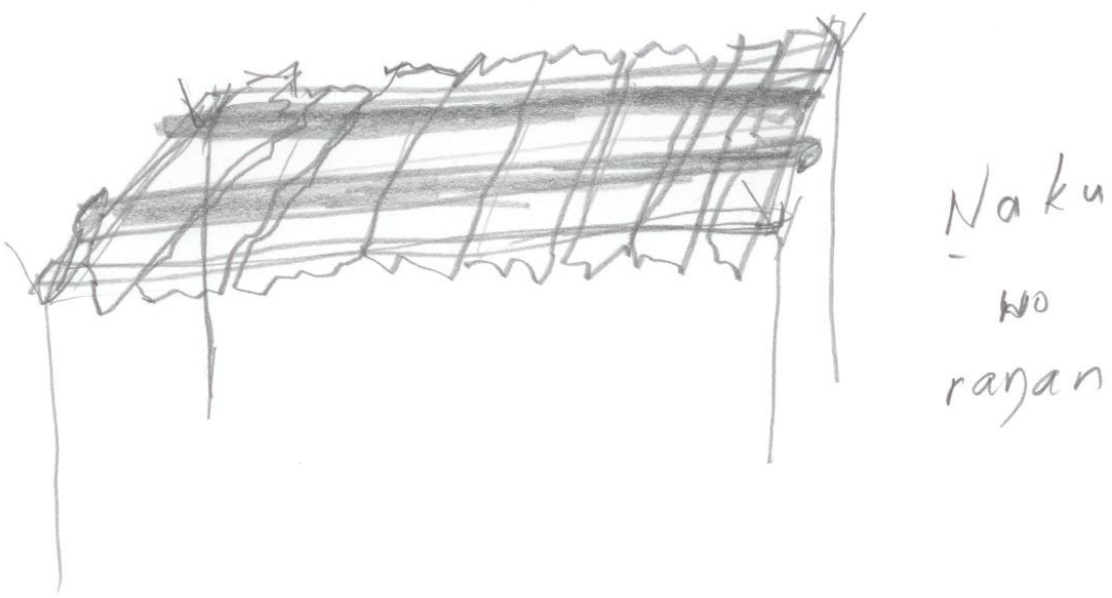
More Than a Roof Overhead



Sub-project number: 1

Consultation for Better Housing Outcomes (Year 1)

Chief Investigators:

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Yolŋu Consultancy Initiative including Maratja Dhamarrandji, Dorothy Gapany, Waymamba Gaykamaŋu, Dhäŋgal Gurruwiwi, Yiŋiya Guyula, Tony Binalany, Kathy Guthadjaka (Gotha), Gaymarani Pascoe, John Greatorex.

Feedback and comments from researchers in other sub-projects have been added in grey.

Executive summary:

The Yolŋu consultants see poor housing as the result of lack of consultation and engagement, and the cause of many of the problems Yolŋu are facing today. Even though they were all born during the mission days, they have a strong understanding of Yolŋu life before the mission, and its relevance to everyday life today. The Yolŋu word which could be translated 'congruence with the proper ancestral way of doing things' is *raypirri'.* The places where housing was erected, the designs and functions, the ways in which the spaces were used, the arrangements of buildings, the contrasts between public and private spaces, the authority of the elders, and the names that buildings and spaces were given, were all subject to *raypirri'*, and should still be today. Sometimes *raypirri'* is translated as discipline, but it is a positive productive thing.

In the mission days, houses were often overcrowded, especially in the wet season, but the elders were still properly in charge, and everyone was working. This is still the case in homeland centres, where all the inhabitants have some legitimate connection to the land. Good housing policy must address homeland support. It must find ways of keeping the authority of elders strong.

Today people have a range of experience with housing, from run down unhealthy housing administered by unaccountable and unresponsive authirities to flexible and responsive 'hybrid' housing on homeland centres. Yolŋu feel safe in extended families and on land to which they have connections. It is good when people have the opportunity to modify their houses to suit their own needs and changing family structures. Yolŋu have a keen sense of the environment, particularly the ways breezes work, as well as sun, shade and rain. Housing can take advantage of Yolŋu environmental knowledge.

The common experience today is large houses with many people living in them, none of whom has the full responsibility for everyone through kinship. Only one or two people from each household employed, means there are difficulties keeping food, keeping the place clean, sorting out who will pay for the power cards and the rent. The houses are too big. The family units they are expected to accommodate are not appropriate in terms of governance and authority of the elders. Good housing design starts with the needs and work of the elders. We can say that good housing designs themselves reveal and enact *raypirri'*. They allow people to live in agreement.

Yolŋu see a clear connection between poor housing and poor health. Everyone expects the situation to get worse with the new 'growth towns'. They are already worse with the new shires. The intervention undermined traditional authority.

Housing reference groups should work two ways – negotiating with Yolŋu on behalf of the housing body, and negotiating with the housing body on behalf of the Yolŋu. This can only work if engagement is taken seriously, and the traditional authority of the elders and the land owners and managers are properly respected. The first thing the elders need is a space where they can meet together and talk about community issues – not just housing. The government refuses to recognize this, and this undermines attempts to implement this *raypirri'* in housing decision making.

The consultants were very happy to be involved and look forward to continuing participation.

Report:

Methodology:

The project began with a two day workshop at the School of Australian Indigenous Knowledge Systems at Charles Darwin University in Darwin, where the key issues were discussed in Yolŋu languages. At the end of two days, the main consultants made statements to video on what they thought were the key issues to be considered for this first stage of the research. The statements were transcribed and translated and the ideas from the statements were collated along with the notes taken from the workshop itself. The draft of the report was then added to after further consultation with the consultants and at homeland communities. The draft report was presented to other researches from the More Than a Roof Overhead program at a meeting in Alice Springs. Some of their written comments are included in grey below.

Sumary of Findings: (References are to transcriptions in the appendix)

1 *The current ARC project, its structure and aims.*

The Yolŋu consultants were very happy about being consulted for this project. They see poor housing as the result of poor negotiations, and the cause of a wide variety of problems in Yolŋu communities. They were interested to see how this sub-project could be guided by and inform the other sub-projects.

2 *The history of housing*

2.1 Before the mission

- In the old days people stayed together in family groups, even when the houses were made of bark (W1). In those days, all the different housing styles had names (gathuwudu, liya-damala etc) (M10).

- People would move from place to place always on land to which they could claim a link, (M3), and set up shelters. Some of the places were near large ceremonial sites, and were visited every year (M5). They would be close to shade, and close to the spring waters (M7). There was little sickness (W2, B2), a 'healthy style' (B6). People were healthy because they weren't afraid of each other (B4).

- People would move according to the season (M3, M8) using bark sheets or caves or on the beaches (M3). The places were recognised as being familiar and well loved, where people would come together year after year (M5). We were living, building our own houses, sometimes a shade, a house, stringy bark shelter and live there as a family (M5).

- These sites where people would come together were important places for ceremonials and negotiations, especially between groups of people related as mother-child (yothu-yindi) or as grandmother-grandchild (märi-gutharra) (M17).

- In the old days, there was no way people would just move into another person's living space like they are expected to do these days. They might do that only if there was a marriage that would bring families together, often a brother would go to stay with his sister's husbands family … maybe with his mother and father as well… (W4). There had to be a good reason.

- And also the traditional houses were given names which associated them with the clans and

totems (M10). For example, as Maratja says, an important totem for him is the Djambarrpuyŋu shark. The sacred resting place for the ancestral shark is called Rinydjalŋu, and if Maratja were to build a house, it could be called Rinydjalŋu. 'Even when I put up a shelter on someone else's land it would be called Rinydjalŋu and it would act 'as an embassy' for my people'. They could come and feel welcome and respected (M10-16). And even when he dies, that place where he lived and died will also be called Rinydjalŋu (M18). It continues to be important for us to keep telling those origin stories to our children, it's our responsibility (M19).

- Close family kin were living together (B7). They wanted to live together (W4). Everyone knew each other (B6). There used to be no conflict (W1), just unity and harmony (M22). The family groups were organised along clan lines (bäpurru'), although in any one family group there would be people from various different clan groups intermarried (M1).

- *Raypirri* is a powerful word (B31) originating from ceremonial practice (B32). It means ancestral order and appropriate behaviour. *Raypirri*' comes from inside the sacred ceremonies (B32). It's for giving young people a straight path to follow (B32). What might be an English word? Discipline? (B33) The kinship system provided a sort of *raypirri'* discipline for the way people organised themselves (B1). The people could all see each other (B21), close by their family (B22). Everyone knew where they stood (B8). That discipline included sharing food (B10).

- And there was a leader, talking, exhorting and remonstrating (B13). They could watch over all the children interacting as a group (B15). In sight of all the different grandmothers, that's where the discipline comes from (B17). Sitting in the shade it was easy for them to see anyone they wanted to see (B35), knowing the names of all the children (B36). So the role of the person who could tell everyone how to behave (djawarrkmirri) was public, s/he could see everything (B21) (Comment: What aspect of the old days would it be i) good and ii) possible to have today?)

2.2 Early mission days:

- The elders still had authority in the extended family in the early mission days (B23). Overcrowding occurred – particularly in the wet season - after the missionaries came and the people were brought into the missions (W2). But in the early mission days, we were still able to live together in extended family groups (M20). Everyone squeezing into one bedroom houses – some sleeping on the verandah or making extensions with tarps or corrugated iron to keep the rain off (W3). Some of the houses were close to each other and extended families lived between groups of houses working together (M21). (Comment: In Kintore the orientation of houses was a series of circles where people were in easy view of each other – no fences)

- *Work:* Life was very sweaty in those days (B10). For everyone including the grandparents. That's how children thrive (B11). And they all sweated (B24). It didn't matter whether it was work they had never experienced before, they just did it. But these days it's not like that. Our children don't sweat. They rely on sit-down money (B25). They sign their forms and get sick (B26).

2.3 Homelands movement

- The elders started feeling that they were losing control of their extended families in the big communities. 'That's why the homelands came up because in the homelands if you are traditional owner of that certain place, every other person in that clan nation would go to that place' (W6). Everyone who is in a homeland centre has a reason to be there through kinship. This is not the case in the larger communities. Many people were just born there, with no

connection to the traditional owners. Everyone has several homelands where they could be entitled to live (through their father's or mother's connections and particularly their mother's mother's clan groups) (W7).

- (Comment: What are 'appropriate' homeland structures? Should they be moveable? Able to be dismantled? Modular? What is the expectation? Do they want 3bdr homes?)

2.4 Growth towns

- They are building many new houses at Galiwin'ku. And there are many break-ins, much petrol sniffing and theft. And they thought that having the police here would solve that problem (G20). And there are all those homelands people who abandoned their peaceful houses where they had been living without trouble, when they heard about these new houses. And they came to town for the new housing and they didn't stay where they were. And the kids grew up and now there is a lot of sickness (G21). (Comment: This is not the state of housing but of housing *context?* What is the sickness related to? Living conditions? Overcrowding? Unhealthy environment?) (Comment: Must growth towns always be big problems? What has to change to make them work?)

- They are making the roads in the town big. And they are making the problems big. And they are making the sickness big. And they are stuck with a problem. What would it take for the government to recognise this? (G24)

- Many Yolŋu feel they are being put into a 'monkey yard'. No real freedom (G25). That's what the Yolŋu way of life is like now (G26). So they get bored, wander around, not listening (B20).

3 *The current state of housing in communities, and homeland centres, and views of changes over the past years.*

- *Example 1: Dhäŋgal* lives with her extended family in a group of houses on her traditional land at Birritjimi on the Gove peninsula. The houses were first built in the sixties for those people who were starting to develop the bauxite mine site and processing plant. The housing stock at Birritjimi was handed over to the Bunuwal Aboriginal Corporation by the Nabalco mining company some years ago. Birritjimi is only a couple of kilometres from the Gove bauxite processing plant. The housing at the moment is not in good condition, some roofing has rotted away, gone all rusty, every time it rains the veranda gets wet and it has rusted. There is asbestos in every house (W11). Asbestos is one of the things which brings disease (W12).

- *Example 2:* Gaymarani Pascoe and his wife Djinmaliya and around 25 members of their extended family live on ancestral land at Gamurr-guyurru, (on the mainland between Maningrida and Milingimbi).They have limited support or funding from the Milingimbi and Maningrida homeland associations. They have been working over the past ten years to combine ancestral principles of housing and social space with available contemporary building materials and infrastructure. They are investigating how traditional bark shelters and contemporary building materials can be worked together. There is a variety of different traditional building styles, each with different names and offering different functionality for different contexts. They are also being careful about the organisation of space – ways of allowing people to be in touch with each other, to have privacy, and to observe avoidance relationships without the awkwardness which comes from western-designed spaces. They also take advantage of traditional knowledge to do with outdoor living –where the breezes come from at different times of year, insect pests, and rain and sun in different seasons. They are also working on integrating contemporary technologies – from internet connectivity to vehicle parking arrangements and designed social

spaces between houses. They are working with Bushlight and Habitat for Humanity at their own pace and through their own governance. (Comment: As in any community! I would expect this 'ownership' and 'control' of aesthetics, form, function and implementation and management to be central to 'successful outcomes') (Comment: Very wise goals. What motivates i) desire for and ii) skills to deliver this 'hybrid model'?)

- *Overcrowding:* In one house there are maybe twenty, twenty five, thirty people, and one person paying the rent (G22). One person only paying rent, buying the powercard. The energy of the homeowner disappears as she cleans everything up, and pays for the power. That's the sort of problem that overcrowding causes (G23).

- *Contemporary housing design:* And these new houses, when these new houses came, lots of rubbish, lots of work. How will we keep it clean? Every minute there is rubbish in the sink, in the kitchen, in the toilet, the bathroom, on the verandah (B4). We never learnt how to control those too bigger houses. Those houses are too big (B5). (Comment: raises interesting questions about what the equivalent of 'house proud' might mean to Yolŋu community households… What support has been provided to new tenants?)

- *Housing and health:* The housing problem affects everyone through schooling issues, health, old people with chronic diseases, immobile people, all of them (G17). 'The Balanda are always going on at us about improving our health. Maybe they should help us by reducing the overcrowding.' (G18) (Comment: they are trying. What are they doing wrong? What else could/ should balanda do?)

4 *The vision for the future of housing in their communities*

4.1 Homelands

- *Homelands* are the best places to go and start building where people especially families can live, be healthy, with their minds at ease (W7).

- There's more than one traditional land out there, and we can go to just about any of them (because of our networks of kinship), and start something from nothing (W7). New homelands need to be started and the ones which are there should be improved (W7).

- The only problem with homelands is the 'long distance back into the community where everything that the government wants is set up, like all health regions, shopping and things' (W8). The government should keep its word about upgrading the roads to keep the homelands viable (W8).

4.2 Design

- In the past few years people have put extensions on their houses to accommodate the increasing population. This works well because the spaces are designed collaboratively and specifically for the family's needs when there are lots of family members staying in one house (W16). But we still need more spaces to reduce overcrowding (W17).

- They should also be designed with Yolŋu environmental knowledge of the different winds – where they came from and at what time of the year and the day, and what they do for us (M8). And the houses in the homelands are generally the same design as in the communities (B20).

- If living spaces are designed for extended families, they need to focus first on the needs of the elders. We need to look after the family group first, remember how large these families can be.

All the children of five brothers are bothers and sisters. That's how big the families are… (W5).

- The design of the houses and the way they are arranged makes it possible for people to talk to each other over a distance, tell stories, say the names of the children. Letting them know who has the authority (B36).

- It is possible to design houses that will have the 'mark' of *raypirri* – bringing people together to work together publicly as when the old people used to gather around the gathuwudu (old style bark house) and sit down and talk, and come to agreement and declare: "Hey, I'm doing the right thing by everyone here" (B33). The housing design leads to agreement (B34). (Comment: How could this be incorporated into SiHIP designs?)

- Nowadays the rooms there are separate, locked up. The child is there alone. (B17-18) with just the television or the telephone (B19).

- (Comment: How could design incorporating symbol and stories with meaning help to engender stewardship of housing at the household level?)

5 *Views on the 'systems approach' to Aboriginal housing*

- We need the same training facilities in the homelands for the work trades as are available 'in the outside world' (W8). (Comment: Telecommunications?)

- Whatever maintenance that's needed like the mechanics, electricians, the plumbers whatever that are useful for homelands could be trained in the community, or… back at the homeland if there were a trainer available to be sent out to their homeland (W9).

- Things seem to be worse with the new shires, we don't understand how they work (W10).

- We need to remember that housing belongs to groups of people, and with good governance people will be responsible for their own housing. We need to work with the elders and look after them first. If we work them to first of all design the family size, (ie how many peole is good for one extended family group and who they should be), then the right living spaces for them, things will be fine.

6 *Views on and recommendations for the community-based 'housing reference group' system*

6.1 The role of the housing reference group:

- The housing committee at Galiwin'ku is made up of people from different clan groups. They are trusted to be a voice for the different clan groups, to represent their thoughts concerning arrangements for housing (G1). Gotha is a member. The Reference Group is divided into different areas: west, north, east and south. Those who live on the west side, speak for the west, on the north for the north, etc. The group makes decisions, and then lets the housing people know (G2). But the housing people see those decisions, and give them back. 'We don't want that. What we want is to show you what we see, what we think' (G3). (Comment: So what is the purpose of consultation? Who are the 'housing people'?) And they go off and design houses by themselves, they build them, then hand them out. They dictate the roles of the Reference Group members and chairman (G4). The function of the group is unclear because the authorities ignore its advice. They have severely limited the decision making powers of the group (G5). So the authorities are presenting a pretty tough front (G6). It's because when they started,

they didn't sit down with us and talk: We didn't come together to agree on how we can work together (G7). A new system of decision making was put in place, and it took everyone by surprise. So at the moment, the government and the people are not in agreement – over their ideas or their feelings. What are we going to use to get this work done? A plane? A boat? A dinghy? A canoe? (G8). At the last meeting, Gotha asked them what they had signed up to, it was as if they had just been star-gazing all that time. 'We have no idea what's going on. We are just discussing things for nothing, and they ignore our words, those Balanda. Because we didn't come together at the very beginning to talk about decision making on the housing side of things' (G9). (Comment: Issue of the constant turnover of departmental staff.) From the beginning the Yolŋu reference group has said: 'Houses will in the first instance be provided to the traditional land owners. Then after that, to the other clan groups' (G10). But it seems that the Balanda said: 'We can see that the land owners are in confusion and have taken the houses for themselves and their families' (G11). So the Balanda went ahead and changed the decision making system, favouring sick people first, and then the workers. But from our point of view we need to preserve the old system. It hasn't changed. The land owners still need to be at the head of the decision making process. It's still their land. The governments' policies change, but ours don't change. That's what we're fighting about – different ways of making decisions' (G12). (Comment: This raises a key potential conflict in resource allocation principles.) (Comment: In Y— (community) the previous system resulted in some people getting a new house every year – and some people never getting a new house. Where is the middle ground?) (Comment: What compromise could be made?)

- Even in the days of the Galiwin'ku Council, people's housing applications went into the rubbish (G14). For five years, there were no renovations no building and maintenance, nothing like that. They put the applications in the rubbish. Now there are many new houses coming. And people are still signing papers (G15).

- We have many different problems these days, whether it's up to Yolŋu or up to the government we certainly know that the Intervention was the wrong way to go *(*B29). It prevents us from getting the elders involved in the decision making (B30). If we used discipline in the traditional way we would end up in trouble (B30).

- The Housing Reference Group should undertake a two-way function: Taking news of the negotiations and decisions to the building authorities and taking their decisions back to the communities (W10). Members of the Reference Groups are accountable in two directions. When the group takes advice from clan members and passes that advice on, and it is ignored by the Balanda, it reflects badly on the Reference Group (G13, G16). Governments should give the decision making back to the Yolŋu because it's our trust and respect and commitment to doing the right things by each other that makes us Yolŋu (G18).*

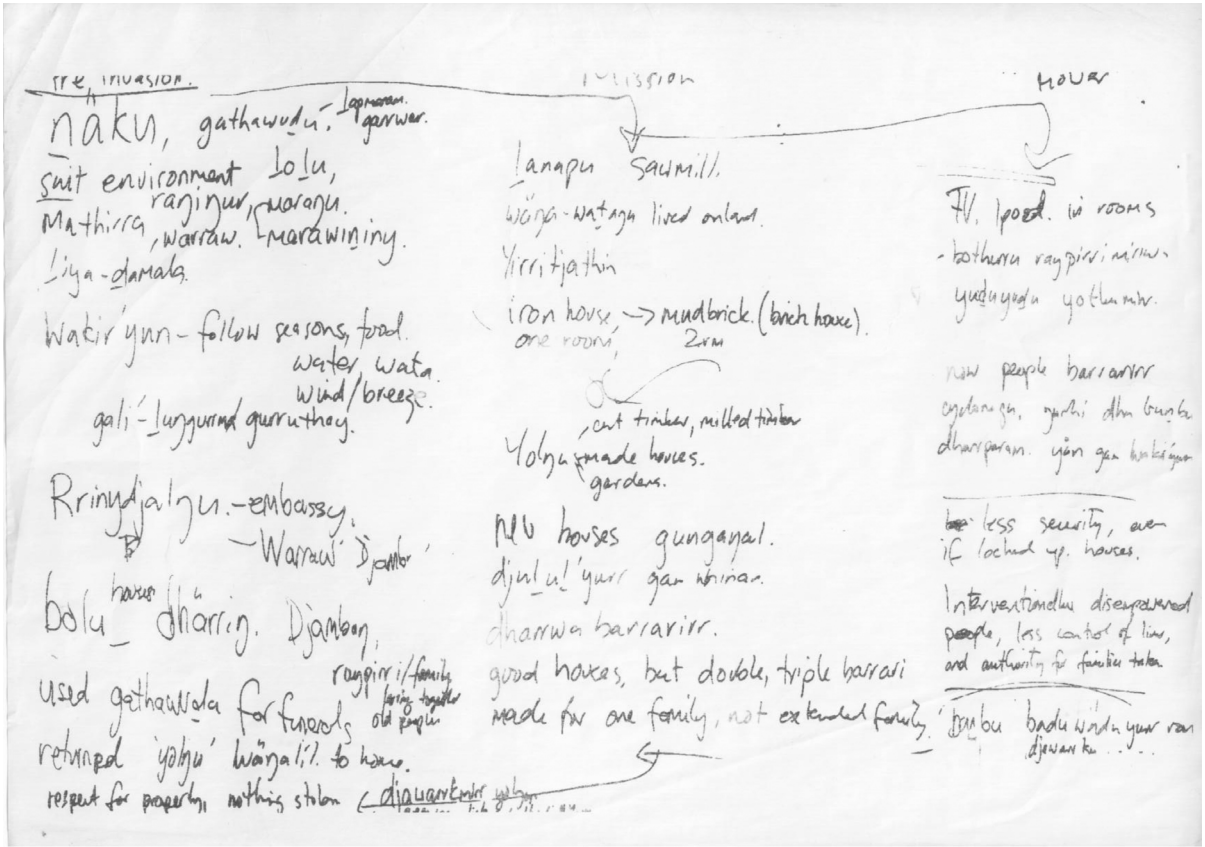
- Housing reference groups need to be clan-based (W10). Some Housing Reference Groups are clan based, eg Galiwin'ku (G1) and some aren't eg Bunuwal (W10). Bunuwal is a Yolŋu corporation associated with Dhäŋgal's grandmother's clan group, the Rirratjiŋu (but no direct representation from her own Gälpu group) (W10).*

- It is hard for Balanda to turn around Yolŋu ways of thinking. Yolŋu agreement making and Yolŋu commitments are quite different from Balanda ways. If we could come together into an agreed feeling, thinking, and action, that's how we will truly work helpfully. And Yolŋu will live in peace (G19). (Comment: Balanda want people to work at their jobs and to reward their work by supplying houses.)

6.2 Towards a better system

- The housing decisions need to be made in the first instance in consultation with the most senior elders in the community. At the moment the elders in the different communities have no opportunity to meet together to discuss housing or any other matter of community concern (eg resource management). The first thing they need is a shelter, maybe an office where they can come together and discuss things as in the old days (M23). (Comment: Does this imply some 'regional' equity issues beyond community?) Dhuwa and Yirritja groups should be coming together, where they can fulfil their community responsibilities, first and foremost for their clan for their families and clan groups and communities (M24). It's really important that this happens for our elders, because they are the ones who provide the foundation. We have to make that happen (M25). If there is no backbone, we can't be strong. Those senior people, those older ones, they are our backbone (M26). We need to support them and give them a place, a space where they can exercise their responsibilities together (M27). These days the elders don't have the same sort of control over where people lived as they did when Maratja was young (M23). They are feeling powerless (M23). (*Comment: This is a useful point with more general application across the NT communities. More generic buy-in locally might help engender more stewardship of housing among new householders.)

- Who should decide on the membership of the housing reference group? (W13). Should there be Balanda on the group as well? (W13). Maybe a few balanda, but mostly Yolŋu because we are made up of very many groups (W14). It's a difficult thing for Yolŋu to decide about housing, there is competition within the clan groups for new houses for family members, as well as competition between them (W16).



Appendix:

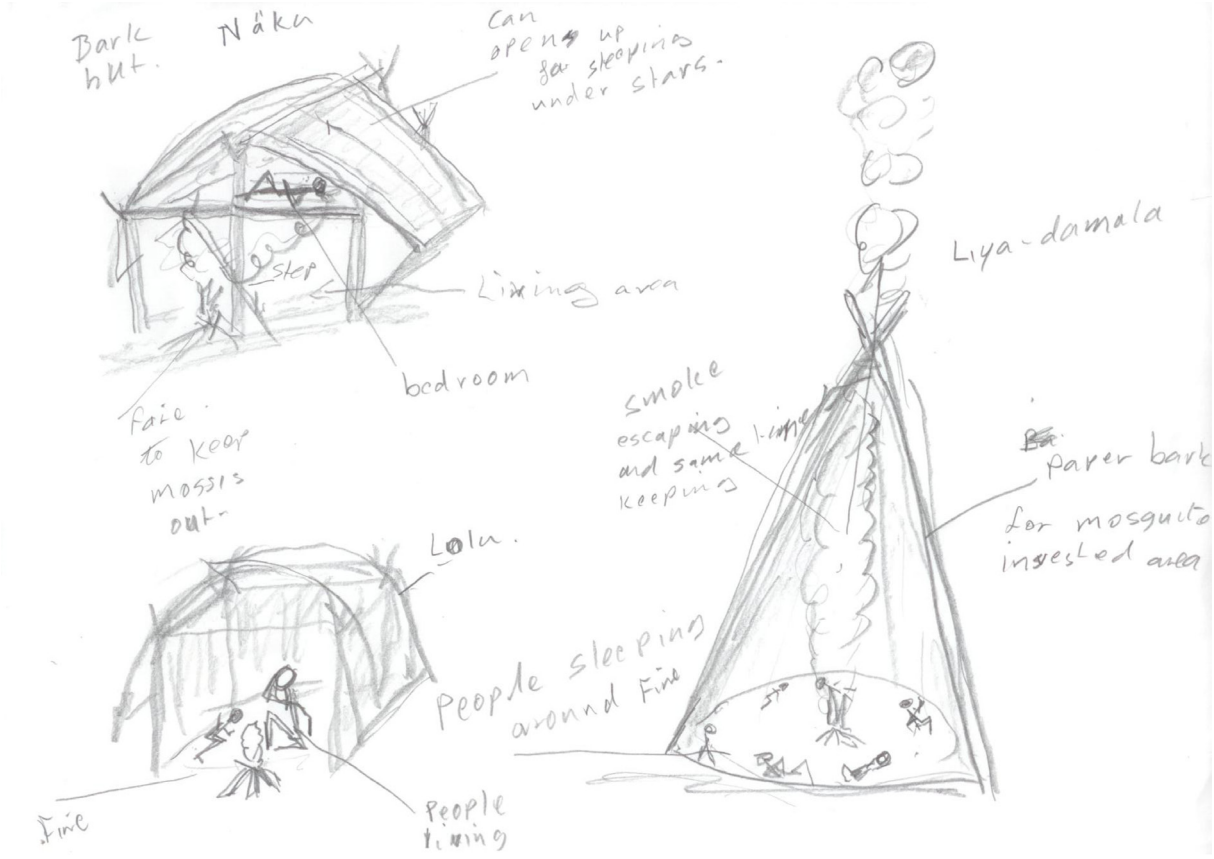
Binaḻany ga Yiŋiya: Housing Dhäwu (B)

1 Yiŋiya: Ei Nhawi dhuwal wäŋa mala ŋunhi ŋäthil, dilkurruwurr gan nhinan. Mak manymak, mak yätjkurr ŋayi, mak walŋamirr. Mak gan gurruṯuminy ŋayathaŋal waŋgany-manapar bitjarr raypirrimirr mak ŋayi rom. Ga dhiyaŋ bala limurr ga bala'ŋur nhina, nhaltjana nhakun nhe ga nhäma ya bitjan. Guyaŋa ga.	Yeah, those places (shelters) where the old people used to live. Maybe they were good, maybe bad, maybe healthy. Maybe hold kin groups together in a disciplined way, maybe that's how it was. These days we live in houses, how do you see it? What do you think?
2 Binaḻany: Ŋunhi ŋäthiliŋunydja housing walŋamirri, dilkurruwurru gana nhinana.	The old style housing, that was healthy, where the old people used to live.
3 Yiŋiya: Yuw.	Yes
4 Binaḻany: Walŋamirri ga Raypirri dhaŋaŋ. Yaka ganha barrariminya. Ga dhuwalanydja yuṯanydja buṉbu, yuṯa housing marrtjina. Dhukunna dhaŋaŋ, djäma dhaŋaŋmirri. How limurru dhu ga keep it clean. Ŋayiny dhu ga every minute dhukundja ŋunha sinkŋura, ŋunha kitchenŋura. Ŋunha toiletŋura, bathurrumŋura. Ŋunha verandaŋura.	Good health and good discipline. They weren't afraid of each other. And these new houses, when these new houses came. Lots of rubbish, lots of work. How will we keep it clean? Every minute there is rubbish in the sink, in the kitchen, in the toilet, the bathroom, on the verandah.
5 Bili yaka limurru marŋgithinya limurru dhu controlling ŋunhi too bigger house ya balanya. Balanya too bigger house, yana ŋarranydja ga gal'ŋu nhäma.Yiŋiya: yuw	We never learnt how to control those too bigger houses. That's what I see, those house are too big.
6 B: And I like that way nhawi ŋunhi dilkurruwurru gana living ya ŋäthili. Healthy style ŋäthili clean warrpam' wäŋa. Everybody knew each other, family.	I like the way that the old people used to live. It was a healthy lifestyle, the whole place was clean. And everybody knew each other.
7 Yiŋiya: Galkiwatj family nhakun gurruṯumirr mala gan waŋganyŋur nhinan.	Close family kin were living together.
8 B: Galkiwatj ga marŋgimirri mala wanhami walala ga dhärra.	Close, and knowledgeable, knowing where they stood.
9 Yiŋiya: Yuw. Bitjarra, nhakun Raypirri ga maranhu gurrupanminya walal li ganha	Yes, Like this: Disciplined, and they would be sharing their sustenance.
10 Binaḻany: Wiripunydja nhakuna raypirri ga maranhu-gurrupanminya walal li rom. Ga wuburr'mirr balanya	It was different, a disciplined way of life, sharing sustenance together. And it was hard (sweaty) work.
11 Yiŋiya: Mm ŋuruki famliyw, ŋuruki family, ŋunhi märi, ŋathi, momu, ga djamarrkuḻi. dhuwal djamarrkuḻi ga ŋuthan.	Yeah for the whole family, grandmother and grandfather (on the mother's side). That's where the children thrive.
12 Binaḻany: Yuw	yes
13 Yiŋiya: Nhakun gan leader nhinan, balanya djawarrkmirr. Waŋan gan raypirriyurr.	There was a leader there. Talking and disciplining.
14 Binaḻany: Happy lifestyle.	A happy lifestyle
15 Yiŋiya: Yothuny walal gan nhäŋal waŋganynha.	They also could keep watch on the youngsters.
16 Binaḻany: Yuw.	Yes

17 Yiŋiya: Ŋayi gan nhinan ŋunhili. Ŋayi gan beŋur ŋathiy way'yurr, momuy. Momuy gan beŋur raypirri'yurr. Beŋur, beŋur gan raypirri marrtjin. Ga dhiyaŋ bala mak ŋayi, gäna'kanan room dhaḻ'thaḻna. 18 Ŋayi ga yothu gänan nhina	There were living right there. Sitting and calling from there, the mother's father (ŋathi) and the father's mother (momu) (Classificatorily brother and sister) Nowadays the rooms there are separate, locked up. The child is there alone.
19 Binaḻany: Ŋunhana televisionŋurana ŋunha telephoneŋurana Gänana ga nhina isolated nhakuna ya balanya. Yiŋiya: Yuw.	Just with the television and the telephone. Alone, isolated.
20 Binaḻany: Sometimes people get nhawi nhakuna bored, walal li wander offna walking around. Yaka listen. Dhikayi mak ŋayi dhu wanha, communityŋur or homelandŋur walal dhuḻ'yun bitjandhi bili yan bala'	Sometimes people get bored, they wander off, walking around. They don't listen. That's it, wherever, on a community or homeland, they are the same sorts of houses.
21 Ŋunhi nhaltjarr gan dilkurruwurr nhinan. Yiŋiya: yuw Binaḻany: Gumurr walalaŋ gan dhärran mala, marr ga ŋayi dhu ŋunhi, djawarrkmirriw wäŋa dhu ga dhärra bitjan, ŋunhi ŋayi ga warrpam'nha nhäma.	But how did the old people live? They were facing each other, so that the place of the person who could tell everyone how to behave (djawarrkmirri) was there, s/he could see everything.
22 Y: Galki gal'ŋu ŋunhi banydji nhanŋu family.	So they were close by their family.
23 Binaḻany: Ga nhawi dhuwala ŋunhi in early mission days, Yiŋiya: Yuw.	And it was like that in the early mission days. Yes
24 Binaḻany: Ŋunhiyinydja yolŋu mala wuburr'mirri warrpam'. Yiŋiya: Mm.	And there they were all working (sweating). Mm
25B: Everybody gana sweating be bala walala gana djäma, bäydhi ŋunhi mulkuru djäma walalanydja gana djäma yana. Ga dhiyaŋunydja bala bäyŋuna, there's no wuburr djamarrkuḻiwanydja limurruŋgala Yan ga relying on nhawi, sit-down moneyn yan Yiŋiya: Yuw.	They were all sweating, it didn't matter whether it was unusual work, they just did it. But these days it's not like that. Our children don't sweat. They rely on sit-down money. Yeah.
26 Binaḻany: Signing offna ga formna, ga Yindi warray dhuwali rerrinydja	They sign off on the forms and get really sick.
27 Yiŋiya: Yuw. Nha mak ŋayi gumurr-däl. Ŋayi ga balanday gumurr-dälkum djämaw, yolŋuw? Wo yolŋu ga duŋduŋdhirr djämaw Wo ŋayi gi bäyŋu guŋga'yurr mirithi	Yes, so what is the difficulty here? Do the Balanda make things difficult for Yolŋu to work? Or are the Yolŋu lazy. Or he doesn't do much to help?

28 Binaḻany: Ya balanya nhakuna. Dharrwa limurru dhu dhuwala marikurranydja marrtji Yiŋiya: Yuw	Yes it's like that. There are many troubling things that we are going through. Yes
29 Binaḻany: Whether it's up to yolŋu, whether it's Government doing ga wrong thing. Already wrong thingdja interventiona dhuwala Yiŋiya: Mm	Whether it's up to the Yolŋu or up to the government. This Intervention is already a wrong way to go. Mm
30 B: Intervention ga gulmaram limurrunha Raypirri'ŋuru. Bartjunmarama limurru dhu, ŋunhi limurru dhu bartjunmarama, limurru dhu nhawina Yiŋiya: Gärrin jaillila. Binaḻany: Yuw courtŋurana	The Intervention prevents us from doing things in a disciplined Yolŋu way. If we exercise discipline (bartjunmarama) we will.. Go to jail? Yes, into court.
31 Yiŋiya: Aa ŋayiny ŋunhi nhakun limurruŋ dhuwal raypirri ŋayi yäku mayali'mirr ei? Binaḻany: Mayali'mirri, full of words. Yiŋiya: Powerful ŋayi yäku Raypirri. Binaḻany: Yuw	So this we have this thing called raypirri, that word has meaning, doesn't it? It has meaning, it's full of word Raypirri is a powerful word. Yes
32 Yiŋiya: Ga ŋunha ŋayi ga buŋgulŋur romŋur, ga ŋärra'ŋur ceremonyŋur Raypirri ŋayi ga ŋunhili warrpam ŋorra. Märr ŋayi ga yothu dhunupa dhu marrtji	It's in the ceremonial law, in the law of the high sacred ceremonies. All the raypirri is in there. So kids can go on a straight line.
33 Binaḻany: Dhunupa yana Discipline walalaŋa nhä dhuwal yäku mayali ya balanya nhakun. Wäŋaw mala limurr nhakun balaw' need ŋunhi ŋayi dhu ga bitjan mak dhärra, ŋunhi gurul'yunmirr dhu ŋunhiwurr bili, or nhämunha' walal dhu beŋur marrtji milkum räli. Nhakun walal li dilkurruwurr wiripuny nhawi, gathawudu'lil gänhaminya ga dhut dhäwu lakaranhaminya. Ga yalalan ŋayi li ḻiya-biḻ'yuna waŋgany. 'Wäy, gupa-ŋamatham ŋarra dhu.'	Just straight. What does that word mean? Maybe discipline? We need houses that can provide that. Inviting people to come together. Or however many of them will come together to be revealed here. Like the old people used to come together to the bark shelter, and sit down, and talk about each other. And later they will agree together. 'Hey, I'm going to do the right thing by everyone'
34 Y: Ya balanya ŋayi dhu guyaŋa. Ŋunhili walal li dhäruk bakmaranha. Binaḻany: Yuw. Dhäruk bakmaranha bilin	Yes so he will think, that's what we have agreed upon. Yes that's how they made agreement.
35 Yiŋiya: Wo ŋayi li nhinanha ganha, ga ŋayiny dhipaltja easy nhänha warraw'ŋur dhu ga nhina, Yolku walal djäl, Binaḻany: Yuw.	Or he would be sitting there, and easily see from his shade where he's sitting, whatever other people want to happen. Yes

36 Yiŋiya: Nhawi, yothuny yäku lakaranha, yurr ŋunhiny nhanŋu ŋaḻapaḻgu wäthunany yuwalktja. Ya balanya ŋunhi dhäwu. Gumurr ŋayi dhu mak bala' mala bitjandhi ga dhärra Ŋunhi ŋayi dhu galkiwatj nhänhamirr ga. Mak window gaykarraŋ, mak veranda Yindi. Wiripu dhu ga waŋanhamirr barrkulil wäthunmirr dhu, lakaranhamirr dhäwu. Binaḻany: Yuw.	Yeah, saying the names of the children, so the children knew who had true authority. If the houses were positioned like that. Looking at each other from close proximity. Maybe through a window, maybe from a big verandah. So they can talk to each other from over some distance, telling stories. Yes



Maratja (M)

Maratja – Nhä ŋunhi muka questiondja limurruŋ?	What was our question?
Michael – housingbuy, how housing for aboriginal, for yolŋu people has changed since before the missionaries came, and than the mission and then with the new shires, and different approaches with the housing different understanding.	
1 Maratja – Yo ŋäthildja baman'tja, napurruŋ Yolŋuw, napurr gan nhinan wäŋaŋur mala, bäpurru'kurr, bäpurru'kurr, nhakun clan groups ya balanya bäpurru.	Yes, long ago we Yolŋu people we used to live in places in bäpurru groups, in clan groups.
2 Ga nhakun märi'mu, momu, mirithirr nhakun rrambaŋi, napurr gan, closely, working close-knit family balanya napurruŋ.	So the grandfather and grandmother, very close together, working closely to the family.
3 Ga napurr gan nhinan wäŋaŋur mala, bili limurr ga dhuwal housingbuy talk about.	And we used to stay in various places, because it's housing we're talking about here.
4 Wäŋaŋur napurr gan nhinan, balanya nhakun ŋäthildja napurr gan, move around bitjarr, according to season nhakun, ga wäŋa nhakun näku wo mathirra wiripuny raŋiŋurdja.	We were living on the land back in those days, moving around according to the season, and sheltering under bark sheets, or in caves.
5 Ga wäŋa balanya nhakun nhawi.. guya dharrwamirr ŋatha dharrwamirr, gapu, important mirithirr gapu, marawininy balanya, maraŋu wäŋa napurr gan marrtjin balayi, visiting ŋunhiyi wäŋa every year.	And the land had many fish, water, very important water, going off to our own well-known meeting places, visiting our places every year.
6 Nhinan napurr gan botjaŋal napurr gan djäma, wiripuny warraw'yin mala bala', näku, loluthinya balanya napurr gan nhinan, family, family bitjarr.	We were living, building our own houses, sometimes a shade, a house, stringy bark, a shelter and we would live there as a family.
7 Ga wiripuny napurr gan warraw' mala nhäŋal, warraw'ŋur gan nhinan ŋunhili, yindi mak gan warraw' dhärran ŋunhili nhawuŋur gapuŋur balanya maŋutjiŋur, springs of water.	And we also saw shades, and sit in the shades, there would have been big shades standing in places where there were fresh water springs.
8 Ŋunhili, ga dhiyali napurr gan nhinan nhakun, marrtjin napurr gan. Marŋgi napurr timegu, ga season napurr marŋgi, ga wata nhaltjarr ŋayi gan biw'yurr, ga ŋuruŋi napurr gan move around, moving around bitjarr, marrtjin napurr gan.	There, and there we were, moving around. We know that time, and the season, and what breeze was blowing, the winds would move us around, off we went...
9 Yow, dhuŋgarra ŋupar, ga manymak mirithir nhakun, ŋunhi napurruŋ walu. Balanya.	Year after year, and it was very good, our time, you see.
10 Ga yan muka nhakun waŋganydja ŋayi napurruŋ nhawi wäŋa, dhärran gan balanya nhakun, wäŋa yäkumirr mala. Yäkumirr mala ŋunhi wanhami napurruŋ likan, ga bundurr napurruŋ. Napurruŋ likan, yäku, surname mala, napurruŋ tribe napurruŋ gan wäŋa ŋunhi yäkumirriyaŋal ŋunhiyi warraw', wiripuny napurr gan nhinan waŋganyŋuŋur balanya wäŋaŋur,	So you see there used to be our own dwellings, like Yolŋu dwellings each with their own names. They had names connected with our clan names and totem names. Our likan names, surnames, tribal names, and we used to give the homes names, when we lived in a particular place.
11 Nhakun wiripuŋur wäŋaŋur, wäŋan nhakun country, ŋunhi napurr gan nhinan ŋunhili, belongs to somebody else nhakun likan ga bundurr ya balanya, but we would always nhakun waŋanhamin gan negotiate with those T.O's mala traditional owners.	Like in a different place, like a different county, if we were staying there, it actually belongs to someone else, but we would always talk and negotiate with the traditional owners.

12 Nhawi nhakun allow ŋanapurruŋ, napurr dhu ga nhina ga ŋunhili. But where we stayed nhakun ŋunhili wäŋaŋur, mak lolu, warraw' or ŋula nha mala napurr ŋuli yäkumirriyanha, ga ŋunhi napurr ŋuli yäkumirriyanha we put names to our those nhawi malany shelters.	They would allow us, we could stay there. But where we stayed, like in a house or a shelter, a shade of whatever, we would give it a name, putting names to those shelters.
13 That names would be nhakun yäku would be, napurruŋ original wäŋa nhakun napurruŋ, estates. Family estates where our traditional homelands would be, ya ŋuli wäŋa nhakun yirralka.	The names would be derived from our original estates. Our clan based estates where our original homelands would be.
14 Ga ŋunhi nhakun ga wäŋa, balanya nhakun, ŋarra dhuwal Djambarrpuyŋu, nhawuŋur ŋarraku wäŋa ŋunha Garrataŋur, ga wäŋa ŋunhi ŋarraku ŋarra dhu lakaram bitjan nhakun, dhuwandja Rinydjalŋu.	So for example, I'm a Djambarrpuyŋu clan member, and my ancestral estate is Garrata, and my place, I call it Rinydjalŋu.
15 Rinydjalŋu dhuwli ŋayi Rinydjalŋuw connected with nhawi, ŋarraku totem ŋarraku dhuwal ga shark, ŋunhi ŋarraku totem shark. Shark that got speared nhakun ŋarraku totem what was wounded nhakun ŋayi, ŋarraku totem.	That name Rinydjalŋu is connected with my totem, the shark. It was a shark that got speared, the wounded shark is my totem.
16 Ga ŋarraku wäŋa is Rinydjalŋu, Rinydjalŋu ŋayi mayali' nhakun ŋayi, balanya nhakun ŋayi wäŋa ŋunhi a place wäŋa ŋayi for the shark, where the shark lives, Rinydjalŋu, that's ŋarraku wäŋa, ŋarraku bulu ŋayi dhuwali balanya nhakun wäŋa ŋayi bulu nhakun ŋayi, estates ŋayi or mak ŋayi dhuwali balanya nhakun embassy ŋayi ya balanya.	So my place is called Rinydjalŋu which means a place for sharks, where the shark lives. Rinydjalŋu, that's my place. There are many other estates, but whereever I would build a house, I would call it Rinydjalŋu, to make it like an embassy for my people.
17 For a group of us nhakun were ŋarraku, ŋarraku family, napurr dhu ga nhina yothu-yindi, märi-gutharra, they can come ga nhina waŋanhamirr napurr dhu, talk some business ŋula nhä.	So there would be a group of us, living as yothu-yindi or as märi-gutharra, they can come and sit down and have a discussion, talk business, whatever.
18 Ga even ŋunhi ŋali dhu dhiŋgam rakunydhirr ŋarra dhu, rakunydhirr that's, ŋunhi wäŋa becomes still the same yäku, Rinydjalŋu, ŋunhi ŋarra ga live ga die the place is the same ŋarraku Rinydjalŋu.	And even when I die, that place where I lived and died will also be called Rinydjalŋu.
19 So, dhuwali napurruŋ nhakun knowledge napurr passing, passing it down to napurruŋ djamarrkuli, napurr ŋuli always waŋanhamirr lakaranhamirr, where ŋanapurruŋ origins, where we come from, napurr ŋuli pass it on, and that's how napurruŋ nhawi, napurruŋ djäma, napurruŋ responsibility nhakun, we do that nhakun.	That's the knowledge we pass down to our children, we always talkto each other, tell each other where our??? came from.. we pass it on, that's our work, our responsibility, that's what we do.
20 Ga nhawi nhakun, dhiyaŋ bala, dhiyaŋ bala nhakun, how the wäŋa mala is structured nhakun since usually mission daysdja nhakun where ŋarraku time, ŋarraku era ŋarraku when I was growing up, we had lot of nhakun ŋarraku family were living together.	And nowadays, now how the places are structure, is usually in the mission days, in my time, my ear when I was growing up we had a lot of families living together.
21 Some of the houses were really close to one another ga, rrambaŋi ga ŋorri, and there was nhakun dharrwa rrambaŋi djäma,	Some of the houses were really close to one another, sleeping together, and there was a lot of work done together.
22 Unity yä balanya ga djäma, or, more nhawi nhakun, more, operating gan nhinan nhakun living in community ga harmony balanyamirriy.	Unity, you see, was operating more, living in community harmony in those days.

23 Ga dhiyaŋ bala it is dharrwa nhakun difficulty napurr ga malŋ'maram, even for napurruŋ ŋalapalmirr mala, dilak, they're feel nhakun, nhakun bäyŋu ganydjarr, powerless. They need to be, mak walalaŋ dhu ga wäŋa dhärra, mak office walalaŋ dhu ga dhärra or shelter walalaŋ dhu ga dhärra. Where they can come together.	But these days we are finding a lot of difficulties, even for our elders, they are feeling they have no strength, they are powerless. Maybe we need to have an office for them, where they can come together.
24 Mak Dhuwa-Yirritja, they can come together, where they can fullfil, walalaŋ responsibilities, for the communities, for their clan, first and foremost for their clan, for their family ga clan, ga for their communities.	From both Dhuwa and Yirritja groups coming together, where they can fulfil their community responsibilities, first and foremost for their clan for their families and clan groups and communities.
25 It's really essential ga important mirithirr, that, that must happen nhakun, for our nhawuku eldersgu mala, bili ŋunhi nhakun foundation luku ya balanya, we have to make that happen, napurruŋ.	It's really important that this happens for our elders, because they are the ones who provide the foundation. We have to make that happen.
26 Because there's bäyŋu backbone, we are not nhakun, we're not strong, ya balanya. Ŋunha dilak ŋalapalmirr, ga ŋalapalmirr ga mala leaders, are napurruŋ backbone, napurruŋ.	If there is no backbone, we can't be strong. Those senior people, those older ones, they are our backbone.
27 So we need to support walalany, ga gurrupan walalaŋ wäŋa, gurrupan walalaŋ space, estates, place, where they can nhawi exercise walalaŋguwuy djäma, yo.	We need to support them and give them a place, a space where they can exercise their responsibilities together.

Gotha ga Gapany (G)

1 Gapany 00:42 Ŋarra yäku Gapany, Galiwin'kubuy ŋarra. Ga yaka ŋarra mirithirr marŋginy bili yaka ŋarra dhiyal committeeŋur. Reference, housing reference committeeŋur. Ŋarra ga, yan ŋarra nhäma ŋuli ga, ŋunhi committee it's made of barpurrugurr mala. Clan bala ya groupgurr, ga ŋunhi napurr ŋuli ga märryuwalkthirr ŋunhiny yolŋu-yulŋuny, to be a voice for clangu napurruŋgalaŋaw mala to speak napurruŋ guyaŋanhawuy ga ŋunhili walal ŋuli ga reference groupŋur waŋa wäŋaw napurruŋ bunbuw, ga balanya.	My name is Gapany, I'm from Galiwin'ku. I don't really know, because I'm not on the committee. That's the housing reference committee. I can see that the housing committee is made up of people from different clan groups. Different clan groups, we trust them to be a voice for the different clan groups, to represent what our thoughts are concerning arrangements for our housing.
2 Gotha: Yuw, ga ŋunhiliyi napurr li ga waŋanhamirr. Nhawiŋur napurr gulkmaranhamirr areakurr bärra' gali, ga djalathaŋ, ga dhimirru, ga luŋgurrma. Ŋayi dhu ga ŋunhili bärra'ŋur waŋa, yolŋu ŋunhi ga bärra'ŋur nhina. Ga dhimurruŋur ŋurukiyi ŋayi dhu ga waŋa, ga luŋgurrmaŋur ga djalathaŋŋur. Ga manymak, djämany napurr ŋunhiyiny bala gurrupana balan walalaŋgal.	Yes, so it's there in the reference group that we talk to each other. We divide ourselves up into different areas. West, north, east and south. Those who live on the west side, speak for the west. And they will speak from the east, the south and the north.So that's the work we do, and then give it to them.

3 ‘Ŋay’ dhuwal napurruŋ guyaŋanhawuydja ga dhiyak napurr djäldja, ’ ga bitjan napurr dhu ga djämany. Ga nhäma walal, bala ruŋanmaram. ‘Yaka napurr dhiyaki djäl. Napurr djäl, napurr nhumalaŋgal dhu gurrupan nhaltjan napurr ga nhäma, ga nhaltjan napurr ga guyaŋa’.	‘Here you go, this is what we think, and this is what we want’, so that’s how we work. They see it and they return it to us. ‘We don’t want that. What we want is to give you what we see, what we think’.
4 Bala walal ŋunhi bunbuny walalawuyna djäma design malany dhika nhäny bala gurrupana. Ga buluny napurr, djorra’ walal gäma bala bitjana. Dhuwal nhumalaŋ rolesdja dhiyakuwurruŋguny malawdja ga chairmangu. Ga ŋunhili ŋayi ga dhärra ŋunhi napurr dhu ga advisory group napurr dhu ga nhina.	And they go off and design houses by themselves, whatever, then they hand them out. And us? They bring us papers, yeah. Here are your roles, for these people and for the chairman. And there it is, and so the advisory group is standing there, but we’re sitting down.
5 Yurr nhäŋura napurr dhu ga walalany advising-dja nhakun? Nhäŋur gali’ŋur malaŋuŋur? Bili ŋunhi napurrdja nhirrpan ga walaldja napurruŋ likandhu ŋurrkam ŋunhiyi malany dhäruk. Bala napurr balanyan ŋäma gam’: ‘Yaka nhumalaŋ dhuwal nhawuŋurdja, dhäruktja nhuma dhu nhirrpan, wo galkandja yaka. Decision making nhumalaŋ dhuwal yaka. Dhuwal, dhuwal, dhuwal, dhuwal nhumalaŋ djämany malany ga warrpam’ napurruŋguwuy.’	So what are we really advising them about? On what side of things? Because we put it there, and they elbow out (likandhu-ŋurrkam) that advice. And so we hear this: ‘Don’t put your … don’t place words there, don’t leave them. There’s no decision making there for you. This and this and this is your work, and the rest is all ours.’
6 Bala ŋayi ga ŋunhi gumurr-wundaŋarryirra napurruŋ wanhami napurr dhu waŋa, ga nhä napurr dhu galkan, nhä napurr dhu rom nhirrpandhi.	So they are presenting a pretty hard front where we are advising them, about what we can decide, what system we can put into practice.
7 Bili ŋurr-yirr’yurr ŋayi ŋunhi bäyŋu napurr waŋanhamin ga bäyŋu napurr manapanmin nhaltjan napurr dhu working together.	It’s because when they started, they didn’t talk to us, we didn’t come together to agree on how we can work together.
8 Yan ŋayi romna bunan, bala napurr ganyim’thurra, nhäŋala. Ga dhiyaŋ bala, bäyŋu napurr ŋunha waŋganyŋur mulkurr ga ŋayaŋu. Bili ŋayi yaka right way marrtjin, nhä napurruŋ vision, walalaŋ ga napurruŋ. Nhä napurr dhu usingdja, bilayin, wo marthaŋay, wo deŋgi, wo naku?	It’s just that a *rom* (law, practice) arrived, and we were startled, and saw. So at the moment, we are not of one head or spirit. They didn’t go the right way: “What is our vision?”. Theirs and ours. What are we going to use? A plane? A boat? A dinghy? A canoe?
9 Ga last meetingŋur ŋarra waŋa nhän nhakun napurruŋ signdja, napurr dhu marŋgithirrdja ganyuy, wo nhawiyu banumbirryu. Balanya bili dhuŋan ŋunha dhiyaŋuny bala napurr. Dhä-babala napurr li waŋa ŋayiny ŋuli ga napurruŋ wutthuna yan dhäruktja bal-andaydja walal. Bili yaka napurr waŋanhamin ŋurruŋu ŋäthil manapanmin housingŋurdja gali’ŋur.	And at the last meeting, I asked them what we had signed up to, we may as have just been star-gazing, waiting for the morning star. We have no idea what’s going on. We are just discussing things for nothing, and they are hitting our words, those balanda. Because we didn’t come together at the very beginning to talk about decision making on the housing side of things.
10 Ga waŋganydja ŋunhi nhakun idea, ŋayi malamarr waŋan. Bunbuny ŋuli ŋunha ŋurruŋuny märram wäŋa-wataŋuy.Walalaŋ ga yurrna napurruŋguny.	And here’s one idea that the first born said: Houses will in the first instance be provided to (traditional) land owners.Theirs, then after that, ours.

11 Ga yanbi walal bitjarr waŋan ŋunhi gam, balanda malany. Nhawuyu nhumalaŋ gan dhuwal wäŋa-wataŋumirr badawadawyurrdja, märraŋal walal gan bunbu walalaŋguwuy, ga djamarrkuliw, ga miyalkku ga family. Märraŋal yuta, yuta, gurrupar, gurrupar.	But it seems that the Balanda said: 'We can see that the land owners are in confusion. And they took the houses for themselves. And their children, their wives and families. They got new ones, new ones, gave them, gave them. '
12 Yan bi balaŋ ŋayi changena romna, rerrimirriw walalaŋ ŋurruŋuny ga djämamirriw. Yurr bäyŋu, ŋunhi bili yan romdja bäyŋu yan djambiny napurruŋgaldja gali'ŋur. Ŋayiny ga governmentkuny djambi, ga napurruŋguny bäyŋu ga djambi. Ŋunhin napurr ga bunhamirrdja romŋurdja. Ga ma' nheny muka.	This system has changed according to them, favouring sick people first, and then the workers. But no. It's the same old system, it hasn't changed, from our point of view. (ie the land owners still need to be at the head of the decision making process). The government's policies change, but ours don't change. That's what we're fighting about – different ways of making decisions. Okay, over to you.
5:49 Gapany: Linygun warrpam'na nhe märraŋalna dhäwuny.	That's it. You got all the story.
5:51 Gotha: Yaka marrkapmirr	No, loved one.
13 5:51 Gapany: Yan muka nhakun yuwalk ŋayi ŋunhi lakaraŋaldja wäŋaw. Wiripu napurr li djorra' muka wukirri, walal napurruny li bitjan waŋa, dhiyaŋ reference groupthu. 'Wukirri djorra' bili wäŋa dhuwal marrtji yuta mala. Ŋayi nhuŋu dhu yäku gärri nhawuku, wäŋaw.' Napurrdja dhu wukirri—i. Wiripu napurr li balandakurr wiripu yolŋukurr. Ga gurrupan yolŋuwal ŋunhi represent, ŋarrany bäpurru ŋarra dhu gurrupan. Ŋay'yi dhuwal rraku gäŋu ŋunhili lakaraŋ nhawiŋur reference groupŋur.	Well yes it's true what she said about the places. Sometimes we write on the paper, and they say to us the reference group... 'Write in the book because there are new houses coming. Your name can be entered for a new house.' So we write... Sometimes in English sometimes in Yolŋu matha. And give it the Yolŋu who is representing our clan group. 'Here, take this for me and tell them there. At the reference group.'
14 Ŋäthildja napurr gan gurrupar dhunupa yan gantjullil. Gantjul gan balanyamirriy nhinan. Yurr märr balanya nhakun reference group. Yurr dhuwandja gantjul ŋunhi ŋäthil gan Galiwin'ku council dhärran. Marrtjin napurruŋ gan djorra räpitjlila. Marrtjin napurruŋ gan djorra räpitjlila.	We used to give it straight to the council. There was a council in those days. It was quite like a reference group. This council was the Galiwin'ku Council. Our applications went into the rubbish.
15 Bäyŋu five years, nhuŋu dhu renovating building ga maintenance dhika nhä bäyŋu. Ŋurrkaŋal räpitjlil. Dhiyaŋ bala dhuwal wäŋa ga yuta marrtji, dharrwa mirithirr. Ga djorra' napurr ga wukirri, ŋula nhämunha' djorra', three, four djorra' wäŋaw.	In five years, there were no renovations by building and maintenance, nothing like that. They put the applications in the rubbish. Now there are many new houses coming. And we wrote these papers, how many? Three or four papers for houses.
16 Ga bäyŋu napurruny gi nhawi. Yaka ŋarra marŋgi wanhal ŋuli ga ŋunhi djorra' gulyun. Ga napurr ŋuli ga märr-yuwalkthirr ŋunhi Yolŋunhy mala ŋunhi walal dhu waŋa napurruŋ ga. Ga djäl napurr, end of the day ŋayi dhu ga feedback marrtji ŋunhi nhä napurruŋ. Nhä napurr dhu märram dhäwu beŋuryi.	And so we... we don't know where that paper stopped moving. And we trusted those Yolŋu who speak on our behalf. And we want, at the end of the day, to get some feedback. A story about what we will come out of those processes.

17 Yuw balanya ŋayi dhu ga happening. Yuw bili, dharrwa muka, djamarrkuliw muka dhu ga warwuyun. Ŋunha ga bukmaknha ŋayi housingdhu problemdhu ga bukmaknha effecting. Ŋunha gol, ŋunha rerri, e?, ŋalapalwu rerrimirriw wäŋa, bundhurrgu, warrpam.	Yes, that's what it's like, that's what's happening. It affects a lot of things. Worrying about the children. The housing problem affects everyone. Schooling, health, yes, old people with chronic diseases, immobile people, all of them.
18 Nhawukurr muka balanya, healthkurr gali'kurr ŋunhili bili limurr li ga mirithirr walal lakaram limurruŋ nhaltjan limurr dhu ga djäka limurruŋguwuy limurr. Ga ŋuruŋi bunbuy, waŋganydhu bunbuy nhakun ŋayi dhu guŋga'yun ŋayi dhu lurrkun'kum yolŋuny. Ya' balanya, gurrupan dhu ŋayi nhawuyu. Bili bukmak limurr dhuwal yolŋu. Limurrdja yolŋuny yan bi dhu ga, limurruŋgal dhu ga ŋorra dhu ga, märrmirr mala dhu ga yolŋu mala limurruŋguwuy limurr.	It affects them through the health side. They are always going on at us about looking after ourselves. So one way they could help would be to help us reduce the overcrowding. Give the decision making back to the Yolŋu because it's our trust and respect an commitment to doing the right things by each other that makes us Yolŋu.
19 Märr dhu guŋga'yunmirr limurr ga. Yalala nhe dhu mariŋur napurr dhu guŋga'yun nhuna. Yalala dhu nhuŋu gumurr-dälthirr napurr dhu guŋga'yun. Ya balanya ŋayaŋu dhu ga ŋorra. Ga nhawiny dhuwali dhukarrdja ŋayi däl nhaltjan dhu bilmaram ga yolŋuny guyaŋanhawuy. Ya bitjan yolŋu'yulŋuny guyaŋanhawuy. Barrkuwatj napurruŋ guyaŋanhawuy mala. Ga ŋayaŋu napurruŋ barrkuwatj. Ŋuli dhu ŋayi waŋganydhirr ŋayaŋu, ga guyaŋanhawuy dhäruk ga guyaŋanhawuy ga action waŋganyŋur. Ŋunhiny yuwalk napurr ga djäma guŋga'yunmirr yuwalkku yan. Nhina dhu ga yolŋu mägaya. Yuw bilin dhuwal.	So we help each other. If you some time get into trouble we will help you. If something gets hard for you, we will help. That's how our feelings lie. It is hard for them to turn around Yolŋu ways of thinking. Yolŋu ideas. Our thinking is quite different (from the Balanda). And our commitments (ŋayaŋu) are different. If we could come together into an agreed feeling towards each other, and thinking, and action all together. That's how we will truly work helpfully. And Yolŋu will live in peace. That's it.
20 9:34 Gotha: Yuw bulu ŋarra dhu lakaram. Ga waŋganydja nhakun bunbu walal ga dhul'yun bala Galiwin'kulil mirithirr. Ga break-in ŋunha dharrwan, bituruldja dharrwan, manaŋirr ga dharrwan. Ga walal ga ŋunhi bitjan dhiŋkiŋ yan bi dhu ŋayi bilitjimandhu ŋunhiyi solving ŋunhiyi mari, problem.	Yes, I'll say something more. The point is that they are building many houses at Galiwin'ku. And there are many break-ins, much petrol (sniffing), thefts. And they thought that having the police here would solve that problem.
21 Ga ŋunhany walal ga homelanddja ganan' wäŋa ŋunhi mägayany. Ŋunhi walal dhu marimiriw ga nhina. Ga ŋayiny ga ŋunhi yolŋuydja homelandsŋurdja ŋäma bunbu. Bala yarrupthuna. Bäyŋun ŋayi ga nhina ŋunhany banydji. Ga djamarrkuliny ga ŋuthan, rerriny ŋunha dhaŋaŋna dhiyaŋuny bala. Butthuna ga yan marrikul planedhuny.	And there are all those homelands where they abandoned those peaceful living houses where they had been living without trouble. And the Yolŋu in the homelands heard about these new houses. And they came down. And they didn't stay where they were. And the kids grew up and lots of sickness now. The medical plane flying backwards and forwards.
22 Bili nhä? Waŋganyŋur ga bunbuŋur nhina mak twenty, twenty five, thirty, dhaŋaŋna too muchna. Ga rentŋurdja, waŋganydhun li ga owner-y-na bäyimdja. Bäyŋun bukmakthuny,balanya ŋayi waŋganydhuny yätjkurr napurruŋgaldja yolŋuwaldja.	Because why? Because in one house there are maybe twenty, twenty five, thirty, many, too many. And one person paying the rent. Not all of them. That's one thing that we Yolŋu find bad.

23 Waŋganydhu rrakal ga yolŋuy lakaram nhämunha' mak ŋunhi one, two, three, four, five, six walal ga nhina. Ga ŋayiny li ga waŋganydhun yan bäyim renttja. Ga waŋganyŋu gulkunhy ga bäyŋun, ga power card ga märram ŋayipin waŋganydhun. Walaldja djäl ŋorranharaw yän, lupthunaraw, cookinggu ŋathaw. Ga bay'na, ga ŋayipin dhu ga wäŋa-wataŋun ganydjarr-warryundja gileniŋaptja dhika nhäny. Powerny märram walalaŋ. Balanya nhakun ŋayi ga problem dhiyaŋiyi djäma.	One Yolŋu was telling me that there were how many - one, two, three, four, five, six of them. And she is the only one paying rent. And the others are there doing nothing. She's the only one buying the powercard. They just want to sleep, to shower, to cook food. Then leave it. And the energy of the homeowner disappears as she cleans everything up, and pays for the power. That's the sort of problem the overcrowding causes.
24 Ga ŋula nhaltjan ŋayi dhu dhuwali government-thu dharaŋan nhäma. Dhukarr dhuwali walal ga town yindikum. Ŋunhiny walal ga problem yindikum. Ga rerri walal ga nhawi yindikum. Bala ŋayi ga gumurr-dälthirra.	I don't know what it would take for the government to recognise this. They are making the roads in the town big. And they are making the problems big. And they are making the sickness big. And they are stuck with a problem.
25 Ga nhawi nhakun , mak walal ga mel-nhäma napurruny galkan bala napurruny nhakun nhawi, nhä ŋunhi yäku, monkey yät, zoolil ya balanya mak napurr ga ŋunhi marrtjiny. Bitjandhi walal napurruny ga gämany. Märr napurr dhu ga locked up nhina ŋunhiliyi. Walal gal'ŋu, garrpinawuy yätŋur bilin. Bäyŋun nhuŋu freedomdja. Ga ŋunhi ŋayi djäl dhiyaki yolŋu, manymak, yalala ŋayi dhu nhäma. Bili bäyŋu ga bira'yun yolŋu.	And they think they are putting us into -what do you call it - a monkey yard? Yes, a zoo, yes that's what's happening to us. That's where they are taking us. So we can be locked up there. Those people, tied up in a yard. You don't have freedom. If that Yolŋu is interested, he might see that, at the moment he's not awake.
26 Nhakun dhu animalsnha gäma, galkandja bay'nha 'Gatjuy nhinin gi'. Ga balanya napurruŋ ŋunha dhiyaŋuny bala rom. Ma'.	Like taking animals, put them, in, leave them 'Off you go! Sit down here!'. That's what our way of life is like now. Okay.

Waymamba ga Dhäŋgal (W)

1 Dhäŋgal: Ŋarra starting history nhäwu history, history then like people were living together ŋe, history of housing, like in the olden days, most families lived around together, whether it was in bark houses, whatever, little shelters, at least there's to be no, ah conflict whatever, everyone stayed together, neighbours in the open.

2 There wasn't sickness whatever occurring that people used to live for the quite a healthy life. Only when the missionary times that the people were into one community and I guess that's when the problems of crowding occurred usually only during the wet season ŋe.

3 Everybody tried to fit in squeeze into either one bedroom house or two bedroom house that's how the houses were built then, and some would just sleep on the veranda. But in a way it was an open veranda people had ways of covering at with either corrugated iron or tarp or, something just to keep the rain off out and that was round the veranda and fully nhawi crowded.

4 W: Because bitjarr walal gan ŋunhi family live together

Dh: Yow

W: They wanted to live together

Dh: There's no way families moved and lived another houses, only if they were married to that family, some of them would move there like brother would be into that family. He used to move there well as his mother and father.

5 So talking and thinking about mothers and fathers like if ahh fathers were, around about what, how many? … there would be five brothers who are and one of them was my father, the other four would be my father as

well. And goes with how many ahh children they had they are all my brothers and sisters. So that's how big the families are.

6 So like the fathers used to stay in one group place, and if any of the children were to marry into different family, especially the sisters some of the family members would go to that other place. And that's why homelands came up, 'cause in the homelands if you are traditional owner of that certain place, every every other person in that clan nation would go to that place.

7 So there's more than one traditional land out there, and we can just about go to any of them, and start something from nothing. So way I see that homelands are the best places to go and start if you haven't started. If had been started that's alright we can still go back there and do something about, where people especially families can live, be healthy, ever their minds at ease.

8 Without any problems the only problems would be … to go long distance back into the community where everything is set up what the government wants, like all health regions, shopping and things, make sure things to be… As long as the government keep their word about upgrading the roads, for that's what we heard if homelands were to stay as they were and it's up to the family who's out in the homelands to have training facilities available for them for any other work trades that are available in the outside world which could be useful for the homelands.

9 So maintenance house maintained whatever maintenance that's needed like the mechanics, electricians, the plumbers whatever that are useful for homelands could be trained in the community, main communities or they could even be training back at the homeland if there were a trainer available to be sent out to their homeland.

10 And as for the reference group, to where I come from like in Gove area region people could be selected from various clan groups to represent that particular clan nation, and go back and tell the stories of what happens in the reference group, especially something to do with housing, whatever. And it hasn't started like shire, I don't know anything about the shire, how they operate but where I'm staying at the moment it's under a Bunuwal.

Which is a Yolŋu corporation called Bunuwal industral and it's to do with my grandmother clans clan nation Rirratjiŋu.

11 So they've got the Rirratjiŋu Association as well as the Bunuwal industry and Bunuwal industry is at the moment managing the area where I am It's an old residental place for the miners, but housing at the moment is not in good condition, so roofing as rotted away, gone all rusty, every time it rains the veranda gets wet and it rusted and as well as having asbestos in every house.

12 W: Balanyaray ga rerri märram e'? Yeah it's a bad one… Yow ga lingun ŋe.

13 W: Gatjuy ŋaralin buny'tjurr, dhumbulnha lakaram. Ŋarra dhu yan lakaram nhawipuy vision future nhakun involves nhawi reference group nhakun dhuwaliyi manymak idea reference group but who will be in that group? Yolŋu yan mala wo mix mixture of people yolŋu ga balanda?

14 M: What do you think what would you see as best?

W: W: Mainly lurrkun' ŋäpaki ga dhaŋaŋ Yolŋu, because we are made out of lots of nhawi clan groups mala.

15 And maybe each clan groups will have a say and decide ga negotiate with the other clan groups of what they think it best for the community with the housing ga nhawi because sometime it very crowded ga you know we can't just tell people off you know because it part of the Yolŋu culture that family always stays together so somehow maybe we'll have new house being built to the, in the community but we need our reference group to look after maybe it a very good thing.

16 So lots of us like talking about maintenance and repairs that some, sometimes houses being broken into and needs to be fixed and so where can we go? Maybe to the reference group ga walal dhu napurruny guŋga'yun ga maybe guŋga'yun get a new house for other members of the family mak, all sort of things they can do. Or extension of other mak houses gali'ŋur because that's what they been doing the past year extending another room to a house three bedroom house yow because of the lots of family members staying in one house.

17 Some somehow we need mak spaces, so we can have less family in one house and others can move into whatever being extended lingun.

Thankyou very much, yän manymak.

Yän gurrirri yan

George Pascoe: Gamurr-guyurru

George Gaymarani Pascoe and his wife Djinmaliya and around 25 members of their extended family live on their ancestral land at a homeland centre Gamurr-guyurru, on the mainland between Maningrida and Milingimbi in Central Arnhemland.

In the context of limited support or funding from either Milingimbi or Maningrida homeland associations, George and his family have been working quietly and consistently for over the past ten years to promote commitment to permanently living on their traditional homeland. The long-term social dysfunctions and tensions associated with the large multi-clan of Maningrida have taken their toll. They seek to combine important ancestral principles of housing and social space configuration with available contemporary building materials and infrastructure; to reinterpret domestic shelter informed from the past but responding to current and future socio-environmental complexities.

It is the negotiated combination between the ancestral practices and contemporary materials and technologies under traditional authority which characterises the innovative nature of the enterprise.

As community leader, Gaymarani along with the Milingimbi Visiting Teacher is working with the students of the Gamurr-guyurru homeland centre school to investigate how traditional bark shelters (there is a variety of different traditional styles, each with different names and offering different functionality for different contexts) and contemporary building materials can be worked together. They are combining these plans with attention to the traditional imperatives for the organisation of space – ways of allowing people to be in touch with each other, to have privacy, and to observe avoidance relationships without the awkwardness which comes from western-designed spaces. They have also worked to implement traditional insights into maximising the advantages of outdoor living – attention to where the breezes come from at different times of year, of dealing with insect pests, of rain and sun in different seasons. They are also working on integrating contemporary technologies – from internet connectivity to vehicle parking arrangements in ways which supplement and enrich community life while enhancing their contemporary remote Aboriginal life style.

This innovative design work takes place at the community level. Through connections with the homeland schools, the family has enlisted the help of two organisations, initially Bushlight and currently Habitat for Humanity – who will help in further developing and implementing their community development work at their own pace and through their own governance.