhina. Bili ṇunhi w̄aṇaṇur ṇayi ga nhina. Wal̄ṇa n̄hanṇu w̄aṇa ṇunhiyi. Dharan̄anmirri manda ga ṇayi Yol̄ṇu ga n̄hanṇu w̄aṇa. Ga b̄ayṇu n̄hanṇu nhakun balanyaraw guyaṇanhamir gi ṇorra, ṇayi dhu dopulu bul'yun. Bili ṇunhi warrakan already galkun ga, maypal, raṇithin. 1502, Raṇipuy ṇunha, ṇayi dhu Yol̄ṇu yarrupthun

maypal buma. Gumurr-wandirr n̄hanṇu dhu, ṇayi dhu m̄arr-ṇal'yun yol̄ṇuw. 1510 ṇarirriw', maranydjalkku ṇayi dhu yarrgupthun. Wo miyapunuw dhu marrtji batpa gapu dhu ṇamatham ṇorra, ṇunhili ṇayi dhu yirralkan̄ur nhawin, ṇunhi ṇayi dhu gapmandhu nhawi gunga'gungayun, ṇuli ya, djamarrkuli dhu ga wal̄ṇa nhina, ga Yol̄ṇu dhuwal walal b̄ayṇu ṇuli gi dharrwa gal'ṇu ṇuli dhu dj̄anṇarrthi ṇathaw djamarrkuli, ṇayi dhu badatjun waṅganydhu manymaktja ṇayi dhuwali, waṅganydhu dhu badatjun, ṇunhili gininygarrṇur, ga yalala walal dhu gunga'yun ṇatha. Yol̄ṇu dhu ṇuli win ga ṇayi dhu gurrugurrupan. N̄athiliṇu ga dhuwali rom ṇorra lay-goranhamirr. N̄ayi dhu laygora, djamarrkuli dhu nh̄ama, ṇunha gurrutumirr, burumun' ṇayi dhu gora ṇula djamarrkuliwal. 'N̄ay'yi dhuwali, ṇathaw, nyumukuninyṇha nhuma m̄annu'manṇu, nhumapi dhuwali ganydjarryu bunhamin, ga djalkthurr nhuma m̄ani, ṇayi djamarrkuliw dhawar'yun', bitjan dhu. 1616 Ga 'N̄ay' dhiyan walalaṅ b̄ayi'payim.'

Ga Yol̄ṇuw nhakun guyaṇanhawuy dhuwali dilkurruwurr ga nhina, wiripu ṇayi dilkurruwurr liya-n̄arra'mirr. Wiripu ṇayi ga nhawimirrṇayidhumarrtjiromnh̄amaganhina ṇayi dhu ga, dopulu n̄hanṇu waṅga'waṅgany, yalala ṇayi dhu yan gal̄ṇa-l̄ayun ṇayi dhu , mekimapkurr gali'kurr, 1700 rrupiya ṇayi dhu dj̄ama, wiripun̄ur mala w̄aṇaṇur ga nhina, ṇunhi dirramuwurr ga miyalkkurruwurr ga yaka walal dopuluw dj̄al, communityṇur ȳan ṇayi ga mala bukmak ṇorra, ganydjarr, bili mak ga gumurr-dhawar'yun, ṇamunhamirr ga ṇunhili Yol̄ṇu. Mak ṇunhili wiripun̄ura w̄aṇaṇur limurr ga mitjingurr towngurr mala nhina, ga ṇunhi ga dunḍuṇa huntinggu marrtjinyaraw, ṇunha layyuna ṇayi dhu nhawi 1733 bili yawungu ga dopulun' m̄arram. Yaka ṇunhi mel-dhunupa, ȳan gan dj̄algu larrum, dj̄algu larrum, ga wiripuny ga ṇathawnha bili ṇatha bili ṇunhi ṇatha ga rrupiyamirr ṇorra storeṇurdja. B̄ayṇu n̄he dhu free m̄arram. Ga bala ṇuli mekimapnha communityṇurnydja. Balanya ṇarraku yan guyaṇanhawuy lurrkun, dhikayi ṇarra dharrwa bada'badatjurr yurr, Ȳan dhuwali, dhiyal ṇarra ganarrthar.

**Written submission from Yinjiya  
(sentences followed by translation by  
Wanğurru)**

Yolŋu walal ŋuli ga dhiyal nhina Drawin, ga yindiny walalaŋ wargugu ga ŋorra dhuwal mala gam.

*People who live here in Darwin, their biggest worries here are these.*

Darwindja dhuwal wāŋa rrupiyamirr, ŋatha dhuwal rrupiyamirr daktji dhuwal rrupiyamirr.

*Darwin is a place where everything cost money, Food cost money, taxi cost money.*

Ga wiripuwiripu malany rrupiyamirr yan, ga rrupiyay yan dhu ga mārram.

*Everything else cost money, and must be bought with money.*

Ŋunhi ŋuli Yolŋu rerrrimirr ŋuli marrtji rāli Darwinlil nhinanharaw mirritjin'mirriŋur gumurr-galki, ŋayiny ŋuli nunhiyiny Yolŋu bāmara wothirr bala ŋuli gurruiumirrinhan walalany gadayman.

*When a patient comes to stay here in Darwin medicine is available, that feels lonely and wants their family to come as well.*

Walaldja ŋuli gurrutumirrdja mala ŋuriki rerrimiriwdja yolŋuw, balanya nhakun miyalk nhanŋu ga djamarrkuliny malthuna nhanŋu.

*The family members of that patient, example his wife and children come with him.*

Ga bāyŋun nhakun rerrimiriwdja dhu dhiyal djāmany mārram ŋathawdja ga wāŋawdja nhanukalaŋaw gurrutumirriwdja walalaŋ.

*Then the patient won't be able to get job for his relatives food and accommodation.*

Bala walal ŋuli goŋ-larrunhamirra rrupiyawna walalaŋalaŋaw djamarrkuliwna ga miyalkun.

*Then they (patient) have to looking around for money for their children and wife.*

Bāyŋun wiripuny ŋuli gi Yolŋu nhini guŋgayunarawdja, bala walal ŋuli birrka'yuna dopulun.

*So there are no one around help, so they try gambling.*

Yorr dhiyaldja Darwindja marrtji dhārra dharrwan mitjin mala balanya nhakun Poker mitjin ga Keno, wiripuny Yolŋu ŋuruki marŋgi bul'yunaraw.

*But here in Darwin there lots of machines such as pokies and Kenos, that people are capable of play.*

Wiripuny ŋayi dhu Yolŋu marrtji nunhal giritjirr yindiŋur nunha watharrŋur nunha Casinoŋur nunhayi.

*Other people will go and play over there at main gambling place at the Casino.*

Yorr wiripu dhikayi Yolŋu yān bul'yunaraw djāl, ga wiripu ŋuli ga yan goŋ-larrunhamirr ŋathaw maranhuw, ga rentku wāŋaw, ga ŋula nhaku mala.

*But there some people who just want play, and there are other want to earn for food, and pay rent on accommodation, and anything else they might want to buy.*

Bulu nhakun dhiyaŋ ŋunhi intervetiondhu romdhu ŋayi dhuwali gumurr-dālkum yawungu, balanyaraw nhakun, petrolgu, ga bāydh wiripu malany.

*The other thing was the Intervention which made it harder just recently, for things such as petrol and anything else (you can't buy with food cards).*

Manymak ŋayiny ŋuli Yolŋu wiripuny yan bukitku djālthirr dhiyal Darwin marr ga ŋayi dhu ga ŋula daktjiy marrtji, wiripu mala dhuwali ŋatha marrtji ŋorra ŋunhi bāyŋu ŋayi dhu food carddhu bāyim.

*Some people might just want pocket money here in Darwin so they can travel in taxis, and other variety food that food cards can't buy.*

Ŋuli ŋayi ga Yolŋu nhina nunhal banydji mitjingurr mala, ŋunhi ga dharrwa gurrutumirr mala nhina guŋgayunaraw.

*When some is living back in the mission communities, there are lots of relatives who can help.*

Wiripuny nunha mitjinnur, ga nunha bala



[iltjikurr ga n̄unha bala n̄oy-n̄arkulakurr marrtji warrakan ga, guya, ga n̄atha n̄unhi n̄ayi dhu yol̄nuy ȳan bala djambat̄jthu yan m̄ärram, yaka rrupiyay.

*Also on mission communities, and out in the bush, and along the coast are lots bush foods such as, fish, food that a person can skilfully hunt and get, and with money.*

Balanya n̄ayi dhuwal, dhiyaldja n̄he dhu warrpam m̄ärram rrupiyay, ga n̄unhany mitjin̄urdja, ga n̄unha diltjin̄urdja yan bala n̄he dhu m̄ärram n̄atha.

*That's how it is, here you get everything with money, but out there in mission communities, out in the bush you can just hunt and gather food.*



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