



NORTHERN LAND
COUNCIL

Our Land, Our Sea, Our Life

COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

*Ground Up Monitoring and Evaluation
Interim Report - December 2019*

Research facilitation

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Ground Up is an approach to research and service delivery developed by researchers of Charles Darwin University's Northern Institute and application of their intellectual property has applied in this project.

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Contents

Glossary and Abbreviations	3
Executive Summary.....	4
Background and Context	5
Introduction.....	5
Ground Up M&E	6
Galiwin'ku.....	7
Gapuwiyak.....	8
Community Reports – Galiwin'ku	10
CP&D in Galiwin'ku.....	10
What we did	10
M&E Concepts	11
Key Themes.....	13
Evaluative Statements.....	14
Vignettes.....	19
M&E Insights.....	21
Community Report – Gapuwiyak	23
CP&D in Gapuwiyak	23
What we did	23
M&E Concepts	24
Key Themes.....	25
Evaluative Statements	26
Vignettes.....	30
M&E Insights.....	33
Conclusion.....	35

Glossary and Abbreviations

ALPA	Arnhem Land Progress Association
Balanda	Non-Indigenous person (European)
Bämarra	Companion
Bäpurru	Clan group
Bilma	Sacred clap sticks
CDP	Australian government unemployment program
CDU	Charles Darwin University (Northern Institute)
CP&D	Community Planning and Development
Dalkarra	Highest ceremonial leader and law man, Yirritja clans
Dhambala	Homeland centre on Elcho Island
Dhuwa	Yolŋu moiety
Djäma	Work
Djirrikay	Highest ceremonial leader and law man, Dhuwa clans
Galawarra	Homeland centre on Elcho Island
Ganguri	Yams
Gälpu	Yolŋu clan group
Girkirwa	One of the original ancestors of Gapuwiyak
Gurrulan	One of the original ancestors of Gapuwiyak
Gurruṯu	Kinship relations
Lanapu	Cyprus Pine, local to Gapuwiyak
Murrŋga	Homeland for Mälarra people
Manikay	Ancestral songs
Näṇḍipulu	Mother's group
Ŋayawili	Homeland centre on Elcho Island
NLC	Northern Land Council
Raypirri	Discipline and cultural learning, good behaviour
Rom	Yolŋu law
Rrupiya	Money
TO	Traditional Owner
Wakupulu	Great grandmother's group
Wäŋa	Land/place/home
Wäŋa-waṯaŋu	Land owner
Yalu' Marŋgithinyaraw	Yolŋu research organisation in Galiwin'ku
Yapapulu	Great, great grandmother's group
Yiḍaki	Didgeridoo
Yirritja	Yolŋu moiety
Yolŋu	Aboriginal people from North-East Arnhem Land

Executive Summary

Ground Up Researchers from Charles Darwin University (CDU) were engaged by the Northern Land Council Community Planning and Development (CP&D) Program to undertake Subproject 2 of its Monitoring and Evaluation System Program: **Participatory monitoring in Galiwin'ku and Gapuwiyak.**

Ground Up research and evaluation methods take seriously at the outset, the authority and sovereignty of Aboriginal knowledge authorities and elders and their various places, and work collaboratively with them to design, undertake and evaluate research and service delivery from the ground up. At each site local researchers were engaged and supported to negotiate understandings and practices of monitoring and evaluation with the clan elders who supervise the community development projects on their communities.

At Galiwin'ku the Traditional Owners group had identified five projects which they would support through the CP&D Program. Nyomba Gandanju was engaged to work collaboratively with the CDU team, and devise a system for monitoring and evaluation of the projects. Using very straightforward questions – What is good? What is not good? – Nyomba developed a distinctively Yolŋu understanding and process. Monitoring is a practice in which Yolŋu are always engaged as part of everyday collective life, assessing and caring for children, helping ceremony to happen and working together in various productive ways. Evaluation is a way of collectively making visible the value identified through this monitoring work. It allows stories and practices emerging from this work to be read and arranged in productive ways demonstrating their value to Yolŋu and Balanda in growing and sustaining strong, vibrant networks of community in Galiwin'ku and surrounding places

At Gapuwiyak the work focussed upon the development of the Milindji Development Trust, as well as paint crew and logo development projects that the Traditional Owners have decided to support through the CP&D Program. Emmanuel Yunupingu was engaged as the local researcher to work with his elders to articulate ways for monitoring and evaluating the work of the emerging corporation. They told the story of the origins of the people-places and ceremony of the Gapuwiyak, emphasising correct ceremonial practice, and the connections to other people-places. From the transcriptions and translations of this story emerged a range of practices and themes which will be engaged in future monitoring and evaluation at Gapuwiyak.

Both Nyomba and Emmanuel are receiving professional training through CDU's Indigenous Researcher Initiative as they are helping the CDU researchers to better understand local Yolŋu understandings and practices.

Ongoing work will involve continued engagement with the local researchers and the NLC CP&D team to implement and refine the local monitoring and evaluation work and exploring ways of extending the Ground Up methods to other NLC sites of community development.

Background and Context

Introduction

In 2019, the Northern Land Council (NLC) initiated the Monitoring and Evaluation System (MES) project to establish and implement a monitoring framework for the Community Planning and Development (CP&D) Program. The MES project aims to strengthen the CP&D Program by developing and testing participatory Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) practices in several communities. The purpose of this work is to develop a best practice monitoring and evaluation system, providing meaningful processes for Aboriginal people to judge the success and value of their community development projects into the future.

Specifically, the CP&D Program's MES project involves four subprojects:

- Subproject 1 – Expanding its current M&E practices used by the CP&D team across all project sites
- Subproject 2 – Develop Participatory monitoring practices in selected project sites Galiwin'ku and Gapuwiya (Ground Up M&E)
- Subproject 3 – Checking-up to keep on track to identify specific community identified measures of benefits at Legune, the selected project site
- Subproject 4 – Developing a data management system to collate relevant information for analysis and synthesis of community development values.

The CP&D Program is evaluated annually, and to date has generated its first report. This report provides an important baseline tool to measure the progress of the Program going forward, and is an important reporting and communication tool presenting the benefits, issues and needs of the CP&D Program to a range of stakeholders.

Ground Up Researchers from Charles Darwin University (CDU) have been engaged to undertake **Subproject 2 – Participatory monitoring in Galiwin'ku and Gapuwiya**. These communities are in north east Arnhem Land and primarily speak Yolngu matha as a first language (see map below). Traditional Owners (TO) in these communities committed some of their income generated from land use agreements negotiated through the NLC, to community benefit using the NLC's CP&D Program. To date, collectively, they have invested over \$2M into community development, and the TOs in these communities have planned and are delivering 10 projects to provide ranging community benefits, such as business, employment, law and justice and lore and culture camps.

The intent of subproject 2 is to work with these two communities to design Ground Up monitoring processes, developing processes for negotiating and assessing the value of the projects they are currently investing in, and supporting their capacity to further undertake community development and achieve community benefit outcomes. Additionally, it will inform the delivery of the CP&D Program, in terms of providing effective services and community development practices, and transparent accountability to NLC's constituents.

This report provides details of this work undertaken to date, including development of M&E approaches in each community, local researcher development and emerging concepts, concerns and imperatives. It also provides a discussion of implications for the wider CP&D Program, and suggestions for next steps.

Ground Up M&E

Ground Up is an approach to research and service delivery that develops tools, methods, understandings and practices appropriate for the people, places and organisations with whom we work. It involves commitment to working collaboratively on the ground, taking seriously the knowledge and governance of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. As such, our research involves participating in the collective life of particular places, and doing so in collaboration with local researchers and consultants who belong to that place.

Ground Up research and evaluation methods take seriously at the outset, the authority and sovereignty of Aboriginal knowledge authorities and elders and their various places, and work collaboratively with them to design, undertake and evaluate research and service delivery from the ground up. Interpretive work – where possible – engages both traditional Aboriginal knowledge and agreement making practices, and those of government and nongovernment organisations, and universities.

As can be seen in the quite different approaches to monitoring and evaluation which emerged in the two sites addressed in this report, Ground Up methods can not readily be generalised from one situation to another. As each practice is negotiated and implemented in specific places under specific authority in response to specific projects, each will be unique (see ‘what we did’ sections for each community). However, it is by attending to the specificities arising in each place, that insights emerge, and may raise questions about assumed general concepts and practices of community development being employed by the NLC. Responding to these insights supports the iterative and responsive learning of the program, and the relevance of its practices on the ground, as it proceeds.

Standard approaches to research tend to assume that the researcher is a judging observer, standing outside the field of action, authorised to make claims and assessments about the activity of others. However, Ground Up understands researchers, and other involved participants, as all caught up in the collective action within which both perceived problems – and possible solutions – come to emerge. We see such work as generative, with outcomes taking the form of changed practices and improved collective understandings.

Working with this approach means that we are unlikely to mobilise large data sets which generalise findings across space (e.g. a national survey) or time (e.g. longitudinal studies), and so do not seek to offer recommendations at these scales. The evidence we mobilise tends to take the form of stories which are gathered within the research process and collaboratively interpreted. When taken seriously, insights arising in these interpretations can reconfigure and potentially radically improve intercultural engagements and organisational capacities, first at the local level, but also within the community or the institution.

The local and contingent nature of Ground Up work means that it does not consist of a set of methods which can be codified, taught or transferred. We see this as both a strength and a limitation.

Differences between Galiwin’ku and Gapuwiyak

Because of the nature of Ground Up methods, which respond to governance and knowledge arrangements and practices on the ground, the M&E approaches emerging in Galiwin’ku and Gapuwiyak have been quite different. These differences arose from quite different land ownership

configurations and current governance landscapes in each place; as well as the particular histories of the CP&D Program, funding investment decisions already made, and histories and cultures of research in these communities. So, while the principles of Ground Up M&E remain the same, they produced quite different practices in each location.

In Galiwin'ku, where CP&D monies were invested in a variety of existing projects, a first response to discussions about M&E was to start philosophising about what monitoring and evaluation are, and how they may be practiced 'Yolŋu way'. It was this emphasis that has then guided and permeated work with the various community development projects already underway in Galiwin'ku and how they may be engaged with as part of M&E research.

In Gapuwiyak, where community development monies were primarily invested in a local corporation, senior members of the TO group began by telling a long story about Gapuwiyak and the means by which CP&D Program work in Gapuwiyak can and should help to maintain and reinforce this story, as well as how this story can be used to identify the successes and failures of the CP&D Program activities. While also emphasising that some parts of the story are only available to some people, and that there is important work to be done around maintaining these separations and connections – both within the workings of the corporation and the M&E work.

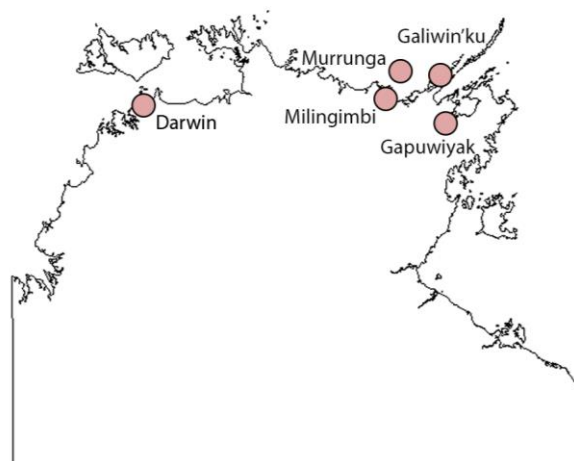


Fig. 1 Key places – Subproject 2

Local Research Capacity Development

In both communities we've been fortunate to have the assistance of local Indigenous co-researchers, who we have supported to be recognised for their work and contributions.

Galiwin'ku

In Galiwin'ku, the Ground Up M&E research was assisted by Nyomba Gaṇḍanju, a senior Yolŋu woman, who is also a key member of the Traditional Owner (TO) group directly involved in the CP&D Program in Galiwin'ku.

Nyomba has long-term experience working with CDU researchers and service providers in Galiwin'ku and was interested to use the opportunity of the M&E project to enrol in a Diploma of Indigenous Research at CDU¹. Enrolling in this course allowed Nyomba to receive recognition for the research work she was doing, and to further develop her research skills.



Fig. 2 Nyomba Gaṇḍanju, Galiwin'ku community-based researcher

¹ See: <https://www.cdu.edu.au/study/diploma-indigenous-research-yinre1-2020>

Early in the project, Nyomba recorded a series of short videos outlining her understanding of M&E, from a Yolŋu perspective. And this has helped guide work on the ground, and contribute to the interpretation of research results (see Galiwin'ku community report).

Supported by CP&D's Monitoring and Evaluation Project Officer, Hayley Barich and Senior Community Development Officer, Kath Sale, Nyomba travelled to Alice Springs to deliver a presentation on her work at the Central Australia Community of Practice Forum, 1-3 October 2019. This showcased the M&E approach that Nyomba was helping to support and develop in Galiwin'ku as well as support Nyomba's professional development in this field (video and presentation can be accessed here: <https://iri.cdu.edu.au/nyomba-gandangu/>)

Nyomba presented as part of a panel on the Indigenous Monitoring and Evaluation at ChangeFest, Sydney, 19-23 November 2019.

It was agreed by the TO group that given Nyomba's active involvement in all their community development decisions, that it was not suitable for her to be paid for her M&E research work. However, the TOs supported her undertaking the research and using this as the basis for one of her units of study for the Diploma of Indigenous Research.

Nyomba has indicated she is keen to continue guiding and assisting the M&E research for the duration of the project. She sees this as an important part of her role as a senior person in the community and would like now to start speaking more with the children involved in some of the projects and recording their stories.

Next year we will look at providing Nyomba with the resources she needs to do this work (e.g. voice recorder), revisit the question of whether other local researchers may be brought into the team, and to continue with further story collection, collation and interpretation.

Gapuwiyak

In Gapuwiyak, we have been assisted by Emmanuel Yunupingu who is a young member of the TO group involved in using the CP&D Program to develop and deliver community projects (see his research profile here: <https://iri.cdu.edu.au/emmanuel-yunupingu/>).

Emmanuel has received on-the-job research training as part of the M&E project work. He has been supported to work with ethics processes (incl. plain language statements and consent forms), and has successfully facilitated a number of interviews – in English and Yolŋu Matha.

His work on the project has qualified him to receive a CDU Indigenous Community-Based Researcher micro-credential (https://iri.cdu.edu.au/info_icbr/). Emmanuel is now the first community-based researcher to be awarded this credential, and will be recognised for this achievement in upcoming media stories through CDU media.

Emmanuel has been exceptionally well suited to the role of a community-based researcher working on the M&E project in Galiwin'ku because of his status as a young and highly bi-cultural member of



Fig. 3 Emmanuel Yunupingu, Gapuwiyak community-based researcher

the TO family group. He has been keen to undertake the research so as to help his family participate in the M&E process.

I got this research job because I need to help my family, Gupapuynu clan, Liya-lanmirri. Working with them, it is really important to stay focused and on track, letting them know what the research is all about.

Since working on the Ground Up project, Emmanuel has also attracted further employment doing research and media work – with the Demography team at CDU, and with iTalk Studios, Darwin. Going forward, Emmanuel is keen to continue being involved in the M&E work, and working as a co-researcher with CDU.

During our final visit to Gapuwiyak in 2019, valuable research assistance was also provided by Jason Butjula Marrkula, who is a board member of both Milindji and Aboriginal Lands Progress Aboriginal Corporation (ALPA). Jason is interested in pursuing further research work, and if approved by the wider group could become a valuable member of the M&E team going forward and possibly work towards a CDU Indigenous Community-based Researcher credential.

It is the initial stages of establishing and putting into practice these particular approaches to local on-ground M&E work that are reported on in the pages that follow.

Community Reports – Galiwin’ku

CP&D in Galiwin’ku

In Galiwin’ku, income for community development is derived from lease agreements for the Top and Bottom takeaway shops. These leases embed community benefit clauses, which provide TOs with a funding stream to be used for community benefit purposes only. Having already agreed to work with the CP&D Program to apply a large portion of monies held against the community benefit clauses, in September 2019 TOs agreed to apply *all* community benefit monies under the lease through the CP&D Program.

Early discussions around potential CP&D work in Galiwin’ku involved some conflict, and disputes over land ownership. However, since this time, discussions have progressed and the TO group has developed a list of projects that they would like to support, and for which some are now up and running. Those include:

- Project 1 – Youth Diversion and Engagement Project (with East Arnhem Regional Council Sport and Recreation Team)
- Project 2 – Yalu’ Raypirri Camps Project (with Yalu’ Marngithinyaraw – local research organisation)
- Project 3 – Galiwin’ku Law and Justice Project (with Northern Australia Aboriginal Justice Agency (NAAJA))
- Project 4 – Murrunga Raypirri Camp Project (with Milingimbi and Outstation Progress Resource Association Ltd (MOPRA) via their rangers)
- Project 5 – Installation of School Playground equipment (with Shepherdson College)

Emerging through the planning process of the CP&D Program are TO priorities that have a strong emphasis on the importance of ‘raypirri camps’ for young people. These camps have an ancestral element involving the teaching of traditional knowledges, practices and ways of behaving. In the context of the CP&D Program, they also have an institutional element involving engaging and contracting particular organisations to deliver the camps to ensure corporate compliance in the appropriation of TO funds for their set purposes and both NLC’s and TOs accountability in managing funds for community benefit.

Beyond these raypirri camps, there has also been a strong interest amongst the TOs for supporting and extending existing youth support programs delivered by service providers in Galiwin’ku.

What we did

Initial introductions to the TO group at Galiwin’ku were facilitated by NLC’s Senior Community Development Officer, Kath Sale and took place at a meeting at the Regional Council office in April 2019.

Nyomba began assisting the establishment and conceptual development of the M&E work during a second trip to Galiwin’ku in May 2019, and during a visit to Darwin in June 2019. M&E research was then conducted over a series of trips made by the CDU researcher to Galiwin’ku and Milingimbi in

July, August, September and October 2019. Noting some TOs reside in Milingimbi and other outstations outside of the Galiwin'ku community.

An initial round of interviews were sought with TOs involved in the project. These people were generally very happy to sit and talk, and to share their stories of the CP&D work so far. Most of these discussions were carried out in Galiwin'ku, however it was also convenient to meet with people in other places.

- Galiwin'ku: Jane Garrutju, Helen Nyomba, Joanne Durrurrja, Geoffrey Gurwanawuy and Jessie Roy
- Milingimbi: Jennifer Roy and Jonathan Roy
- Darwin: David Djalangi

Beyond these initial TO discussions, interviews were also conducted with stakeholders and service providers connected in various ways with the Galiwin'ku CP&D activities.

- Law and Justice Project: Jane Garrutju (x2), Trevor Gurruwiwi, Zhenia Kavunenko, Kenisha Gumbula and Nina Ubaldi (NAAJA), Lucy Edmonds (Women's Space)
- Yalu' Raypirri Camps – Galiwin'ku: Stephen Maliku, Rosemary Gundjarranbuy (x2)
- Raypirri Camps – Murrunga: Jonathan Roy, Jennifer Roy and John Skuja
- Youth Diversion: Chris Alchin (x2), Tavis Perry
- Playground: Joe Hewitt

Discussions involved sitting with people and listening to their stories, with the CDU researcher working with Nyomba or alone to engage identified key people and to ask them about their experiences of participating in the CP&D planning processes, and/or community development project activities.

Nyomba emphasised at the outset, that the key questions to ask TOs and project participants were 'what is manymak (good)?' and 'what is yaka manymak (not good)?' An open approach allowed people to freely discuss what was of relevance to them, and supported a process of note taking and story collecting that has allowed for connections and themes between different sets of responses to be identified (see key themes, p.12). Service providers involved in delivering CP&D projects were also asked about what they saw as achievements of the projects, any presenting challenges or difficulties, and ways that they recognised success.

A progress report detailing most of these discussions was presented to the NLC convened CP&D M&E Working Group for discussion at a meeting in late October 2019.

M&E Concepts

Early in the research, Nyomba worked to articulate how Monitoring and Evaluation might be understood 'Yolŋu way' (also see COP presentation - <https://iri.cdu.edu.au/nyomba-gandangu/>).

She differentiated between the concepts of 'monitoring' and 'evaluation', emphasising that these processes were both present in the everyday practices of Yolŋu life, raising children, caring for families, and (within our current contemporary contexts) developing community.

These understandings of monitoring and evaluation have featured within the conduct of M&E work in Galiwin'ku, extend through our efforts to regularly engage people on the ground, talking to them

about their experiences of CP&D activities and projects, as well as noting and assessing moments of achievement or outcomes witnessed and experienced by Yolŋu as a result of CP&D (and other) activities.

Monitoring

...is a practice which Yolŋu are always engaged in as part of everyday collective life, assessing and caring for children, helping ceremony to happen and working together in various different ways.

Nhaltjan ŋali dhu djäga ga marŋgithirri ga wangany-manapan, litjalangal wäŋaŋur? (How will we (you and I) act with care, and learn, and come together, in our place?)

... and involves specific assessment of certain qualities or attributes as they emerge or are further developed in a variety of aspects of community life.

I'm looking at monitoring is the way that 'How we monitor our environment, in ceremony, in workplaces, in family and also in the community'. That's how I understand for monitoring, like in 3 ways like Safety, Learning & Education, and Wellbeing.

Evaluation

While monitoring involves ongoing practices of finding out and checking in around work that is happening, 'evaluation' helps to specify a way of seeing that accompanies monitoring, allowing the stories emerging from this research to be read and arranged in productive ways.

Or more strongly, it is to do with a moment where what has been done is also seen by a broader Yolŋu polity and be known as having been achieved. This involves not just Balanda seeing and recognising something has been done, but also having this recognised by Yolŋu.

Nhaltjan nhe ga nhäma nhokal communityŋur Yolŋuny ngalapaŋha ga djamarrkuli', worruŋuny miyalknha, worruŋuny dirramuny, even ŋunha bungulŋur.

(How do you see within your community [not what do you see in your community, but how do you do the work of seeing] senior Yolŋu and children, old women and old men, and even in the ceremonial practice.)

The activity of 'checking-in' around 'safety, learning and education and wellbeing' is monitoring work promoted through the CP&D work, and echoed in the interview work of Ground Up M&E. In her phrasing, Nyomba has emphasised that monitoring is associated with practices of building community which transcends traditional connections among *people from various places/families* and involves building connections with others based on going on together in Galiwin'ku. The question of *appropriate witness* associated with evaluation, of 'how to do the work of seeing' from the Yolŋu side, is a valuable insight gathered from this aspect of the research.

Key Themes

Initial discussions with TOs yielded many comments and stories about Galiwink'u and the CP&D project. By 'reading into' these stories a number of key themes were able to be discerned by the CDU research team and discussed with Nyomba and some of the other TOs.

For the purposes of this monitoring and evaluation work, these themes operate in two ways. They indicate important concepts that the CP&D project should be attending to in doing community development work. They also refer to a set of outcomes that need to be achieved in the course of growing and sustaining strong, vibrant networks of community in Galiwin'ku and surrounding places.

In this section, we identify and elaborate these themes. In the section that follows, we use these themes to cluster comments being made by TOs and participants in the course of the research, and to assess if these outcomes are being achieved, or if there are changes that could be made.

Yolŋu people-places

- Yolŋu people and places are connected, they come together, and relations of people-places do not always correspond to those of the town
- People-places relate to clan groups, and include and connect through homelands and outstations
- Sorting out the relationships within the town can also relate to remembering and recreating right relations of people-places beyond the community

Strong authority and leadership

- Young people are well served by Elders who are able to execute their proper authorities and strong leadership
- Leadership and authority amongst senior people are not always as strong as they could be, and finding ways to help leaders exhibit strong authority is a way to support community, maintain Yolŋu people-places and provide for younger generations

Connections within and beyond family groups

- In current times, it is not always clear what is the best way to work together and what organisations or people should be involved in raypirri or other community work
- Finding or negotiating the right 'units/groups' to work from can be important, and sometimes work should start just within family groups before extending further
- While the balanda notion of community as a place belonging to people of different clan groups is largely upheld by the CP&D project, finding better ways to develop community for all who live there also relies on Yolŋu understandings of community as *emerging out of* relationships and ways of working together.

Maintaining Yolŋu law and ways of raising children

- Yolŋu discipline and law have always existed, and cannot be changed or renegotiated
- Maintaining these practices of discipline and law are a key priority, and something that Yolŋu must continue to do
- The outcomes arising from maintaining discipline and law are in many ways the practices of doing discipline and law

Money stories

- There is significant opportunity for confusion and disharmony to arise around the money stories associated with CP&D work
- This is particularly because of the difference between standard royalty monies (i.e. individual pocket money) and community development funds
- Negotiations and clarifications around the money story are an ongoing aspect of the CP&D work that will necessarily keep being revisited and discussed

It is the practice and achievement of these interconnected themes that can be seen as good CP&D work in Galiwin'ku. While these themes are different, they are also crucially interconnected and the manifestation of one – as a real and lived outcome of CP&D work – is connected to the manifestation of the others. Monitoring and evaluation is checking up on these interconnections and agreeing upon and making visible their value.

Evaluative Statements

The evaluative statements detailed below have emerged through the interviews and conversations held over the course of the research so far – with TOs and other people involved in the Galiwin'ku CP&D projects. Comments have been collated under the headings identified in the section above, so as to help identify successes and challenges of the CP&D work so far in relation to the identified key themes.

Traditional Owner discussions

Yolŋu people-places

Involvement in the CP&D Program has meant considering what counts as benefit for all connected areas of homelands and ownship. This is connected to education, and children learning where they belong, but also to where activities should occur and be negotiated.

We give our ideas to community benefit, because we are part of this land, also homeland. So not just community, also homeland – Jane Garrutju

Teach young people about Yolŋu rom (law), manikay (ancestral song), bilma (sacred clap sticks), yidaki (didgeridoo). Family tree, where they come from, where they belong. How to negotiate with Ngandipulu (mother's group), yapapulu (great grandmother's group), wakupulu (great, great grandmother's group). This is the education – Rosemary Gundjarranbuy

How to teach children raypirri – put money in Yalu' and Yalu' mob, visit Nyawili, Dhambala, Dhalala, Galawarra (different homelands) – Jessie Roy

These understandings are reflected in comments that people make about where they need to invest energy and interest to generate projects and effects that are likely to succeed, and the kinds of negotiations and accommodations that have to be made so the right activities occur in the right places. There is certain attention that is needed to grow foreign plans in Yolŋu soil, Yolŋu way.

We take plan from elsewhere, have to find right ingredients, right environment to grow. Can't just put on rocky soils, it will die – Trevor Gurruwiwi

[Legal education and justice] is a level 1 program for everyone, every tribe from each tribe connected to the land. If Nayawili wants one they can do that, but we [Galawarra] were the first to put our hands up – Jane Garrutju

Yalu' is the right people because is right organisation to meet with traditional owner, go around. When get people from other area, get support people from there so will teach in their own environment, teaching area. Give opportunity to them what is manyak in their homeland, they know better than people from Yalu'. Yalu' plans activity with them what needs to be done in their homeland. Yalu' asks what do you want us to do? – Rosemary Gundjarranbuy

Locating the Youth Justice education workshops at Galawarra outstation has been particularly suitable for attendees, who are learning in an environment that is completely safe and where they feel comfortable. However, for some project coordinators, working off their own homelands and on someone else's can be challenging.

The workshop is a serious thing you have to understand and in long run, keep that learning in your head so you will be independent, know what is good and bad. Helpful program. The children need to learn, but I can't trust to fly them. Important it is community based, homeland, so we are very, very safe – Jane Garrutju

Scary thing for me when visiting homeland people is if they want rrupiya (money) to pay activity. When we go to other wāṇa (land), they can charge us – Rosemary Gundjarranbuy

Strong authority and leadership

The presence of strong leadership within the raypirri, youth justice, youth diversion and other projects is a key element of their success. These projects are helpful in that they allow both the expression of leadership, and offer an imperative or opportunity for senior people to step forward and be role models.

Some leader is strong and wāṇa-waṭaṇu (land owner). Strong leaders make strong community – Jessie Roy

Listen to leader, who is the story leader, strong person, young and old. Who is the leader, tell him to raypirri them. Leader, wake up. Listen and learn Yolṇu children. Sometimes they fight, I say leader please help them – Jessie Roy

As a TO in the community, I have to be a role model for young people. I used to be a heavy gambler, my house used to be a casino. I earn money, I go to work every day but people without jobs get my money. I want this community to reduce the gambling, reduce kava and gambling for kids generation, teach them to work to earn money. This is what I want to see – Jane Garrutju

Reinforcing the authority of the Elders is an important element of the CP&D projects, providing further opportunities for young people to witness and experience this leadership. Further exploring means to support or negotiate correct forms of Yolṇu leadership could be of benefit in these projects as they continue.

NLC are doing the planning and making the decision at the office. At that point they come here and face the TOs. Its already written on their plan. It is our money from Galiwin'ku soil,

is not their money. All agreement is finalised and has to be made with TOs – Geoffrey Gurwanawuy

*Raypirri camp is not working. Not engaging the community. Picking and choosing people. Favouritism has to stop. Have to bring in **Dalkarra and Djirrikay**. Every clan, that is where it will work. Holders of power in traditional systems are those people. Then it will work – Trevor Gurruwiwi*

The programs are no problem, they are going well. But Balanda [involved in running programs] should pass position to Yolŋu people to control – David Djalangi

Maintaining strong leadership within the TO group, and within the CP&D funded projects may be a task to be actively and ongoingly attended to, particularly as staff turnovers – for a number of reasons – are frequent.

Yolŋu community – we need extra Yolŋu to work with Mili, like that man that passed away. He was very smart and understandable for Yolŋu. We're putting extra community benefit money to support program with Yolŋu facilitator with full knowledge of culture, ceremony because dealing with Yolŋu – Jane Garrutju

Connections within and beyond family groups

There were quite a few discussions amongst TOs and Yolŋu service providers regarding best ways to organise projects, in particular raypirri camps. Sometimes activities are deliberately designed to be delivered to family groups, at other times this has tended to occur by default.

First start with the family, then the workplace and the school area. But goes back to the gurruṯu (kinship), and bāpurru (tribal clan group). Community development, support the community through different tribes – Rosemary Gundjarranbuy

There is not much Yolŋu that go to that Yalu' camp, just families from one side. Other part of the family, and we see not much raypirri. Program is going well, but only certain people that go. So what about others? – Joanne Durrurrŋa

Has to be sharing rooted foundation for Yolŋu family, where I'm heading. This is my visions and aims. One side of Galawarra is health and healing, the other area for legal education. NAAJA doing legal education here. Example of working with one family. Is manymak partnership. Only Galawarra been starting – Nyomba Gaṇḍaŋu

There is a continuity of authority which has the opportunity to be expressed in the raypirri camps and other projects. Those teaching raypirri need to do so under the guidance and authority of senior people, while the young people are themselves learning to act under guidance as a precursor to becoming leaders themselves one day.

Are many have been in this situation for a long time when they go through raypirri they get here and have in the way they have to behave, respect other people, respond to people with a good heart, be a good role model for leadership and show to other family members – Stephen Maliku

Stephen needs elderly men to go with him, to have solid raypirri program. From my perspective looking at old man, he is Gälpu (clan) and wants to do a program, talk to kids about what sort of raypirri Stephen is running – Jane Garrutju

We taught them [children] since small not to break in and do damage to public property, but they can be influenced by friends involving them in fights and stealing. We teach our children to be good role model for the community – Jane Garrutju

Embedded in this work is not just a need to support young people, and to maintain hierarchies of authority. Value also comes from this work as Yolŋu means of organising, teaching and governing can be seen by and engaged with by others, such as the government and service providers.

Show story so government can see the Indigenous people so they have the heart for the community and the people. Not only the government's concern for Yolŋu community to be subject to their way of living but show government about two ways of living, learning, education. This fund is an opportunity to show that. So TOs can say we did not waste that money for nothing and something came out – Jane Garrutju

Maintaining Yolŋu law and ways of raising children

When asked about how to assess whether there was benefit coming from the raypirri camps, TOs always made the point that this work was necessary, and could not be changed.

Raypirri is not just from last week or last year. It goes long, long way back. So far unknown. Want to keep holding very tight to it, is a lot of not good stuff coming from outside and influencing us. So important to keep going, we lean on that one – Geoffrey Gurwanawuy

The effects and benefits of this work are not always seen overnight, but involve long learning journeys which gradually build, and connect within and beyond each child, helping to knit them into community and place as active and competent participants.

The children are a little bit changed. It is a slow process – Jonathan Roy

We need to go slowly, step-by-step, that is Yolŋu way – Nyomba Ganḁaṇu

Is long term process because child needs to know how the family group – small family group and then māri group (grandmother's group), wakupulu, yapapulu. Instruction was in Yolŋu raypirri, also goes with brother and sister, poison cousin, mother in law. In gurruṯu in Yolŋu way Yolŋu family is extending, not just start over. Children listening to this person – direction of the wind. Is a connection towards the Yolŋu people. We all have connection to that. Is good to combine – every stakeholder come there to do activity what they bring – run volleyball, softball, soccer. For Yalu' giving health and well-being, Yolŋu season, raypirri, wind, tide, moon, name of environment – Rosemary Gundjarranbuy

Money stories

Discussions, confusion and negotiations over the money story always remain present within the CP&D work. The TO group have recently affirmed their use of the CP&D Program for community benefit monies held, while some members also express some discomfort around differences between standard individual cash disbursements and community benefit royalty funds.

Come to us first, community afterwards. We should benefit first, community are all connected through marriage – David Djalangi (occasional meeting participant)

People want that money and turn eyes on our land. Its our money from Galiwin'ku soil, is not their money – Geoffrey Gurwanawuy

We are not government, why are we giving our money to these other projects? – David Djalangi

Others articulate clearly their understanding of the community benefit process, and current arrangements of government governance and local community life that impact on their work through the CP&D Program and how Yolŋu may seek to manage the funds available to them.

Have to put funding through strong way – Jessie Roy

Have had big support from the government for many years, ever since the community was established. Funding for that came from commonwealth and NTG. Before that was independent landscape of Yolŋu djäma (work). When land rights came in, was title to see, created different, different areas because people were travelling together without money – travelling, living, coming together with ceremony. Commonwealth came and provided infrastructure. This is background cultural awareness amongst our own people. We people as TOs, clan leaders, leaders of community have to focus on how to bring cultural awareness to everyone – Nyomba Ganḍanu.

Needs a plan to help the community to use the money wisely. So people will understand one day no money and everything will be closed. Go back to spear, ganguri (yams), turtle. Today just buy something but don't pay for yam, crab. Everything is by money in this modern world. That's where people in this community need to know by planting their own garden – Jane Garrutju

Service provider discussions

All balanda service providers interviewed regarding the CP&D Program have been overwhelmingly positive about the project. They have seen the funding coming through the CP&D Program as crucial to highly beneficial projects which they would otherwise be unable to run.

Invaluable – the co-funding has let the playground project happen, it just wouldn't have been possible otherwise. Its been a great process, and we don't have much other structured recreation space at the school – Joe Hewitt, School Principal

Its been a godsend for us, and means Chris can do another day of Youth Diversion, also one more full-time coordinator, a troopie and casual staff. There are so many opportunities here [to work with the kids] with the basketbal court, big rec hall, beach and this allows us to do more – Tavis Perry, East Arnhem Regional Council

The Law and Justice program is delivered really well. There is a clear need for it. They are building relationships over time, not just supporting case-by-case and Mili and Zhenia have a really good relationship – Lucy, Women's Space

Service providers all valued the flexibility of the funding provided through CP&D, as this enabled appropriate and beneficial integration with existing programs. All service providers interviewed also indicated they would be keen to be more actively involved in discussions around community benefit funding in the future, if the TO group were interested. Only the school mentioned a strategy for keeping visible the funding provided by the TO group (e.g. erecting a plaque, having an opening ceremony and taking pictures that can be displayed elsewhere in the school) as part of their project delivery.

Vignettes

Joanne Durrurrŋa reflecting on raypirri camps for young people



Fig. 4 Nyomba Gaṇḍaṇu with Joanne Durrurrŋa and family

My feedback is that everything is going well. Programs are helping community, making everyone busy. Supporting Indigenous people in programs.

There is a lot of violence happening at this time and we have to reduce. Start at the family. Looking at the whole community, you can see there is certain families where raypirri is coming, in other family there is no raypirri. They are trying hard but going in different, different directions. Not coming together to a strong surface.

My suggestion is to have a BBQ so TO can run raypirri in their own area. Our families do different discipline. Can't bring everyone together, is really hard. Have to go family to family. Then when that is working really well can go into clan level. But first start raypirri with family.

Jonathon Roy reflecting on Murrunga raypirri camps

What I am doing in my small country, my homeland, is small but getting big. Those children get healthier, the country gets healthier and I feel healthier too.

In Galiwin'ku, they are making a mess. I'm trying to give them business into their country, outstation. Do business out, not into town. So can treat things properly, and learn properly. Every outstation is branch of Elcho Island. Each tribe will be getting business. I'm showing the way for what they will do.

I'm tribe Mälarra. The clay we stopped using it. They were not using it – clay, rock, ochre. We are lifting up the rightful dreaming. Reminding the kids of the real Mälarra dreaming, leave it where it is. On the island teaching how to hunt and cut it and eat it. The kids come back very healthy.



Fig. 5 Johnathon Roy (middle) and family

Nyomba Gandanju reflecting on youth diversion project



Fig. 6 Nyomba Gandanju

There has been a lot of things happening in the community. I have been talking to Chris (from the youth diversion program), following up with the children and others. Three or four have gone through youth diversion. I've been looking at these children, and everything is going really perfect. They are sure of their pathway. Program was really manymak (good).

It is coming to a stage of happening in a positive way. I'm watching the kids in that program. On Friday there was a funeral happening. The children

went out to homeland for that ceremony, and everything happened in positive way in funeral ceremony. That was the evaluation. The children are learning. They are talking about the country, it is their identity – who they are, what their clan is, what their moiety is, what is their language, how to communicate in ceremony.

Rosemary Gundjarranbuy reflecting on Yalu's involvement in raypirri camps



Fig. 7 Rosemary Gundjarranbuy

The school came and spoke to Yalu' and we were asking about good ways to work together. We talked about the camp that was happening.

They said, we would like kids to go to school every day and can Yalu' work with the secondary students that are not going to school.

In their mind, some kids go every day, but these other ones don't. So how to upgrade their attendance? Maybe take them to a camp and let those different children help each other. When we put them together, they will have each other

again – start talking, sharing about the world. Challenging those ones with poor attendance to come to school with the others

Yolŋu way is treating people in equal way not balanda way of good or bad. Having young people want to learn, not thinking about being not good, not attending. Give the students a good pathway how to meet requirements, uplifting together. Supporting, encourage them for raypirri and come to school once again.

M&E Insights

Amongst many of the TOs involved in the CP&D Program in Galiwin'ku, (the senior women/ Yirritja people in particular) there is a strong sense of positivity around the projects being run and the effects of these projects in the community. This positivity is shared by others, but sometimes is also accompanied by queries around origins of the CP&D Program (i.e. Central Land Council Community Program in Alice Springs rather than Arnhem Land), and the allocation of royalty funds for community benefit rather than personal or family use.

The recommendations have been generated by the CDU research team, drawing on insights emerging in the M&E research and responding to comments by the TO group and other participants in the CP&D Program in Galiwin'ku. They are intended to support aspects of the everyday functioning of the CP&D Program, as well as the overall focus on well-negotiated and locally appropriate community development work.

Everyday CP&D Program considerations

- The separation of royalty funds into 'red' and 'blue' buckets has been an exceptionally useful approach to discussing the difference between community benefit and other royalty funding and should be continued
- It can sometimes appear to TOs that the allocation of funding is not entirely at their discretion, in that many of the ideas seem to be proposed from elsewhere. Further work around generating space for discussion and consideration of the way the group want to go forward with other funding decisions and allocations seems advisable
- There is a strong appetite amongst service providers in the community (e.g. sport and recreation, school, women's space) to be involved in discussions about funding allocations in the future. This may be a beneficial avenue to explore. However, it would need to be carefully negotiated and agreed on by the TO group on a case by case base – noting this was a suggestion proposed by non-Indigenous stakeholders, rather than an interest identified by TOs.
- To date, CP&D funds in Galiwin'ku have often been used to supplement existing projects, allowing them to continue or expand. This approach has overwhelmingly been described as a strength by service providers. It also seems to resonate well with TOs who are looking for holistic solutions to troubles in the community. It may therefore be productive to continue this approach, and to make more visible the generosity of the TOs in supporting these projects.
- There may be a need to continually renegotiate the constituency and leadership of the raypirri camps, doing so with consideration of how these decisions support the strengthening of local leadership, right relations of people-place and the cultural safety of facilitators and participants. This could involve specifically designing camps for particular people-places and authority structures.
- Seeking to make visible achievements of the CP&D projects in a way which makes sense to Yolngu (e.g. through forms of ceremony or celebration) may be a valuable investment, and could be brought to or considered part of the responsibilities of the TO group.

Community development outcomes

- A strong set of community development projects has been established in Galiwin'ku. Ongoing negotiations within the TO group and between the TO group and Yolŋu service providers around appropriate leadership and location for these projects may be beneficial.
- Continued focus on the health of homelands, as well as on the well-being of Yolŋu in town (as raised in the Johnathon Roy vingleton), will help support practices of community building suited to Yolŋu people-places
- Active work by NLC staff and TOs around maintaining and strengthening the connections within the TO group, and capacities for working together will support the CP&D Program as a whole. Nyomba Gaṇḍanju and Jane Garrutju may be able to advise on useful ways to go about such work.
- There is a tension between CP&D work that is managed and mobilised by particular families, and work carried out by community service providers for everyone (note: this is visible in discussions around raypirri camps, but also applies more broadly). Both these approaches can bring benefit, and ideally this tension could be worked productively and generatively. Good ways for this to happen could be worthy of investigation.

Community Report – Gapuwiyak

CP&D in Gapuwiyak

In Gapuwiyak, income for community development is derived from s19 and other leases on lands of Gupapuyngu Liya-lanmirri, the Marrkula clan group.

Work with the NLC to manage these funds has largely focused on the development of a corporation able to develop business opportunities for new generations in Gapuwiyak, and to express the identity of the Marrkula clan group amidst other emerging and existing business interests in the community.

Since 2017, there has been significant progress around this corporation, with the Milindji Development Trust now an incorporated entity, and two other related projects also up and running.

- Project 1 – Milindji Development Trust (initially engaging ALPA to establish the Trust and undertake governance training, and currently engaging Matrix on Board to do strategic business planning for the Trust)
- Project 2 – Painting Crew Project (initially with Miwatj Employment and Participation as the former government job service provider and now with ALPA)
- Project 3 – Logo/t-shirt project (with NLC)

Emerging in the priorities of the TOs, has been a strong emphasis on keeping visible the work of the TO group, and the way in which they are supporting the growth of local employment for Yolŋu in Gapuwiyak. The interrelation of the three projects is important, in this sense, with TOs cross-fertilising and enabling the corporation and local paint crew to all be recognised through the distinctive Milindji logo.



Fig. 8 Milindji Trust logo

What we did

The M&E project was first introduced to the TO group in Gapuwiyak by NLC's Senior Community Development Officer, Kath Sale during one of the CP&D meetings. This was followed up by further discussion around the M&E work and the potential involvement of local researchers initiated by Michaela, the CDU researcher, at another CP&D meeting on the 17 July 2019.

The TO group initially were a little unsure about the concept of M&E, but were supportive of the work and of a local researcher being employed on the M&E project. Following the meeting, Emmanuel Yunupingu agreed to take on the role of a local research facilitator. As discussions continued over the course of that trip, TOs being interviewed started to talk about the M&E work as 'checking' and approved of this happening.

Trip 1: Interviews with key TOs Clancy Marrkula, Gordon Lanyipi and Gäwuḍu Garrawurra were conducted and short videos made of the stories they told. These discussions emphasised the ancestral history of the area around Gapuwiyak, and the importance of recognising this history when nurturing community development and cohesion. During this trip, Emmanuel Yunupingu also

facilitated meetings and interviews with other members of the TO group – Jason Marrkula, Margaret Marrkula and Jimmy Marrkula.

The interviews were transcribed and translated by CDU Yolŋu Studies staff with some assistance from Emmanuel Yunupingu. Tentative M&E criteria were drawn out for further discussion with the TO group.

Trip 2: A second trip to Gapuwiyak was made by the CDU researcher in mid-October 2019. This was to check the translation of the story recorded during the previous visit, and to reaffirm and develop its significance as a tool for monitoring and evaluating the development of the Milindji corporation. This also offered the opportunity for further interviews with TOs and to also check in on the Paint Crew Project.

Emmanuel supported further interviews conducted at this time, and Hayley Barich, CP&D's Monitoring and Evaluation Project Officer, visited Gapuwiyak and took part in some of the research during this visit. Meetings and discussions were held with: Jason Marrkula, Jimmy Marrkula, Terrence Marrkula, Thomas Marrkula and Andrew Marrkula and his family. A visit was made to ALPA to speak with the CDP co-ordinator Gutjapin Gumana to discuss the paint crew, and a site visit was made to see the paint crew at work and talk to their supervisor, Wilson Butjula.

Further checking of the initial story recording and translation also took place in discussion with Clancy Marrkula and Gordon Marrkula during a subsequent trip to Milingimbi, where Emmanuel was fortunately also able to assist discussions as both he and these other senior men had travelled to this community for a funeral.

A progress report detailing most of these discussions was presented to the CP&D M&E Working Group for discussion at a meeting in late October 2019.

M&E Concepts

Two sets of processes have emerged as important to the M&E work in Gapuwiyak. One of these was focussed on 'checking in' and the other was focussed around the 'Story of Gapuwiyak and Milindji'. These processes can be seen as analogous to processes of monitoring and evaluation, but they occur concurrently and are closely interrelated.

Checking in

Over the course of conducting initial interviews, the notion of 'checking in' started to be mobilised by some of the TOs. This provided a way of understanding the role of the M&E researchers in relation to the CP&D Program, recognising the M&E researchers as another layer of support, alongside the NLC and Matrix on Board consulting.

Story of Gapuwiyak and Milindji

Also emerging in these early discussions was an insistence on the part of Clancy Marrkula and other senior TOs that the probity and success of the CP&D work could only be understood through its faithfulness to the origin story of Gapuwiyak.

The story explains the name Milindji – the wider area - and its relation to the name Gapuwiyak – which refers to the taste of the water in the lake. Two ancestors arrived and decided to make ceremonial objects. They walked all around the area singing and putting names in place. It is a large

area, not just the immediate surrounds of the lake. They cut down trees and made ceremonial objects, all the time singing, painting, carving. They were using special wood important in the local bush. Some of the sacred objects were shared with other groups. While they were performing the ceremony, water came out of the ground and formed the lake. The ceremonial object sank down into the water. This is a true story. Children need to learn this story and work for the corporation.

In discussions with this TO group, it was agreed that keeping focussed on this story, and using this story as a way to help with M&E work was an excellent way to understand if the work of the corporation and the CP&D Program more generally was going the right way and achieving what the TOs would like it to.

Through translating and transcribing a video recording of this story, the team found key M&E issues and themes inside it. These key themes have been checked with members of the TO group and should provide a way of assessing whether the CP&D work is on track, or how it may improve, in the future. The character of this story – as an M&E concept – shows the origins and correct arrangements of authority and ownership in Gapuwiyak. As such, it exists as BOTH the basis, and hoped-for outcome, of the CP&D Program.

However, it is also important to remember that aspects of the story cannot always be discussed by women, and processes for making the story public always needs to be negotiated. Clancy emphasised that the origin story of Gapuwiyak is so important that only properly negotiated versions should be made public. While he was happy for us to listen to and draw points from his story, he asked that the transcription and translation of the story not be included in this report.

Key Themes

Below are listed key M&E themes implicit within Milindji story as told by Clancy, Gordon and Gāwuḍu. These themes have been identified by CDU researchers, and discussed and checked with members of the TO group.

In the process of checking, amendments have been made to the initial translations. It is recognised that this iteration of the story is just a quick and surface version and the creation of a more carefully negotiated version may be a priority as the work proceeds. However, so far there has been agreement around the themes identified within it, and support for using these as key touchstones for monitoring and evaluating CP&D activities going forward.

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

- Everyone needs to know the story work of the original ancestors, Gurrulan and Girkirwa, and of the naming of the billabong after its brackish water.
- We need to remember the hollow log. We need to make sure that young people travel through the land and get to know it and to remember the names of all the small places in the area.
- The main purpose of the Milindji Corporation is to keep in place that ‘biggest name’. The corporation needs to be a means whereby everyone (whatever their relation to Marrkula people) knows the story and how they are connected through kin.

Working locally/ learning skills in place

- We need to retain the skills of making the hollow log and associated painted designs and performances. And making bullroarers and the strings to attach to them

- We need particularly to recognise the Cyprus pine (lanapu) that is a feature of the area.

Remembering which things belong to which people

- Everyone needs to remember that there were originally two bullroarers. One of them doesn't belong to the Marrkula people. Everyone needs to remember that only one belongs to us.
- Everyone needs to know the story of the relation between the hollow logs, the ceremonies, and the origins of the Gapuwiyak billabong, and the origin of the name Gapuwiyak. Everyone needs to know that the Wuṇuṇmurra people are here because of that ceremony.

Making the true story visible

- We need a strategy to keep the story alive. We need to demonstrate how keeping the story alive keeps the corporation strong. And how education is directed towards supporting and enhancing the work of the corporation. Remember the hollow log. Remember the image. Connect it properly to modern institutions.

These imperatives offer touchstones which can be continually connected with and referred to in assessing the community development effects of the corporation and CP&D Program, helping key concerns to be made visible in meaningful ways (for both TOs and NLC staff) within the Program as it proceeds, and enabling iterative learning suitable to the ongoing development of Gapuwiyak community.

Evaluative Statements

The evaluative statements detailed below have emerged through the interviews and conversations held over the course of the research so far – with TOs involved in the CP&D project and people involved in the work of the paint crew. Comments have been collated under the headings identified within the Milindji story, so as to help identify successes and challenges of the CP&D work so far in relation to these criteria.

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

All the TO's we spoke to described being happy about the new Milindji Corporation, and how it would help younger generations to understand who they are and the place they come from.

Feel happy and strong for this corporation for TOs and this community, and for our grandchildren because us mob will pass on, but that corporation will go on for the future. The children won't miss out on who the land is, story of where they are from. We will hand it over to them. For our children, our grandchildren, our sons and daughters – Margaret Marrkula

Significant to this success were partnerships supporting the corporation that were aware of the history and stories of Gapuwiyak, and the way in which the corporation – as a business and a cultural activity – is constituted by Yolṁu family relations.

Good working with the NLC on this because they know the land best and how to cooperate with government and other organisations because the land has cultural history and songlines – Terrence Marrkula

Yeah, it's hard to be in both ALPA (board) and Milindji (board), but TOs wanted me to be in this position because it is not about ALPA it is about tradition. We are like family. My Mother

side family is Clancy's family. It's all connected. My grandfather, mothers' father, his mother land is this land. That's why I'm very connected through business and culture – Jason Butjala

It was emphasised that knowing the story of Gapuwiyak was significant to also understanding how the corporation could understand itself and its responsibilities and practices as a business organisation.

Two men we looking for didgeridoo and while they were making the journey they were doing hollow log – asking for help from Ritharrŋu (my clan) to get bark out from log, then asking for help from Gupapuyŋu (another clan). But they didn't help so that's why they separated. One ended up at Garma and my tribe went to Mitchell ranges area. It's an important story because they were here at this lake. Those two men were together forever, they shared everything; their food, the hollow log they were making. Only problem was got separated because didn't help each other – Jason Butjala

Working locally/ learning skills in place

Being able to see that the corporation was employing local people, and supporting them to develop skills and do useful work for others in the community, was a clear sign for many that things were going well and in the right direction.

All agree corporation is getting strong. Already employing painters. Important to community that new buildings are coming and are trying to employ local men to do the painting with the contractor when they build new houses – Jason Butjala

We want the corporation to be making jobs for people here in the community, so they can work here, Yolŋu helping each other – Thomas Marrkula

TOs from Milindji were great help supporting program to start, supporter of people and community. Was good they thought of this idea. Before money [for paint crew work] was going elsewhere. Now working in partnership with TOs and CDP (pay for paint, materials etc) – Gutjapin Gumana, ALPA supervisor

At the same time, there was an awareness that there was significant need and capacity for this function to grow, with many people in the community needing the support of jobs or other activities, but not being well catered for by services already around.

I'm in bush miyalk (women) group, as a supervisor. I also am worrying for young people. They need to start doing something. Experiencing new ideas, new job, new plan. We need to start because we have no Centrelink. Need to start training local Centrelink. Start learning for enrolling new skills. Young women need courses, can get new and different skills. Printing shirt, own design, artwork, screen printing – Margaret Marrkula

Start young people, is important it is local. Tried to open up new shelter for men and women, need building for new course – little one for visitors, rent a car – Margaret Marrkula

TOs chose Matrix because there's training. Train someone to work with them. Also it was about who to trust, and they thought they could better trust miyalk (woman) – Edna Gäwuḍu

Amongst some of the younger TOs there was also a strong sense of urgency around the development of the business side of the corporation. They recalled another senior man wanting to

establish a corporation for the TO group in the past, but he passed away before it was set up. Now Clancy, as the most senior leader, is also getting old, and they don't want the same thing to happen.

That other old man had this idea, for a business, not long ago. A business supporting younger people, new generations, set up in Gapuwiyak. That was his idea, but nothing happening. Now this same one again, we want it to go faster, faster – Andrew Marrkula (and family)

The focus on local jobs and activity extend beyond jobs for Yolŋu to also include permanent local assistance for the corporation. While it's recognised that the NLC and Matrix on Board are good to work with, they do travel in and out of Gapuwiyak. It is a strong interest for people involved in the corporation to have someone living in the community who is working with them on a daily basis.

Bit difficult with NLC, because just come in and out. We want someone to be here permanent. We want a balanda bāmara (companion), and they should have accommodation and a work vehicle. I am praying for this – Margaret Marrkula

It was generally acknowledged that the Paint Crew Project is beneficial in two ways – it provides jobs and skills relevant for people in their home community that they feel exceptionally proud of, and it also means that Yolŋu can be working for the benefit of Yolŋu. When working on the paint crew, your job is painting the houses of family members.

Manymak (good) job, latju (wonderful). We're painting just the insides not the outsides. First do all the preparations, cleaning, washing with sugar soap, then painting the walls. Great if can keep going because so many houses need painting, and better if Yolŋu can do it – Wilson Butjala

Is a great program, guys enjoy doing it, doing really good job giving something worthwhile to contribute to community. Better than balanda (coming in from outside). Engaging Yolŋu in our community, keeping it local – Gutjapin Gumana, ALPA supervisor

While developing community benefit can be to do with working for family members, it also involves producing partnerships which enable more locally driven activities and with a view to there being long term sustainability associated with the corporations and the employment and business opportunities it produces.

Good that Milindji is cooperating with ALPA and CDP because that is local for this community – Jason Butjala

We're thinking about partnership as something that keeps going – Gutjapin Gumana, ALPA supervisor

Remembering which things belong to which people

A large part of the role of the corporation is to help people in Gapuwiyak remember who the rightful owners are of this place. This is about recognising ancestors and ancestral stories, as well as respecting these in the present. This is part of the vision and purpose of the corporation that people are glad to see emerging, but also needing to be sustained, at present.

These people call themselves important persons, but TOs have nothing. Makes us really sad because everyone needs to know this land belongs to Marrkula people. Some gone other place, ancestors are still here. Make leaders know everyone recognising Gapuwiyak people – Marrkula, from sunrise to sunset – Margaret Marrkula

Feel happy because I was worried for old man Clancy and Gordon – I'm happy the corporation will build something for the TOs, and for other community people so they will see what Gapuwiyak is doing and recognise who we are and who this land is for – Margaret Marrkula

Remembering who the rightful owners of certain places and stories are also relates to responsibilities around sharing and caring for others. When proper ownership relations are respected, this also means that others not from that place can be better cared for and that traditional owners can work beyond their family to support community.

What the logo means for Milindji is helping. Not only TOs or family, but every tribe – Margaret Marrkula

We [TOs] all agreed to help the other people who have no djäma (work) – that's what started the painting crew. Painters crew are getting paid from Milindji – Terrence Marrkula

When these understandings of ownership interface with concepts of royalty payments and business investment some confusion can arise. This is likely to be an ongoing issue, but it is useful to have some Yolŋu in the group who are able to explain and communicate these nuances. Without this, many people involved may remain confused or frustrated about the money story.

They were a bit confused why are we paying our money to them. I said this is how the business starts. We pay them and they find work for us. They look for business, they find something for us. Clancy asked 'why are we spending money'. The more I interpreted the more the TOs understood – Edna Gäwuđu

Are thinking we want some quick money. They don't want to give money away. I have to explain. Not giving money away for someone to take it. It's your money. Gapuwiyak money. Even though giving to them to spend, it is still for us. Maybe 1-2 years time auditors come and see how paperwork is going – Edna Gäwuđu

Making the true story visible

Making and keeping the Milindji story visible is a key function of the corporation, and something that needs to be attended to. There are different ways the corporation and wider CP&D project help this visibility, and there can be discussion between TOs around best processes for this. The corporation logo has been an important part of this work, in future other activities such as ceremony (or other videos) may also become important.

Logo – we need to give a big picture for logo so everyone can see the words as well as the picture. Get a much bigger one – Margaret Marrkula

Create area that's Marrkula area. Do ceremony down near the lake – Jimmy Marrkula

This visibility is not only for Yolŋu, but also for balanda visitors (stakeholders, service providers and potentially tourists). These people also need to be able to see the story – recognising how it attributes ownership to certain groups, and supports good governance and engagement practices.

Balanda will come in this community and they will know, this year and next year see picture of this land people and hollow log... Visitors will see land ones, ask them for permission, before they will see other people. We welcome everyone, but come to us first – Margaret Marrkula

We wanted that logo to be on the shirt because maybe someone in government could get recognition for the TOs. Something for recognition – Jason Butjala

It is not only the corporation and logo that help with this visibility-work. This is also an important aspect of the paint crew project, with the painters themselves being evidence for the work of the TOs and the Gapuwiyak story as they work within the community.

Rest of community see the paint crew, and see opportunity to have family helping for their house – Gutjapin Gumana, ALPA supervisor



Fig. 9 Paint crew at work in Gapuwiyak

Vignettes

Jason Butjala

Milindji Board Member, Gapuwiyak



Fig. 10 Jason Butjala (left), with Jimmy Marrkula and grandson (right)

All agree corporation is getting strong. Already employing painters. It's important to the community that new buildings are coming, and we are trying to employ local men to do the painting with the contractor when they build new houses.

Good that Milindji is cooperating with ALPA and CDP because that is local for this community. Get this community to run the community with local people doing jobs that they are capable of. We are trying to make that happen – everything will be local. My hope for Milindji is to be sustainable to help this community keep going. To be a local provider, local service provider.

Me and my best friend at school made that [Milindji corporation] logo. But he's passed away. We heard that story old people were telling, and we created that logo. We wanted that logo to be on the shirt because maybe someone in government could get recognition for the TOs. Something for recognition.

Margaret Marrkula
Milindji Board Member, Gapuwiyak



Fig. 11 Emmanuel Yunupingu, co-researcher (left), with Margaret Marrkula (right)

I feel happy and strong for this corporation, for the TOs, this community, and for our grandchildren. Because us mob will pass, and that [corporation] will go on for the future. They won't miss out on who the land is, story of where they are from. We will hand it over to them. For our children, our grandchildren, our sons and daughters

Its good we've started a new corporation to make Gapuwiyak better place to stand. It carries the story of the family from here. So, descendants, grandchildren will start moving on. Start their jobs. Painting, fence doing, nursery. Corporation will help these things happen.

Balanda will come in this community and they will know, this year and next year see picture of this land people and hollow log. They will recognise who these people are, where they come from and this land belongs to them. Visitors will see the land owners, and ask them for permission, before they meet with other people. We welcome everyone – but come to us first!

M&E Insights

There is a strong sense of positivity around the development of the Milindji Corporation and the operation of the paint crew in Gapuwiyak. This is also accompanied by a sense of urgency and seriousness around developing a sustainable business that can operate in the right way.

The recommendations below have been generated by the CDU research team, drawing on insights emerging from the M&E research and responding to comments by the TO group and other participants in the CP&D Program in Gapuwiyak. They are intended to support aspects of the everyday functioning of the CP&D Program, as well as the overall focus on well-negotiated and locally appropriate community development work.

Everyday CP&D Program considerations

- The role of a local interpreter is crucial to communication in CP&D meetings. This is not only to do with language, but also to do with communication and translation of concepts of business and investment. Edna Gäwuđu has successfully performed this role in the past, and should be recognised for this.
- The relationship between ALPA, CDP and the NLC CP&D Program, as well as with other organisations such as SeaSwift and Bunnings are crucial to the smooth running of the paint crew project. These relationships are likely to need constant tending, and have a significant bearing on the extent to which paint crew (and potentially other) work can be locally oriented with regards to resources, supplies, labour and outputs.
- Continuing to look for ways of including and upskilling the new generation Yolŋu through the corporation is a clear priority for the TOs. Further development of the Milindji story may be an opportunity for this.
- Business decisions about the corporation involve the inclusion of considerable new knowledge into existing understandings of people and place held by the TO groups. As in Galiwin'ku, the use of colour coding to differentiate options, strategies and choices has worked well and should be maintained.
- It is valuable to allow time for side discussions (potentially in Yolŋu matha) in meetings. This allows TOs to enact their own negotiating and decision-making practices alongside those prescribed by meeting protocol.
- Attending to the visibility of the corporation wherever possible (through logos, ceremony, promotional materials etc) is work that is considered important and valuable by the TO group.
- Making clear the partnerships and funding flows between Milindji Corporation and other organisations (e.g. through a diagram or publication) may also contribute to the work of making visible the vision and generosity of the TOs through the CP&D Program.

Community development outcomes

- The place of Gapuwiyak stretches beyond the township to also include surrounding homelands and outstations. Relationships between the town and these other places are

likely to have a bearing on the success and sustainability of the corporation with regards to its capacity to re-make and keep visible the Milindji story.

- Publicising the Milindji story in appropriate Yolŋu ways promotes the opportunity for other storied places to make more visible their own origin stories.
- The work of reminding people ‘which things belong to which people’ has the capacity to cause some disruption within the working governance ecologies of Gapuwiyak, when enacted seriously. Attending to diplomacy and peace-making alongside community development, may support the maintenance of harmony amidst growth and change. If the NLC CP&D team take this diplomacy seriously they are themselves enacting the message of the Milindji story.
- Much of the value of the corporation hinges on its potential to become independent and operate sustainably. This is something that is understood by TOs involved in the project, and may involve revisiting the question of an assistant that lives in Gapuwiyak, or spends significant periods of time in the community. The role of this assistant would largely be facilitative and educative.
- Development and maintenance of trust in partners and supporters is for the TO group a key consideration when engaging in business arrangements. As the engagements of the group shift beyond just ALPA, support to discuss, work through and develop new relationships based on trust that makes sense to the TO group will be valuable.
- The fundamental outcome TOs are looking towards is benefit for future generations. Looking for ways young people can be involved in the corporation is important work that the NLC CP&D staff can support, and which would be appreciated by the TO group.

Conclusion

Over the last year, the monitoring and evaluation research carried out by the Ground Up team in Galiwin'ku and Gapuwiyak has been guided by local co-researchers, and shaped by the interests of the TOs in each place, as well as the existing CP&D projects being implemented within these communities.

In Galiwin'ku, the ownership of township lands is complex and variegated. There are a number of different clan groups involved, and the authority of these particular groups is far from settled or clear. The group as a whole, with involved NLC staff, have been able to work with and through these tensions in the process of developing CP&D processes and projects, and reaffirming their commitment to community benefit, and to collaborative work with the NLC, in recent contract re-negotiations.

In Gapuwiyak, the ownership of the township area is more clearly defined with one clan group being recognised as Traditional Owners. However, there are lively engagements between different groups and organisations in Gapuwiyak seeking to offer services and run businesses. It is in this context that the interests and insistence of TOs around the creation of the Milindji Corporation has emerged, and CP&D work is carried out.

Through work with TOs and other involved people in each community, this M&E work has sought to discern particular criteria, or principles, of good community development work – means by which Yolŋu in these places are seeking to support, grow and develop their communities for the future. Through reference to these criteria, this M&E research has articulated responses around the CP&D Program in each community – looking for opportunities to identify existing strengths and noting points for further consideration or negotiation.

As the research continues, there is considerable scope to continue exploring the interconnections of differing aspects of the CP&D work identified in this report, and continuing to agree upon and making visible their value. Beyond the specific project sites there are elements of M&E research which have come to life in the work at these two sites, which may also support Ground Up M&E in other CP&D program sites.

There are key elements of this work which may be adapted or recreated in other places. Initial steps may include the engagement, and professionalisation, of Indigenous researchers as part of NLC M&E research teams who can negotiate and design appropriate M&E practices for their community. It is these researchers who are crucial to the gathering of stories and comments from involved people as part of the work so far. They are also crucial to the work of *interpreting* these stories, and to paying close attention to their 'insides' – asking what are the key concepts and concerns being articulated in the telling of these stories, how may these be recognised, attended to and supported through CP&D program work?

It is the further development and activation of these techniques and approaches within the ongoing M&E practices of the CP&D program that we will be exploring, and working on collaboratively with TOs, Local researchers and NLC staff as this project continues.

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